

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
OCTOBER 7 TO 19, INCLUSIVE

1935



JUDD & DETWEILER
WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICERS

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION

OF LABOR

1936

	<i>President</i>	
WILLIAM GREEN	-	Washington, D. C.
	<i>First Vice-President</i>	
FRANK DUFFY	-	Indianapolis, Ind.
	<i>Second Vice-President</i>	
T. A. RICKERT	-	Chicago, Ill.
	<i>Third Vice-President</i>	
MATTHEW WOLL	-	Washington, D. C.
	<i>Fourth Vice-President</i>	
JOHN COEFIELD	-	Washington, D. C.
	<i>Fifth Vice-President</i>	
ARTHUR O. WHARTON	-	Washington, D. C.
	<i>Sixth Vice-President</i>	
JOSEPH N. WEBER	-	New York, N. Y.
	<i>Seventh Vice-President</i>	
G. M. BUGNIAZET	-	Washington, D. C.
	<i>Eighth Vice-President</i>	
GEO. M. HARRISON	-	Cincinnati, Ohio
	<i>Ninth Vice-President</i>	
DANIEL J. TOBIN	-	Indianapolis, Ind.
	<i>Tenth Vice-President</i>	
WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON	-	Indianapolis, Ind.
	<i>Eleventh Vice-President</i>	
JOHN L. LEWIS	-	Washington, D. C.
	<i>Twelfth Vice-President</i>	
DAVID DUBINSKY	-	New York, N. Y.
	<i>Thirteenth Vice-President</i>	
HARRY C. BATES	-	Washington, D. C.
	<i>Fourteenth Vice-President</i>	
EDWARD J. GAINOR	-	Washington, D. C.
	<i>Fifteenth Vice-President</i>	
WILLIAM D. MAHON	-	Detroit, Mich.
	<i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	
FRANK MORRISON	-	Washington, D. C.

DELEGATES

TO THE

Fifty-fifth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated.	1	43	Paul Dullsell, 45 West 47th Street, New York, New York.
Air Line Pilots' Association.....	1	7	Edward G. Hamilton, 1620 Fuller Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and...	1	25	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, New York.
Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United.....	1	.....	F. J. Dillon, 804 Hofmann Building, Detroit, Michigan.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	4	55	A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		55	J. Goldstone, 2401 Davidson Avenue, New York, New York.
		54	Peter Beisel, 153 Selma Avenue, Webster Grove, Missouri.
		54	Henry L. Koch, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.	5	65	James C. Shanessy, 1141 N. Delaware Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		65	William C. Birthright, 1141 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis, Indiana
		65	John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Avenue, Dallas, Texas.
		64	Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward Street, Rochester, New York.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	64	Anthony Merlino, 97 Dyer Street, New Haven, Connecticut.
		14	William McCarthy, Room 821, Longacre Building, 42nd and Broadway, New York, New York.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		25	W. G. Fowlesland, 4308 Kensington Avenue, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	3	51	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		51	J. N. Davis, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		51	William E. Walter, 637 North 25th Street, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	2	59	John B. Haggerty, 306 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		58	J. B. Frewitt, 310 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	2	130	John J. Mara, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		129	George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.

iv DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	139	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		139	Albert J. Kugler, 56 Glenwood Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.
		139	Adam E. Zusi, 124 Maple Avenue, Irvington, New Jersey.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, International Union of America.....	6	109	William J. Bowen, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		109	Harry C. Bates, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		108	Richard J. Gray, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		108	Walter V. Price, 255 Haven Avenue, New York, New York.
		108	John J. Stretch, 910 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		108	William J. Moran, c/o Labor Advocate, El Paso, Texas.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	4	40	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		40	P. J. Brice, 6206 Holly Hills, St. Louis, Missouri.
		40	John J. Dempsey, 119 East Liberty Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		40	Edward Ryan, 123 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Building Service Employees' International Union.....	4	69	Jerry J. Horan, 405, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		69	Oscar F. Nelson, 188 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		69	George Scalise, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		68	James J. Bambrick, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	4	138	Felix H. Knight, 107 West Linwood Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri.
		138	J. O. Holmgren, 11740 Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		137	Robert Macrorie, 210 Kitson Street, Norwood Grove, Manitoba, Canada.
		137	John J. Fitzgerald, 68 Ontario Street, Albany, New York.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	7	286	Wm. L. Hutcheson, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		286	Frank Duffy, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		286	J. W. Williams, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		286	Thomas Flynn, 12 East Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		286	Wm. J. Kelly, 1225 Farragut Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		285	Chas. Hapson, 130 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	1	285	C. J. Mulcahy, 48 Snow Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
		70	John Van Vaerenyck, Hotel Lafayette, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office..	5	64	Leo E. George, 3851 31st Street, Mt. Rainier, Maryland.
		64	Gilbert E. Hyatt, 3318 19th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		64	Joseph Hewitt, P. O. Clerk, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
		64	William A. Collins, c/o Bookkeeping Sec., Room 326, N. G.P.O., Boston, Massachusetts.
		64	H. W. Smith, 260 Oxford Place, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

v

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	3	242 242 241	George M. Harrison, 701 Brotherhood Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. J. O. Jackson, 126 Lafayette Hotel, Buffalo, New York. H. D. Ulrich, 69 Canal Street, Room 204, Boston, Massachusetts.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	2	36 36	W. G. Desepte, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana. C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated.....	6	167 167 167 167 166 166	Sidney Hillman, 15 Union Square, New York, New York. Joseph Schlossberg, 15 Union Square, New York, New York. Abraham Chatman, 478 Clinton Avenue, N. Rochester, New York. Abraham Miller, 31-33 West 15th Street, c/o N. Y. Joint Board ACW of A., New York, New York. Joseph Catalanotti, 31-33 West 15th Street, c/o N. Y. Joint Board ACW of A., New York, New York. Sidney Rissman, 333 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1	20	J. R. Deekard, 2959 North Taney Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	1	29	James J. Doyle, 168 Dartmouth Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	12	C. L. Rosemund, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	5	260 260 260 260 260	Daniel W. Tracy, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. G. M. Bugniaset, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Chas. M. Pauleen, 4919 Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. E. D. Bieretz, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Joseph S. McDonagh, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	34 34 34	Frank Feeney, Room 1515, 12 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Harry Milton, 1835 20th Avenue, San Francisco, California. Mathew Taylor, 150 North State Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Engineers, International Union of Operating.....	5	70 70 70 70 70	John Posschl, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. F. A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Joseph S. Fay, 578 Madison Avenue, Room 1508, New York, New York. Charles B. Gramling, R. 7, Box 432, Atlanta, Georgia. William P. Walsh, c/o T. C. Cervenka, 13448 Harlon Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	3	29 29 29	Edward J. Vols, 1110, 292 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. Matthew Woll, 1440 Broadway, New York, New York. Henry F. Schmal, 3188 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....		118 117	Fred W. Baer, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. Vincent J. Kane, 1534 East 14th Street, Brooklyn, New York.

vi DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of.....	4	38 37 37 37	John F. McNamara, 321 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts. John Clinton, Room 1304, 330 South Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois. John Conway, 56 Longfellow Avenue, Newark, New Jersey. James L. Kelley, Box 54, International Falls, Minnesota.
Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	1	32	Henry D. Dannenberg, 2908 Chippewa Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, International.....	1	30	Pietro Lucchi, 9 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, New York.
Garment Workers of America, United....	5	75 74 74 74 74	T. A. Rickert, 621 Bible House, New York, New York. A. Adamaki, 547 Doat Street, Buffalo, New York. A. Gordon, 621 Bible House, New York, New York. I. W. Hashkins, 621 Bible House, New York, New York. Mrs. Daisy A. Houck, 621 Bible House, New York, New York.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	7	229 229 229 229 228 228 228	David Dubinsky, 3 West 16th Street, New York, New York. Nathan Margolies, 218 West 40th Street, New York, New York. Abraham Snyder, Corset and Brassiers Workers' Union, 96 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. Reuben Zuckerman, 60 West 35th Street, Cloak and Suit Operators' Union, New York, New York. Isidore Nagler, Cloak Joint Board, 127 West 33rd Street, New York, New York. Julius Hochman, Dress Joint Board, 218 West 40th Street, New York, New York. Basilio Desti, 3 West 16th Street, New York, New York.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	30 30	James Maloney, Rooms 1801-05 P. S. F. S. Building, 12 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. William Warren, care Rooms 1801-05 P. S. F. S. Building, 12 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint....	1	61	M. J. Gillooly, Corner Huron and Jefferson Streets, Toledo, Ohio.
Glass Workers of America, Federation of Flat.....	1	100	Glen W. McCabe, Suite 406, 11 East Gay Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International.....	1	35	James H. Kennedy, 317 Machinists Building, 9th Street and Mt. Vernon Place, Washington, D. C.
Government Employes, American Federation of.....	3	47 46 46	E. Claude Babcock, 900 F Street, N. W., Washington Loan and Trust Building, Washington, D. C. David R. Glass, 900 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. John Daniels, U. S. Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.....	4	54 54 53 53	Michael F. Greene, 11 Tuxedo Parkway, Newark, New Jersey. Marx Lewis, 245 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. Israel H. Goldberg, 31 West 37th Street, New York, New York. Herman Finkelstein, 1947 East 17th Street, Brooklyn, New York.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION vii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International...	5	105	Jos. V. Moreschi, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
		105	Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, California.
		105	Herbert Rivers, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		104	J. B. Etchison, 230 East 9th Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		104	A. C. D'Andrea, 814 West Harrison Street Chicago, Illinois.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	4	143	Edward Flore, 428 Woodbridge Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
		143	Robert B. Hesketh, 528 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		142	Emanuel Koveleski, 90 State Street, Rochester, New York.
		142	Chris. Lane, 184 West Canton Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	1	86	Louis Leonard, 500 South Main Street, W. E., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International....	2	28	Samuel E. Beardsley, 216 Third Avenue, New York, New York.
		27	Leon Williams, c/o J. Kaplan, 2440 Bronx Park, East, New York, New York.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3	27	William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
		27	George T. Moore, 5307 Cornelia Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		27	Charles J. Case, 4 West 7th Street, Room 61, Leverone Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Laundry Workers' International Union....	1	60	Walter C. Brooks, P. O. Box 559, Fresno, California.
Leather Workers, United, International Union.....	1	27	W. E. Bryan, 539 Bryan Place, Middleport, Ohio.
		100	Edw. J. Gainer, 408 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		100	M. T. Finnan, 405 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		100	William J. Gorman, 2429 Cornelia Street, Brooklyn, New York.
Letter Carriers, National Association of....	5	100	L. E. Swarts, 1018 Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.
		100	Charles D. Duffy, 332 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		34	Andrew J. Kennedy, 205 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
		33	Robert Bruck, 1506 Jonquil Terrace, Chicago, Illinois.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	200	Joseph P. Ryan, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
		200	John J. Sampson, 164 11th Avenue, New York, New York.
Longshoremen's Association, International.	2	155	A. O. Wharton, Room 703, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		154	W. F. Robinson, Labor Temple, 11th and Marshall Streets, Richmond, Virginia.
		154	Charles Fry, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		154	N. P. Alifas, Room 303, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		154	R. A. Henning, Rooms 203-04, 2395 University Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota.
		154	Dan Haggerty, 936 Capp Street, San Francisco, California.
Machinists, International Association of....	6		

viii DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of.....	4	84 84 84 83	Fred H. Fljosdal, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. Elmer E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. T. Claude Carroll, 311 Labor Building, 10 Independence Avenue, Washington, D. C. Louis Vogland, 815 Pence Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of.....	2	28 27	William McCarthy, 815-15th Street, N. W., Room 306, Bowen Building, Washington, D. C. Joseph A. McInerney, 615 Second Avenue, New York, New York.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organisation.....	1	22	John J. Scully, Room 1103, 15 Moore Street, New York, New York.
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National Association of.....	1	1	Harry Turner Morningstar, 105 Cedar Avenue, Takoma Park, Maryland.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	4	50 50 49 49	Patrick E. Gorman, 160 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. Dennis Lane, 160 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. M. S. Maxwell, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California. M. J. Kelly, 128 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Metal Workers', Sheet, International Association.....	4	40 40 40 40	John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C. James J. Ryan, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C. James T. Moriarty, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C. James Close, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	3	49 49 48	Paul M. Peterson, 828 Tramway Street, Park City, Utah. Reid Robinson, Apex Hotel, Butte, Montana. Alex Cashin, 7337 S. W. Macadam, Portland, Oregon.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	500 500 500 500 500 500 500	John L. Lewis, 712 Tower Building, Washington, D. C. Philip Murray, 701 Tower Building, Washington, D. C. Thomas Kennedy, 724 Tower Building, Washington, D. C. William Green, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. Van A. Bittner, United Mine Workers Building, Charleston, West Virginia. Mart F. Brennan, 508 Dime Bank Building, Shamokin, Pennsylvania. P. T. Fagan, 1208 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. John Kmets, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	3	40 39 39	Lawrence O'Keefe, 528-530 Walnut Street, Edwards Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. Aloys Towers, 136 North 78th Street, Belleville, Illinois. John Barnett, 1235 South Meadow Avenue, Alliance, Ohio.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION ix

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
		167	Jos. N. Weber, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		167	Edward Canavan, c/o Local 802, A. F. of M., 1267 Sixth Avenue, New York, New York.
		167	Chauncey A. Weaver, City Hall, Des Moines, Iowa.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	6	167	Chas. L. Bagley, 720 Washington Building 311 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, California.
		166	Otto J. Kapl, c/o Local 4, A. F. of M., 2200 East 21st Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
		166	Frank B. Field, 45 Lincoln Avenue, South Norwalk, Connecticut.
		108	H. C. Fremming, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....	4	107	J. L. Coulter, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		107	B. J. Schafer, 1109 West 5th Avenue, Gary, Indiana.
		107	J. C. Long, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		110	Lawrence P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators' Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
		110	Clarence E. Swick, Painters and Decorators' Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	109	Christian M. Madsen, 3209 Evergreen, Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		109	James P. Meehan, 54 Olive Avenue, Lawrence, Massachusetts.
		109	Harry Kaufman, 734 Canton Street, Eliaabeth, New Jersey.
		109	Joseph F. Kelley, P. O. Box 433, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	45	Matthew J. Burns, Broadway Arcade, Albany, New York.
		45	Frank P. Barry, Broadway Arcade, Albany, New York.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.	1	25	George Q. Lynch, 311 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, International Union of....	1	20	Edward I. Hannah, 819 Third Avenue, New York, New York.
		45	M. J. Colleran, 401 West 263rd Street, Riverdale, Bronx, New York.
		45	John E. Rooney, 15401 Grovewood Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative...	4	45	John H. Donlin, 5145 West Cermak Road, Cicero, Illinois.
		45	Michael J. McDonough, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		68	John Coefield, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		68	Thomas E. Burke, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of	5	68	Charles M. Rau, 408 South Leavitt Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		68	Charles Anderson, 1901 5th Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		68	William Fallon, 150 Virginia Street, Jersey City, New Jersey.
Polishers, Metal, International Union....	1	40	W. W. Britton, 48 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		34	James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	3	33	John McGillivray, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		33	James H. Grafton, 1039 Edgewood Avenue, East Liverpool, Ohio.

x DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	14	James H. Windsor, 3501 13th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		64	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
		64	Edward F. McGrady, Labor Department, Washington, D. C.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	64	Andrew R. Armstrong, 9th Floor Sun Building, 150 Nassau Street, New York, New York.
		64	William Wilson, 22 West 16th Street, New York, New York.
		64	Charles A. Sigmund, 931 Arctic Avenue, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	3	29	John P. Burke, Fort Edward, New York.
		28	John Bayha, 609 4th Avenue, Aberdeen, Washington.
		28	H. W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.....	1	20	John C. Lawson, Box 394, Barre, Vermont.
		147	William D. Mahon, 260 East Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan.
		147	Joseph J. Kehoe, 328 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		147	Neil McLellan, 906 Lawyers Building, Detroit, Michigan.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	5	147	Matthew J. McLaughlin, 320 Kimball Building, 18 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		146	Thomas F. Broderick, Room 246, Plymouth Building, 265 Main Street, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Railway Mail Association.....	2	96	W. M. Collins, 507 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		95	Henry W. Strickland, 507 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Roofers, Damp and Water-proof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	2	20	George W. Jones, 404 Wesley Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois.
		20	J. M. Gaylak, 3091 Coleridge Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
Seamen's Union of America, International..	2	63	Andrew Furuseth, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		62	Victor A. Olander, 666 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.
Sheep Shearers' Union of North America...	1	11	A. A. Evans, P. O. Box 1992, Butte, Montana.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	60	Geo. E. Browne, Suite 2008, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		60	Fred J. Dempsey, Earle Building, 13th and E Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		60	Thomas V. Green, 703 Sanford Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
		60	Manus McCaffery, Earle Building, 13th and E Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	40	Leon De Vaze, 89 West 33rd Street, Bayonne, New Jersey.
		39	Chas. A. Sumner, 2645 East 28th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	29	M. W. Mitchell, 8 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		28	P. J. Cullen, 180 West Adams Street, Room 412, Chicago, Illinois.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	20	Edw. W. Kaiser, 1513 Hogan Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
		40	Thomas C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	2	40	James B. Connors, 2851 Burling Street, Chicago, Illinois.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xi

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen...	1	45	Wm. Resnick, 7915 Clyde Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		40	Raymond F. Lowry, 219-15th Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	3	40	Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, Room 526, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		40	George Davis, Room 526, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		220	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		220	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	228	John M. Gillespie, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		228	L. G. Goudie, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		228	John McLaughlin, 536 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California.
		228	John McKenna, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	2	175	E. J. Manion, 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
		175	G. E. Leighty, Rhame, North Dakota.
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial.....	1	20	Frank B. Powers, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		132	Thomas F. McMahon, 605 Bible House, New York, New York.
		132	Francis J. Gorman, 701 Carpenters Building, Washington, D. C.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	6	132	William Smith, 2319 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		132	William F. Kelly, 2012 East Stella Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		132	Emil Rieve, 2319 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
		132	Frank Schweitzer, 100 Fifth Avenue, Room 1204, New York, New York.
Tobacco Workers' International Union....	2	52	E. Lewis Evans, 807 Realty Building, Louisville, Kentucky.
		52	J. E. Lentie, 807 Realty Building, Louisville, Kentucky.
		123	Charles P. Howard, 2820 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		123	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	122	William R. Trotter, Box 428, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		122	Frank X. Martel, Labor Temple, Detroit, Michigan.
		122	John Simons, 423 West 120th Street, New York, New York.
		122	Jack Gill, 1559 East 17th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
		33	James H. Hatch, 230 East 58th Street, New York, New York.
Upholsterers' International Union of America.....	2	32	Edwin E. Graves, 1682 Washington Street, corner Worcester Square, Boston, Massachusetts.
Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United.....	1	6	Alfred H. Billet, 509 West Philadelphia Street, York, Pennsylvania.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	John P. Frey, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employees' Department.....	1	1	B. M. Jewell, Room 520, 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	I. M. Ornburn, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William Mitch, Alabama State Federation of Labor, Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama.

xii DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Hugo Ernst, 1256 Market Street, San Francisco, California.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. B. Noxon, c/o 315-317 American National Bank Building, Denver, Colorado.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor....	1	1	John J. Egan, 407-408 Johnson Building, 1024 Main Street, Bridgeport Connecticut.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. Sid Tiller, 552 Oakland Avenue, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia.
Idaho State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Aug. Rosqvist, Box 249, Pocatello, Idaho.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Reuben G. Soderstrom, United Mine Workers Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Adolph J. Frits, 208 Holliday Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. C. Lewis, 428 Iowa Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ed. J. Morgan, Box 552, Madisonville, Kentucky.
Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph P. McCurdy, 702 Emerson Tower, Baltimore, Maryland.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Robert J. Watt, Room 404, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank B. Wade, 2116 West 3rd Street, Flint, Michigan.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. E. Cunningham, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. M. Brandt, 1411 North Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James D. Graham, Montana Building, Helena, Montana.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Charles Hollopeter, 635 Market Street, Camden, New Jersey.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Meaney, Room 301, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
North Carolina State Federation of Labor..	1	1	R. R. Lawrence, P. O. Box 823, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Donnelly, 321 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Jesse Palmer, 1315 South Agnew Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ben T. Osborne, 500 Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Frank Hughes, 24 Maddas Bank Building, Greensburg, Pennsylvania.
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, 3175 Porter Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Elizabeth Nord, c/o Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cahir, 37 Weyboset Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
South Carolina State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Dowell E. Patterson, P. O. Box 515, Charleston, South Carolina.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. C. Arthur, 312 East Anderson Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	B. M. Egan, 1411 Wheeler Street, Houston, Texas.
Utah State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harold Granville Crose, Labor Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Vermont State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Cecil V. Crawford, Websterville, Vermont.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. J. Shave, 219 Mallory Avenue, Hampton, Virginia.
Washington State Federation of Labor....	1	1	James A. Taylor, Room 108, Labor Temple, Seattle, Washington.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor...	1	1	John B. Easton, Box 392, Charleston, West Virginia.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. J. Handley, 516 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John Ross, Box 904, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council.....	1	1	R. M. Burr, 320 South 5th Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	A. Steve Nance, 713 Glenn Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xiii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Ray McAloon, Room 32, Boardwalk Arcade, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lee R. Biel, Box 318, Balboa, Canal Zone.
Barre, Vt., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Andrew Mitchell, 410 North Maine Street, Barre, Vermont.
Battle Creek, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Harry M. Slout, 17 South Avenue, Battle Creek, Michigan.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles B. Campfield, 658 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.
Brownsville, Pa., United Trades Council..	1	1	Richard Mayer, Blainesburg, Pennsylvania.
Cambridge, O., Guernsey County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John Owens, Oakland Boulevard, Cambridge, Ohio.
Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James Bamford, Camden, New Jersey.
Canton, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Darrell Smith, 1450 Struble Avenue, N. E., Canton, Ohio.
Charleston, S. C., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Al Flynn, P. O. Box 35, Navy Yard, Charleston, South Carolina.
Chester, Pa., Central Labor Union of Delaware County, Pa.....	1	1	E. J. Reinhart, 1119 Parker Street, Chester, Pennsylvania.
Cheyenne, Wyo., Central Labor Union....	1	1	James Morgan, 3210 Dillon Street, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph D. Keenan, 3254 Warren Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor....	1	1	Thomas A. Lenehan, 1355 Central Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Clinton, Ia., Tri-City Labor Congress, Clinton and Lyons, Ia., and Fulton, Ill..	1	1	Paul Nadelhoffer, 301 North Second Street, Clinton, Iowa.
Columbus, Ga., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. C. Jeffries, 428 Broadway, Columbus, Georgia.
Coshocton, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	James R. McCormick, Coshocton, Ohio.
Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly, Kenton and Campbell Counties....	1	1	G. F. Weizenecker, 39 West McMicken Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Dayton, O. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John E. Breidenbach, 5th and Ludlow Streets, Dayton, Ohio.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly.	1	1	Wm. A. Matchley, 507 Interstate Trust Building, Denver, Colorado.
Des Moines, Ia., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	James W. Soutter, 1367 East 14th Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit, Mich., Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Mira Komaroff, 201 Lawyers Building, Detroit, Michigan.
Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Trades Council.....	1	1	George F. Cushing, 1076 Julia Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
Ely, Nev., Central Labor Union White Pine County.....	1	1	George Townshend, Ely, Nevada.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert Passage, 720 Stockton Street, Flint, Michigan.
Galesburg, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.	1	1	Thomas R. Downie, 1216 North Kellogg Street, Galesburg, Illinois.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Humphrey Mitchell, M. P., Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	Milton Doll, 217 West 12th Street, Hamilton, Ohio.
Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lawrence J. Katz, P. O. Box 929, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
Hattiesburg, Miss., Central Labor Union...	1	1	H. W. DeWitt, P. O. Box 706, Hattiesburg, Mississippi.
Hazleton, Pa., Central Labor Union of Hazleton and Vicinity.....	1	1	John Yourishin, 200 United Mine Workers Bldg., Hazleton, Pa.
Idaho Falls, Ida., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Wm. Eardley, 315 12th Street, Idaho Falls, Idaho.
Jasper, Ala., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. H. Riley, Jasper, Alabama.
Jeanette, Pa., Central Trades Council.....	1	1	John W. Crother, Lincoln Heights, Jeanette, Pennsylvania.

xiv DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Johnstown, Pa., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Clyde S. Slick, 702 Von Lunen Road, Johnstown, Pennsylvania.
Joliet, Ill., Will County Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Donald Regan, 1429 Hamilton Street, Lockport, Illinois.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union...	1	1	W. R. Brooks, Labor Temple 14th and Woodland Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri.
Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council..	1	1	Harturek Dahl, 1911 43rd Street, Kenosha, Wisconsin.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	James G. Kennedy, 525 East 80th Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Kiski Valley Central Labor Union, Pennsylvania.....	1	1	John O'Leary, Vandergrift, Pennsylvania.
Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Paul T. David, 210 Fretz Building, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Latrobe, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Patrick Hanoway, Latrobe, Pennsylvania.
Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Matthew P. Maney, 18 Ames Street, Lawrence, Massachusetts.
Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Sidney E. Le Bow, 15 Newell Street, Lowell, Massachusetts.
Marion, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	G. L. Swetland, 270 Olney Avenue, Marion, Ohio.
Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	B. A. Michelson, 2412 N. W. 20th Street, Miami, Florida.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Jacob Friedrich, 536 West Juneau Avenue, Room 302, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Missoula, Mont. Missoula Co. Central Trades Labor Council.....	1	1	S. H. Rivin, Box 218, Missoula, Mont.
Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. O. Nevil, 1120 Sharp Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee.
New Brunswick, N. J., Trades and Labor Federation.....	1	1	Joseph V. Egan, 201 Easton Avenue, New Brunswick, New Jersey.
New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Andrew P. Harvey, 606 State Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Paul I. Topping, 230 48th Street, Newport News, Virginia.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.....	1	1	James C. Quinn, Room 301, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. L. Pickler, care Norfolk Labor Journal, 209 Tazewell Street, Norfolk, Virginia.
Oklahoma City, Okla., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Joe. C. Campbell, 505 Baltimore Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 172 McLaren Street, Ottawa Ontario, Canada.
Paterson, N. J., Central Labor Union of Passaic County.....	1	1	John Lyding, 203 Paterson Street, Paterson, New Jersey.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and Vicinity.....	1	1	Adolph Hirschberg, 814 Commonwealth Bldg., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union....	1	1	M. L. McCarty, 915 North Street, Portsmouth, Virginia.
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union.	1	1	Joseph T. Cahir, 203 Sackett Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
Quakertown, Pa., Central Labor Union of Bucks County.....	1	1	Larry Heimbach, 396 Tilghman St., Allentown, Pennsylvania.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council...	1	1	A. P. Bower, 705 Walnut Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.
Reno, Nev., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Paula Day, 610 West Fifth Street, Reno, Nevada.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Campbell, Wm. W., 157 Sherwood Avenue, Rochester, New York.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xv

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	Clarence King, 230 Jones Street, San Francisco, California.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Fred Heber, 427 Larch Street, Scranton, Pennsylvania.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council....	1	1	James A. Duncan, 510 33rd Avenue, Seattle, Washington.
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John Howat, Carpenters Hall, Shreveport, Louisiana.
Somerset, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	H. V. Sager, General Delivery, Somerset, Pennsylvania.
South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Stanton A. Sweeney, 731 Harrison Avenue, South Bend, Indiana.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7323 Cole Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 223½ South Sixth Street, Springfield, Illinois.
Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Harry A. Russell, 19 Sanford Street, Springfield, Massachusetts.
Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Ruben T. Wood, 1530 North Douglas Street, Springfield, Missouri.
Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council....	1	1	C. M. Dahlager, Labor Temple, Tacoma, Washington.
Taylorville, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Ray Edmundson, United Mine Workers Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Lee Roy Musgrave, 1466 Liberty Avenue, Terre Haute, Indiana.
Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Otto W. Brach, 912 Adams Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Uniontown, Pa., Trades and Labor Council...	1	1	Wm. J. Hynes, 5th Floor Old 2nd National Bank Building, Uniontown, Pennsylvania.
Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly...	1	1	Michael Walsh, Labor Temple, Charlotte Street, Utica, New York.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Selma Horchardt, 1741 Park Road N. W., Washington, D. C.
Waukegan, Ill., Lake County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	B. R. McMahon, 128 North West Street, Waukegan, Illinois.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union...	1	1	John C. Saylor, 700 West 22nd Street, Wilmington, Delaware.
Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. L. Sandefur, P. O. Box 20, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Freeman M. Saltus, 17 Federal Street, Worcester, Massachusetts.
York, Pa., Federation of Trade Unions....	1	1	George Buckingham, 130 South Beaver Street, York, Pennsylvania.
Zanesville, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank J. Bender, National Road East, Zanesville, Ohio.
Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union United No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.....	1	1	J. T. Myles, 2832 Hale Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky.
Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18310, South Bend, Ind.....	1	32	Russell J. Merrill, 1701 Anderson Street, South Bend, Indiana.
Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18347, South Bend, Ind....	1	12	Carl J. Shipley, 821 Cleveland Street, South Bend, Ind.
Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18384, Toledo, Ohio.	1	21	George F. Addes, 1938 Superior Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18432, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	John Soltis, 1846 East 222nd Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18454, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	1	Thomas J. Killeen, 5529 Ardleigh Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

xvi DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18463, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	13	Wyndham Mortimer, 19030 Renwood Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Battery Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18614, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	Wm. Kies, 2705 Natchez Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 19374, Detroit, Mich.....	1	1	Tom S. Johnson, Box 11, Detroit, Michigan.
Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 19970, Grand Rapids, Mich.....	1	1	John North, 517 Fairview Avenue, N. E., Grand Rapids, Michigan.
Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 20012, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	Elmer Davis, 4145 Lorain Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Bakelite, Lacanite and Phenolic Workers' Union No. 18195, Scranton, Pa.....	1	3	Hubert J. Gormley, 623 Birch Street, Scranton, Pennsylvania.
Battery Workers' Federal Labor Union, No. 18551, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	12	Charles Goff, 3149 North Hartville Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.....	1	7	Sam Baron, 861 East 27th Street, Brooklyn, New York.
Brass Bobbin Winders' Union, No. 14659, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	3	Joseph A. Long, care 196 West Annsbury Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Brass Workers' Union, United, No. 19804, Waterbury, Conn.....	1	1	John J. McGurk, 54 Fuller Street, Waterbury, Connecticut.
Brush Makers' Union, No. 16303, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Herman Templeman, 2118 Clinton Avenue, Bronx, New York, New York.
Brush Workers' Union, No. 18919, Hartford, Conn.....	1	1	Patrick Martocchio, 39 Cowles Street, Hartford, Connecticut.
Button Workers' Union, Ivory and Casein, No. 18756, Newark and Vic., N. J.....	1	1	Joseph Pavona, 503 South 11th Street, Newark, New Jersey.
Casket Makers' Union, No. 19306, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	1	Howard Lawrence, 1st Floor, 1533 North Claremont Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Cement Mill Employees' Union, No. 18673, Bath, Pa.....	1	1	Arthur J. Strunk, Chestnut Street, Bath, Pennsylvania.
Cement Plant Workers' Union No. 18387, Tarrant, Alabama.....	1	3	J. R. Tucker, 11472nd Street, North Birmingham, Alabama.
Cement Plant Workers' Union, No. 19714, Tarrant, Alabama.....	1	1	Charles H. Rundle, 50 Church Street, Nazareth, Pennsylvania.
Cement Plant Workers' Union, No. 19877 Powderly, Alabama.....	1	1	Weldon Merritt, R. D. 1, Bangor, Pennsylvania.
Cement Mill Employees' Union, No. 18710, Bath, Pa.....	1	1	A. P. Lee, 10 Tenth Street, Barberton, Ohio.
Cement Mill Employees' Local, 19466, Martins Creek, Pa.....	1	2	Walter C. Caraway, Sr., 1423 Hartford Avenue, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia.
Chemical Workers' Union, No. 19019, Barberton, Ohio.....	1	7	I. J. Fitzgerald, 1583 West Ogden Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
City and County Public Service Employees' Union, No. 17212, Atlanta, Georgia.....	1	1	William B. Clark, 675 Orchard Street, New Haven, Connecticut.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union, No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	
Cleaners, Pressers and Dyers' Local 20001, New Haven, Conn.....	1	1	

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xvii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Display Fixture and Figure Workers' Union No. 20039, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Jack Rand, 49 East 10th Street, New York, New York.
Doll and Toy Workers' Union, No. 18230, New York, N. Y.....	1	2	Alexander Ravitch, 161 Lafayette Street, New York, New York.
Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, New Jersey.....	1	1	Leif Dahl, Box 277, Bridgeton, New Jersey.
Federal Labor Union, No. 18256, Globe, Arizona.....	1	1	Lester B. Doane, Box 5, Globe, Arizona.
Federal Labor Union No. 18271, Bessemer, Ala.....			
Federal Labor Union, No. 18373, Birmingham, Ala.....	1	5	J. A. Burks, 1101 Forrest Street, Tarrant, Alabama.
Federal Labor Union, No. 18388, Tarrant, Ala.....			
Federal Labor Union, No. 18718, Birmingham, Ala.....			
Federal Labor Union, No. 18344, Syracuse, New York.....	1	11	Clair B. Bellows, 123 Watson Road, North Syracuse, New York.
Federal Labor Union No. 18412, Aurora, Illinois.....	1	1	Le Roy F. Wise, R. F. D. 2, Box 58, Aurora, Illinois.
Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Illinois.....	1	4	Frank Marek, Jr., 159 Clark Court, Aurora, Illinois.
Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.....	1	18	Emil Costello, 4028 14th Avenue, Kenosha, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 18518, Chicopee, Mass.....			
Federal Labor Union No. 18476, Springfield and Chicopee Falls, Mass.....	1	9	Joseph T. Masucci, 68 Palmer Avenue, Springfield, Massachusetts.
Federal Labor Union No. 19469, Chicopee Falls, Mass.....			
Federal Labor Union No. 18526, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	1	Alexander John Ross, 2424 West Fifth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Federal Labor Union No. 18529, Fort Wayne, Indiana.....	1	12	Freeman White, 1011 West Jefferson Street, Fort Wayne, Indiana.
Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wisconsin.....	1	1	Charles Heymanns, 935 Huron Avenue, Sheboygan, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 18589, Aurora, Illinois.....	1	1	Loy Dance, 430 Seminary Avenue, Aurora, Illinois.
Federal Labor Union No. 18603, Asheville, N. C.....	1	1	H. L. Sanders, 215 Sulphur Springs Road, Asheville, North Carolina.
Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio.....	1	4	Tom Finnegan, 1620 Holland Court, S. W., Canton, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 19114, Canton, Ohio.....			
Federal Labor Union No. 18835, Two Rivers, Wisconsin.....	1	1	David Sigman, Two Rivers, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 18872, Lester, Pa.....	1	3	Edward P. Hanlon, 631 Janson Avenue, Es-sington, Pennsylvania.
Federal Labor Union 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	10	Michael A. O'Gorman, 4238 North Carlisle Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Washington.....	1	9	James P. Dallas, care 6715 34th Street, S. W., Seattle, Washington.
Federal Labor Union No. 19311, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	C. S. Taylor, 1776 West 50th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 19393, Hartford, Conn.....	1	2	William E. Kuehnell, 17 Whitmore Street, Hartford, Connecticut.
Typewriters Workers' Union, No. 18920, Hartford, Conn.....			
Federal Labor Union No. 19401, Tonawanda, New York.....			
Gas Workers' Union No. 19243, Buffalo, N. Y.....	1	4	Howard H. Sticht, 133 Ross Avenue, Buffalo, New York.

xviii DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Gas Distribution Workers' Union, No. 15268, Boston, Mass.....	1	3	Thomas B. Lilly, 403 River Street, Waltham, Massachusetts.
Gasoline Station Operators' Union No. 18378, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	9	Phil Hannah, 2536 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18583, Brockton, Mass.....	1	1	James Nelson, 14 Newell Road, Wakefield, Massachusetts.
Gas Station Attendants' Union, No. 18912, Akron, Ohio.....	1	1	H. A. Bradley, 739 First Central Tower Building, Akron, Ohio.
Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990, Lancaster, Pa.....	1	1	Harry Krauss, 724 West Vine Street, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
Match Workers, United, No. 18928, Barberton, Ohio.....	1	2	F. B. Gerhart, R. D. No. 1, Rittman, Ohio.
Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers' Union 20036, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	1	Morris Fine, 1848 Winnebago Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Newspapers Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Michael J. Flynn, Box 1646, Boston, Massachusetts.
Newspaper Writers' Union No. 19414, Flint, Mich.....	1	1	M. J. Burke, 623 Buckgam Street, Flint, Michigan.
Oysterman's Union (United), No. 19600, Bivalve, N. J.....	1	2	Harry Henderson, Bivalve, New Jersey.
Paper Box Makers' Union, No. 18239, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Abraham N. Weinberg, 166 Second Avenue, New York, New York.
Photographic and Photo Finishing Employees' Union No. 19893, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Norman Ratkin, 2455 27th Street, Astoria, Long Island, New York.
Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18068, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	A. Philip Randolph, 207 West 140th Street, New York, New York.
Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18070, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Milton P. Webster, 4231 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Radio and Accessory Workers' Union No. 18639, Indianapolis, Ind.....	1	1	Mary Lovell, 3610 East Robson Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Radio and Refrigerator Workers' Union 19214, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1	2	Miss Monta Pearl Barr, 6391 Meis Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Radio and Television Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18368, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	56	Charles Schillinger, 201 Marne Road, Brooklawn, New Jersey.
Radio and Television Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18369, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	13	Edward McCloskey, 3142 Cedar Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Radio and Television Workers' Union No. 19833, Camden, N. J.....	1	1	A. B. Nicholson, 3443 North Smedley Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Radio Factory Workers' Union No. 18609, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	William Beedie, 5 East 19th Street, New York, New York.
Radio Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 19774, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	James B. Carey, 224 North Lockwood Street, Chicago, Ill.
Rubber Workers Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18320, Akron, Ohio.....	1	2	N. H. Eagle, 79 North Case Avenue, Akron, Ohio.
Rubber Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18321, Akron, Ohio.....	1	10	W. W. Thompson, 181 West Exchange Street, Akron, Ohio.
Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18363, Chicopee Falls, Mass.....	1	6	Thomas F. Burns, 131 Church Street, Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xix

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Rubber Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18759, Jeannette, Pa.....	1	3	Charles Serra, 722 Lowry Avenue, Jeannette, Pennsylvania.
Rubber Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18319, Akron, Ohio.....	1	15	S. H. Dalrymple, 1286 Manchester Road, Akron, Ohio.
Rubber Workers' Federal Labor Union, No. 18616, Barberton, Ohio.....	1	2	M. E. Shacklette, 251 4th Street, Barberton, Ohio.
Russian Turkish Bath Rubbers and Workers' Union No. 18702, Newark, N. J.....	1	1	Irving Matlin, 100 Connecticut Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
Sightseeing Guides and Lecturers' Union No. 20076, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	John Dougherty, 599 9th Avenue, New York, New York.
Spring and Accessory Workers' Union No. 18339, New Kensington, Pa.....	1	2	Frank Malkovich, 300 Sixth Street, New Kensington, Pennsylvania.
State Employees' Local No. 17659, Richmond, Va.....	1	1	George L. Turner, P. O. Box 636, Richmond, Virginia.
State Administrative Employees' Association, Wisconsin, No. 18213, Madison, Wisconsin.....	1	6	Arnold S. Zander, 611 Beaver Building, Madison, Wisconsin.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597, Indianapolis, Ind.....	1	1	O. L. Garrison, Tower Building, Washington, D. C.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 14965, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Alice Dodge, 6 Boylston Place, Boston, Massachusetts.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 16456, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.....	1	1	Paul Raasmussen, 312 West State Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union, No. 18199, St. Paul, Minnesota.....	1	1	L. E. Groner, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 19366, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	Maxine Makman, 16403 West Park Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 19708, Toledo, Ohio.....	1	1	John C. Taylor, 637 Winthrop Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 20048, Baltimore, Md.....	1	1	Edith Braun, 8 East Mulberry Street, Baltimore, Maryland.
Taxi Chauffeurs' Union No. 19795, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	Lee D. Joblon, 841 69th Street New York, N. Y.
Technical, Editorial and Office Assistants' Union No. 20055, Washington, N. J.....	1	1	Susan Jenkins, 50 Carleton Avenue, Washington, New Jersey.
Technical and Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	1	Louis O. Harper, care 1163 East 64th Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
Theatre and Amusement Employees' Union No. 19903, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	John P. Nick, care 4027 Shenandoah Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Title Examiners' Union No. 19496, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	Henry W. Raisse, 1355 Central Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Wardrobe Attendants' Union, Theatrical, No. 18770, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Augusta Ocker, 156 West 44th Street, Room 804, New York, New York.

xx DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Wardrobe Attendants' Union, Theatrical, No. 17298, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	1	Bertha Fearn, 1004 South 60th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Wardrobe Attendants' Union, Theatrical, No. 18030, Baltimore, Md.....	1	1	Jennie Mack, care 2605 Roslyn Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.
Ward Superintendents' Union No. 16171, Chicago, Illinois.....	1	1	James A. Ryan, care 2842 North Francisco Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 19961, Hoboken, N. J.....	1	1	Domenick Marzocca, 716 26th Street, Union City, New Jersey.
		1	Andrew Conley, General Secretary, National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, 20 Park Place, Leeds, England.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	Andrew Naesmith, General Secretary, Amalgamated Weavers' Association, Ewbank Chambers, 19 St. James Street, Accrington, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	Captain J. A. P. Haydon, 127 Huron Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. Member International Typographical Local No. 102.
National Womens' Trade Union League of America.....			Rose Schneiderman, 247 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
94	National and International.....	275	29,205
3	Departments.....	3	3
35	State Bodies.....	35	35
89	Central Labor Unions.....	89	89
113	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	101	411
3	Fraternal Organizations.....	4	3
337		507	29,746

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan *1915	1913 George W. Perkins. *1917
To British Trades Union Congress		
1895 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1909 { John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.	1923 { Peter Shaughnessy. Anthony J. Chlopek.
1896 { J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	1910 { W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1924 { Peter J. Brady. Edward J. Gainer.
1897 { Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill.	1911 { Wm. B. Macfarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1925 { A. Adamaki. Edw. J. Evans.
1898 { James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1912 { George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1926 { †Frank Farrington. Wm. L. Hutcheson.
1899 { James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy.	1913 { Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1927 { John Coesfield. Michael Casey.
1900 { J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	*1914 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1928 { Michael F. Greene. William B. Fitzgerald.
1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	†1915 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1929 { William J. Rooney. William P. Clarke.
1902 { Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1916 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1930 { John J. Manning. Thomas E. Maloy.
1903 { Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1917 { John Golden. James Lord.	1931 { Joseph P. Ryan. Joseph V. Moreschi.
1904 { W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1918 { J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.	1932 { Joseph A. Franklin. E. E. Milliman.
1905 { John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1919 { †Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes.	1933 { Thomas E. Burke. Christian M. Madsen.
1906 { Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	1920 { Timothy Healy. Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	1934 { Michael J. Collieran. Edward Flore.
1907 { John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetaky.	1921 { Wm. J. Spencer. James J. Forrester.	1935 { Henry F. Schmal. Dennis Lane.
1908 { Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1922 { Benjamin Schlesinger. E. J. McGivern.	

From British Trades Union Congress		
1894 { John Burns. David Holmes.	1908 { John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.	1922 { E. L. Poulton. H. Smith.
1895 { Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.	1909 { A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.	1923 { R. B. Walker. W. C. Robinson.
1896 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	1910 { W. Brace. Ben Turner.	1924 { C. T. Cramp. A. B. Swales.
1897 { Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1911 { G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.	1925 { Ben Smith. A. A. Purcell.
1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne.	1912 { J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.	1926 { J. Bromley. G. Hicks.
1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.	1927 { Arthur Pugh. W. Sherwood.
1900 { John Weir. Peto Curran.	**1914 {	1928 { John Marchbank. E. Edwards.
1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett.	1915 { C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.	1929 { J. T. Brownlie. J. Bell.
1902 { M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.	1916 { H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.	1930 { A. A. H. Findlay. A. Shaw.
1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady.	1917 { John Hill. Arthur Hayday.	1931 { F. Wolstencroft. J. Beard.
1904 { William Abraham. James Wignall.	***1918 { F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1932 { W. Holmes. Charles Dukes.
1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour.	1919 { S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1933 { James Rowan. J. A. Hall.
1906 { Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.	1920 { J. W. Ogden. J. Jones.	1934 { Alexander George Walkden. John Stokes.
1907 { David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.	1921 { J. H. Thomas. James Walker.	1935 { Andrew Conley. Andrew Naesmith.

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates—Continued

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1924 Walter W. Britton.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1912 John T. Smith.	1925 James Duncan.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1926 James B. Connors.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1903 John Coleman.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1904 John H. Richards.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1930 Adolph Kummer.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1931 Charles J. Case.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1932 Frank B. Power.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1933 James C. Quinn.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1921 John O'Hara.	1934 Joseph P. McCurdy.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1922 William E. Hulsebeck.	1935 James Maloney.
1910 John J. Manning.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.	

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 David A. Carey.	1911 Wm. Glockling.	1924 John Colbert.
1899 David A. Carey.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1925 Donald Dear.
1900 David A. Carey.	1913 Gus Franco.	1926 Richard Lynch.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1903 James Simpson.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1904 John A. Flett.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1930 William E. Stephenson.
1905 William V. Todd.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1931 Colin McDonald.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1933 Fred J. White.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1934 William Dunn.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1922 Ernest Robinson.	1935 J. A. P. Haydon, M. C.
1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1923 James A. Sullivan.	

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino. Jose F. Gutierrez. Salustrio Hernandez.
--	---	---

*No convention.

**No delegates.

†Did not attend

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio.	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Seranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio.	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Mich.	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, Calif.	October 3-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ont., Can.	October 7-18.
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17.
1931	Vancouver, B. C., Can.	October 5-15.
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio.	Nov. 21-Dec. 2.
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13.
1934	San Francisco, Calif.	October 1-12.
1935	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 7-19.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1936

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behoves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and

to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a

bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the

delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the Convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

CONSTITUTION AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR xxvii

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest-period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested in interest-bearing securities and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution and none other.

SEC. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report

to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee, with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

SEC. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention

xxviii CONSTITUTION AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be \$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name. If any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an

affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions

CONSTITUTION AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR xxix

the organizations in their vicinity: to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council the moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, endorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks,

an amount equal to seven (7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a

monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not

CONSTITUTION AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR xxxi

be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, department, local councils, and railway system federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquar-

ters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This is not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the Conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.



Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1935

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day—Monday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 7, 1935.

Pursuant to law, the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order in Chelsea Hall at 10 o'clock by Temporary Chairman Ray McAloon, President of the Central Labor Union of Atlantic County, New Jersey.

Preceding the opening of the convention, the Recreation Band, a Federal Emergency Relief Association organization, directed by Mr. Herman Fiedler, entertained the delegates and visitors.

Chairman McAloon: The Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor will now come to order. I present at this time the Reverend Henry Merle Mellen, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, who will deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Henry Merle Mellen, D.D., Pastor, the
First Presbyterian Church)

Thou, oh God, art the greatest Toiler. Thou sittest upon the circle of the earth and Thou art always creating and recreating. Thou art carrying on Thy work, and Thy throne is in the universe round about us. We thank Thee that as Thou art the great Toiler, Thou hast commissioned Thy sons and daughters to toil with Thee. May we this morning realize that we are not simply laboring with our hands or carrying on

with our minds, but endeavoring to follow the vigor and splendor of Him whom we serve.

Grant us Thy grace and favor, that in all our goings and doings we may work together with Thee. In a special sense grant Thy benediction and tarry with these, Thy servants, who are assembled at the moment for the purpose of deliberating on the great questions of our common labor. Lend Thy blessing, we beseech Thee, to all who officer this convention, and give Thy wisdom to all who teach and instruct and guide. We bless Thee for the great history of this organization, for the great problems that have been solved, for the continuing sweeps of the vision that has gone before this organization all these years.

And in this day of great crisis may we not only exert our greatest wisdom but remember that we have hearts wherewith to love and wherewith to be loyal one toward another. In all our various pathways that we are endeavoring to tread may we remember that One is our Master and that we are our brethren and sisters in Him.

Therefore, we beseech Thee, these Thy servants gathered together in convention, may the whole atmosphere be that of sincerity and truthfulness; may all the deliberations result in the furtherance of this work. Remember, oh God, all the men and women that are attending their home sections and the countries which they represent. May they all feel the impact of an atmosphere of genuineness that pervades all the motives and attitudes of good and true men and women. Lend Thine aid, we beseech Thee, to all the cities and states in the land who shall lend their wisdom to the solution of the problems that are before this body. Remember the city where we convene, the mayor and all the officership of it. May it be a goodly place for these men to tarry in. May they not only breathe the air but imbibe our ideals, that they may

go forth and enter anew into the work and business of their home sections. May they carry with them something abiding and everlasting that they may have gotten out of this resort in these days.

Remember the State and our Governor and this great nation of ours, the President of these United States and all who have authority in all lands and in all principalities. Remember our whole common human race and all who endeavor to serve mankind in truth. Remember us all, and give us a renewed dedication to the things that pertain to labor of heart, of mind and of soul.

The Lord bless these men and keep them. The Lord give His face to shine upon them and be gracious to them. The Lord lift up the light of His countenance and give them peace, both now and in the life everlasting.—Amen.

MR. RAY McALOON

(President, Atlantic County Central Labor Union)

Delegates and friends, on behalf of the Central Labor Union of Atlantic County, I want to extend to you delegates to the Fifty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor a hearty welcome from that body. If we can be of any service to you, feel free to call on us at all times. We are here to serve you and we want to make your stay in Atlantic City a very pleasant one. We hope you will enjoy our wonderful city and that your visit will be most enjoyable.

We have with us this morning the Mayor of Atlantic City, and it is now my pleasure to present Mayor White.

HONORABLE C. D. WHITE

(Mayor of Atlantic City)

Mr. Chairman and delegates of the American Federation of Labor—Strange as it may seem, I get greater gratification from the opportunity of welcoming you to Atlantic City than perhaps has occurred to me in any of the conventions I have welcomed. I say strange because I happen to be president of a bank, an employer of labor as well as Mayor of the city, and when all is said and done I am a human being, and I hope that when I pass on I will have done something to justify my stay in this world by contributing to the welfare of my fellow beings.

Welcoming conventions, you know, gives the mayor the opportunity to make some three hundred or three hundred and fifty speeches a year, and it is not always easy to say the right thing. I remember one occasion when I had to welcome the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the New Jersey Liquor Dealers' Association at the same time, and you can imagine it was just a little difficult to keep the wires from crossing.

I remember on another occasion addressing a group of very prominent New York

and Philadelphia bankers, and I know they indicated surprise when I said that no man in these times who had any thought in his head at all could justify an income of two or three millions to one man when another man was glad to get a thousand. I went on to say that when I got to be President of the United States I would promise to make that difference between the two so small and so much less that the laboring man would share the profits with industry, that instead of tearing down industry or business, when I got to be President of the United States I was going to do everything I could to build it up, but when it was built up there should be a sharing between those who worked and those who had capital invested. Naturally, I did not get very much of a boom for President of the United States at that meeting.

Gentlemen, you are here for a long stay in Atlantic City. We promise, as we have started out, to furnish you good weather during all that time, ample meeting places and police protection if you need it, and anything else you want. Atlantic City's one great industry is to entertain people who visit here. We try to be hospitable, and there is a particularly soft spot in the hearts of all of us for this great convention, this great international meeting. As a memento of your fifty-fifth conclave, I want to present to your presiding officer a souvenir of Atlantic City, which will extend to you and to him the freedom of this community.

Chairman McAloon: I want to introduce now Mr. John Roach, Deputy Commissioner of Labor of the State of New Jersey.

MR. JOHN ROACH

(Deputy Commissioner, New Jersey State Department of Labor)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—On behalf of the New Jersey State Department of Labor I extend to this great convention a sincere and cordial greeting, and I predict that out of your deliberations will come a program and a labor policy that will bring much light and comfort into the lives of the millions of men and women you represent. At least that is the wish of the New Jersey State Department of Labor. While you are here in Atlantic City, properly called the playground of America, you must not believe that the whole State is a playground. Far from it!

It is peculiarly fitting and appropriate that this great convention should meet in the State of New Jersey, for you delegates are now in the center of the most highly industrialized section of the entire world. New Jersey is only a small State on the map, forty-third in area, but size is not everything. New Jersey is tenth in population, but sixth in the value and variety of its manufactured products. In a great

State like that, with 600,000 men and women laboring in our industries, we are confronted with peculiar problems that affect the lives and the limbs and the health of that enormous group that are not present in some other States. Fortunately for our State, the labor group has always taken an intelligent, a deep, a sincere and a continuing interest in the operations of the Department of Labor. Indeed, the Department of Labor in this State was organized at the solicitation of the labor group some thirty odd years ago, and many delegates that have since passed over the Great Divide were well known to me and to you in the years that are gone. They were the ones who stood back of this governmental agency, created to protect the lives and the limbs of the men and women of labor. When I came down last night I was thinking of some of them—Cornelius Ford, a man known from coast to coast in the ranks of labor; Frank McNulty, of the Electrical Workers, whose voice rang out for labor's rights in many, many crises; George Leary, and other New Jersey men that occupied a prominent part in labor affairs; Henry Hillers, of the Cigar Makers, and William J. Brennan, of the Firemen's Union, whom you all knew and loved, and many others who made places for themselves in organized labor history, made it possible for the New Jersey Department of Labor to function and operate to the advantage of those for whom it was created.

I know you are a busy group, I realize that these preliminary proceedings are but a very small and very insignificant part of the things that will be accomplished in this convention, but I want to say to you delegates that wherever you come from and whatever State you are in, whatever trade you represent you should take an active part in State affairs that deal with the protection of the lives and limbs and health of the workers. It is not a mooted question to save human life. Nobody wants a man killed, but nobody does much about it unless there is a strong organized effort in that direction. Labor has done a great deal more in providing for the relief of those who have been hurt after injuries have occurred than it has in organizing a safety propaganda in order that those things might have been prevented. We are proud of some of the achievements of this State, such as the Workmen's Compensation Act, the first one passed in America covering every single person that works for wages in the State—something that no other Act in America does. I am proud of that achievement because of the commission that created the Act, that drew up the details, on which were two prominent members of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters, and to their interest and their fidelity to the cause of Labor I ascribe the wide scope of this Act and the fact that it stands prominently as

one that may be copied by many other States.

I wish the Federation would through its law department create a model compensation act. You know in the forty-eight States they look like a crazy quilt. They are not founded on scientific research. They are rather the product of determined effort that wrung from reluctant legislators something that was helpful and saving to the labor group.

But today there is not at all the opposition to that sort of legislation that we had thirty years ago, for the reason that employers of labor, publicists, the general public and nearly all our citizens understand that this enormous wastage in life and limb that goes on in spite of very determined efforts brings not only sorrow and distress and unhappiness into the homes of the workers, but is tremendously expensive to industry. Finally the burden must be borne by citizens as a whole.

In all the states if you lose an arm you get a definite number of weeks' compensation for it, maybe \$150, maybe \$200. Say it is \$200. At the end of four years—and this is the meat of the whole thing—the arm is gone, the money is gone and there is the victim of an accident with a long life expectancy ahead of him. Down this way we are discussing the probability of being able to improve compensation procedure so that payments of that kind continue through the normal period of a man's life. If there is any sound, logical reason that can be brought in opposition to that social theory successfully I haven't heard of it. I know these things that I speak of are small matters in the grist that will go through this congressional mill, but they are important matters and you can never round out a proper social program that will bring complete relief to those unable to help themselves until you abolish home work by statute—a terrible blight and a curse in the Eastern country and one we are going to put out of business if God helps us and the legislature is responsive. We, therefore, favor the establishment of minimum wage boards for these dependent groups that cannot help themselves. It is all right for sturdy, upstanding men to say, "Let's organize." Well, they should. It is the only intelligent, sensible thing for men to do, but there are large groups of people that are in a more or less dependent condition and they are a menace to the standard of life in every State. That group must be given legal protection. That group must be helped, and if they are not helped by organized labor, who in God's name will extend a helping hand when they are sinking under this economic depression?

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the State, the Chief Executive and the Commissioner of Labor. I wish you a very successful convention and I do hope that out of it will come something

that will be to the advantage of our people as a whole.

Chairman McAloon: I have the honor to present to you at this time the leader of our State, Mr. Louis P. Marciante, President of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

MR. LOUIS P. MARCIANTE

(President, New Jersey State Federation of Labor)

President Green, distinguished guests, delegates of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

This is the third time in the last sixteen years the American Federation of Labor has honored Atlantic City and the State of New Jersey with a convention of the world's greatest deliberative gathering for social progress and economic improvement. We are, of course, appreciative and to demonstrate our appreciation we promise not to attempt to sell you New Jersey real estate, sunshine, fruit, climate or any of the other startling novelties that are offered as inducements for your patronage. We simply wish for you a happy, profitable convention, rich in accomplishment and fruitful thought.

In welcoming you in behalf of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor I am conscious of the fact that this great industrial commonwealth contributes an important portion of its laboring men and women to the many groups that go to make up this great labor congress. They look to you now, in this convention, as they always have in the past, for the same high type of leadership that has marked your more than half century of existence. They recognize in you the vanguard of their hopes for the future, in the same manner they looked to you for sensible guidance in the past.

I convey to you primarily a message of commendation and encouragement. Commendation for your demonstrated ability to pilot the ship and chart the course of labor through these trying times of rapid economic and social change, and political upheaval, with a minimum of dissension or uncertainty. We commend you for the maintenance of your democratic form and structure of organization during these last few years of violent stress. This alone has been an accomplishment of the greatest significance, indicating as it does, a direct refutation of the contentions of the critics of democracy and democratic forms.

You have withstood the attacks of predatory industrial groups and defeated the internal enemy, while at the same time you were contributing your philosophy, rich in experience, to the National and world economic thought. You have confounded the critic who could see a lack of flexibility in this Federation with new thought and action to meet the need of the moment and the requirements of the future. You have silenced the mourner who said you were reactionary with championing the finest type of social legislation, the kind that will work and is possible. You have routed

the overnight economist who would swerve you from your course of sane rebuilding of the American industrial and social structure by the constant application of facts to economic argument. You have maintained a dignity befitting the high order of social and political statesmanship in which you are placed. You have led a disciplined army of peace, disciplined by education and appeal, toward a better and richer life for the good of the entire people, organized and unorganized. You have constantly strengthened your ranks and offered organization and protection to any or all who were inclined.

For all these things we offer our commendation and praise, and pledge to you the loyalty of the trade union movement of this State. We encourage you to go forward pursuing the course of the great leader of labor in America.

One of the things that makes me most proud of the American Federation of Labor is the fact that it has a program to offer. While others criticize, carp, and guess, the American trade union movement offers the humane program of work for all those willing and able to work through the medium of the shorter work day and shorter work week. Labor, as represented by the American Federation, has refused to allow itself to be deluded by assurances that returning prosperity and industrial recovery can reemploy all those not now employed. Who has offered a better program?

In conclusion I want to leave the assurance to you of the continued loyalty of the State Federation of Labor of this State. We will consider any policy you adopt as our policy, until you change it. We will follow the leadership and course you set willingly, secure in the knowledge that it is well studied and practical, reached after sane, calm, patriotic thought. May your deliberations be profitable to the movement and your stay with us enjoyable.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Mr. Chairman, Your Honor, the Mayor, the representative of the Governor of the sovereign state of New Jersey, representatives of the organized labor movement of this state and the distinguished representative of the Department of Labor, fellow delegates, sisters and brothers, friends all—For you and in behalf of the millions of workers whom you have the honor to represent I express to these distinguished speakers our deep appreciation of the cordiality of the welcome extended us. We are pleased indeed in that we shall be privileged to tarry here, to remain here for a short period and enjoy the hospitality of this great city. It is fortunate indeed that we are permitted to deliberate here in this splendid environment, to press for a solu-

tion of our problems in a city where the setting is inspiring and beautiful. I know that we shall during the next two weeks, while we are here, consider and dispose of problems affecting the welfare and happiness of the toiling millions of people. I express the hope that when we go from here back to our homes and to the workshops and the factories we will carry with us a most pleasant memory of a delightful visit spent here.

I thank Your Honor, the Mayor, for this magic emblem, which I understand grants to me and to you the freedom of this city. It occurs to me that perhaps the Mayor thought when he gave it to me that some of our exploring representatives might visit late at night and early in the morning. If you do, and you happen to run into difficulties, please call on me because I have the freedom of the city.

We have met here in this fifty-fifth annual Convention for the purpose of reviewing the past year's work and for the purpose of planning for the future. We meet with high hopes and earnest expectations, because we are inspired by a sincere desire to do that which will promote human happiness. We are not here assembled for the purpose of considering the sordid, material things of life. We are dealing with intangible human values, and it is our purpose to so act and to so speak and to so legislate and to make a contribution toward the sum total of human happiness. If we fail it will not be because our hearts are not right, it will be because we err in our judgment.

It is fortunate, indeed, in that we are privileged at this great convention to review a year's work filled with economic and legislative achievements. We have made very distinct and successful progress during the past year. I can say without fear of successful contradiction that the organized labor movement has lifted the wage level. It has brought about a restoration of reductions in wages unjustly taken from thousands of working men and women and presents for consideration to this convention a record of legislative achievements, both in the Federal Congress and the legislatures of the states, unequaled in any year's history of the American Federation of Labor. All of this has been accomplished during a period of extraordinary economic disloca-

tion, because it is tragic indeed that we are meeting here in this city, known as the playground of the United States, while more than ten millions of our people are suffering from unemployment. Notwithstanding this terrible economic condition with which we have been grappling, the militancy of the organization has asserted itself, it has marched on, its spirit has never been dimmed. It has pressed aggressively for the advancement of the economic, social and industrial welfare of the workers of the entire country. That is the record, my friends, that has been made during the past year and that is the record we will consider.

It did not matter, it does not matter now, whether the fight for increased wages was being made by Federal labor unions duly organized by the American Federation of Labor, whether it was made by the United Mine Workers of America when they refused to yield and compromise, even though there was only one and one-half cents difference between them and their employers. It was made when, in the halls of Congress, we fought to restore the pay for Government employes, restoration of that pay that had been unjustly taken from them. The fight was made in New York, the great metropolis of the country, and in other large cities when the splendid building trades members of our organization refused to accept a so-called security wage, when employed on Government work. All around the fight has been carried on for the protection of wage standards already set or for the realization of wages due.

We have not carried on fantastic demonstrations in the market places, nor have we resorted to walling walls for weeping, but instead, united, aggressive, organized, we have accepted the challenge and have fought on, and the result is recorded in the reports of this convention of achievements along economic lines.

It may be appropriate, and I think it is, for me to refer to the fact that it was in this great city in 1925 when a congress of labor such as this made the most important declaration organized labor ever made upon the question of wages and organized labor's wage philosophy. I think it is well worth referring to it on this occasion. The committee dealing with this subject reported to the convention as follows:

"We recommend endorsement of the statement of the Executive Council on wages. We hold that the best interest of wage earners as well as the whole social group are served, increasing the production in quality as well as quantity and by high wage standards which assure sustained purchasing power to the workers, and, therefore, higher national standards for the environment in which they live and the means to enjoy cultured opportunities. We declare that wage reductions produce industrial and social unrest and that low wages are not conducive to low production costs.

"We urge upon wage earners everywhere: That we oppose all wage reductions and that we urge upon the management the elimination of wastes in production in order that selling prices may be lower and wages higher. To this end we recommend cooperation in study of waste in production which the assay of the Federated American Engineering Societies, covering important industries, has shown to be 50 per cent attributable to management and only 25 per cent attributable to labor, with 25 per cent attributable to other sources, principally managements in industries producing commodities for any single industry under consideration."

And then it concluded with that fine declaration on wages as follows:

"Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day, are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production."

There is the declaration of the American Federation of Labor. It represents an economic philosophy. It has stood the test of all these years. It was accepted when the National Recovery Act was passed and the industrial codes of fair competition were originated and adopted. It is sound and unassailable and we challenge our opposition to offer a better wage economic philosophy than this one announced by the American Federation of Labor.

Upon the question of hours the American Federation of Labor has, as you all know, taken a most advanced position. We contend vigorously and uncompromisingly that the solution of the unemployment problem

will be brought about when the hours of labor are reduced to the point where the amount of work available in our beloved country is equitably distributed among those who are willing and able to work. Our contention in that respect is being supported and proven every day out of our nation's political and industrial experience. Notwithstanding all that we have done in order to overcome unemployment, we still have more than ten millions idle and when we reach the point of peak production in our beloved country and still have ten millions of people idle, what are we going to do? Are we going to experiment still with untried theories, are we still to endeavor to find some other objective through which our unemployment problem will be solved?

My friends, it is a conviction with us that those who are displaced through the introduction of new methods and improved mechanical equipment and those who are the victims of a fallacious economic policy can only be re-absorbed in industry through a reduction in the number of hours worked per day and the number of days worked per week. It is upon that basis that we stand.

In my opinion we will reaffirm in this convention the declaration in favor of universal application of the six hour day and the five day week, and the hosts of labor will again go out from this convention, mobilizing their economic strength in every city, town and village throughout our nation in support of that great economic reform. I feel justified in announcing to the world on this auspicious occasion that labor will never stop until it secures the six hour day and the five day week. It is my judgment that the day is much nearer at hand now for the realization of our great objective along that line than ever before. Men and women not directly connected with our labor movement are thinking now in terms of a shorter work day and a shorter work week. They are forced to the point where they must determine whether it would be best for our social order to maintain a standing army of unemployed, perpetually created or to reduce the number of hours worked per day and the number of days worked per week, so that standing army may be given an opportunity to work and earn a decent living.

As for me I would prefer that the workers of the country should be made self-

respecting and accorded the opportunity to work and earn a decent living rather than be forced to accept help and succor from our Government, benefactor though it may be.

I have dwelt just briefly upon the economic policy of our movement. I wish now to refer to the legislative achievements of the American Federation of Labor. May I read the record, a part of it at least? Since we last met in San Francisco one year ago the American Federation of Labor and its friends secured the adoption of legislative measures of great interest and of great importance to labor. First of all in the Congress of the United States we secured the enactment of the Labor Disputes Act, Public No. 198, the Social Security Act providing for a measure of unemployment benefits, old age pensions and assistance to the sick and the children of the nation. No one will maintain that this Act is perfect. It falls far short of it. It cannot be expected to be perfect because it is the beginning of a social security program for the United States of America. But the foundation is laid and upon that foundation can be erected and will be erected a social security program that will ultimately reach the perfection gained by other countries which have been experimenting longer. Then we secured a law stabilizing the coal industry, a measure of tremendous importance; an Air Mail Act, which provides rates of compensation and working conditions for air mail pilots benefiting these members of the American Federation of Labor, who a short time ago were organized into a national union; a forty-hour week for 121,069 postal employees with no reduction in wages; a Railroad Retirement Act made necessary because the Supreme Court of the United States held the original Act invalid; an appropriation of \$4,880,000,000.00 for the relief of the unemployed; the repeal of the last five per cent reduction imposed upon Government employees through the enactment of the original Economy Act; an appropriation of funds to send 30,000 Filipinos back to their homeland; a Prison Labor Law prohibiting the transportation of prison-made products into states having state use systems, known as Public No. 215.

There is the record of legislative achievements on the part of the American Federa-

tion of Labor. Our hearts are made glad when we take into account this fact, that in the different states the State Federations of Labor and their friends supplemented all this through the enactment of state laws, many of them of great benefit to the workers of different states. To those who say that the American Federation of Labor has failed the workers, we offer this and our economic achievements as a complete answer.

I wish to express my deep appreciation and thanks for the splendid, aggressive, militant campaign carried on by the railroad workers of the nation. These splendid men affiliated with the American Federation of Labor pressed on and on until they secured a restoration of the wages taken from them during the depression when it had reached its lowest point. To them we express our appreciation and great credit is due them for the great service they rendered the organized railway workers of the country directly and the other workers of the nation indirectly.

There are those who say that the American Federation of Labor—and I mean our enemies—occupies a rigid static position. That is untrue. The American Federation of Labor has always followed a flexible policy, adjusting itself to the legislative, economic and social changes which have come about in a changing world. Our organization could not serve the workers nor the social order unless it responded to facts and faced bravely and courageously the realities of life. May I refresh your memory in support of this statement which I have just made. It was in 1920 when the American Federation of Labor met in Montreal, Canada, that it faced a very serious problem, the question as to whether the American Federation of Labor would favor Government control and ownership of the railroads of the nation. The record shows that notwithstanding the past attitude of the American Federation of Labor the convention, by an overwhelming majority, expressed itself as favorable to Government ownership and control of the transportation lines of this nation. Events that have occurred in the transportation industry have thoroughly vindicated that position which we assumed. The Government is now in the transportation business. I am of the opinion that if the

transportation lines of the nation were forced to liquidate, the Government, in order to protect its interest, would be compelled now to own the railroads of the nation. That was brought about not because of the application of some political philosophy but simply because the economic facts of the situation brought it about.

We are near now, in my judgment, to Government ownership and operation of railroads. The American Federation of Labor made a declaration on that matter earlier and now the railroads have repeated the declaration they made at that time and are pressing vigorously for the application of that sound financial and economic principle.

Again the American Federation met the changing economic and social conditions that had developed when it solemnly declared in favor of the amendment of legislation providing for unemployment insurance, old age pensions and health insurance and the protection of children. It took advance position on that great question, it stood out on the frontiers of leadership of this social justice program. I am referring to this matter in order to prove to those who are skeptical that the American Federation pursues a flexible policy. Furthermore I feel justified in announcing that the American Federation of Labor will adjust itself to any other social change that seems necessary, but it will not be stampeded into taking a position until it has thought the whole problem through.

There are some in our ranks who believe that the American Federation of Labor should declare in favor of independent political action, that we ought to favor the adoption of an independent political labor party. Well, my friends, the American Federation of Labor, will, in my judgment, declare itself in favor of an independent political action in the formation of an independent political party when the crystallized opinion of the workers indicates that they believe their interest can be better served through such action rather than through the pursuit of a nonpartisan political policy, but when that matter is decided it will be decided because a majority opinion of the workers believe that the time has come to take such action. The American Federation of Labor will not be coerced into taking that action. It will not

take that action because some order comes from some gathering in a foreign country directing the workers of the nation to form an independent labor party.

We face all these issues bravely. There is no attempt to evade them. We want to do that very thing that will best promote the social, economic and industrial interests of the workers and our great movement will take advanced positions from time to time as we feel the circumstances and the realities of a situation and the facts indisputably warrant. But no government in a foreign land, no camouflaged organization meeting on foreign soil can tell the American Federation of Labor what it should or should not do.

I have covered these matters this morning because it seems to me quite appropriate that I should do so. The world is waiting for the pronouncement of this great organization regarding policies and plans for the future, and we shall speak in this convention in tones and in language which can and will be fairly and distinctly understood. When these pronouncements are made they will represent the preponderance of opinion in this convention, and representing as it will the opinion of the workers, the world will know that the workers have expressed themselves upon every social and economic problem affecting the interests of our great country.

At this moment we are disturbed by the war drums in Europe, they are sounding now and our hearts are made sad because we hoped and believed that when the great World War had ended we had truly made America and the world safe for democracy. We cannot understand it. We believe that the action must be inspired by selfishness. It is very significant indeed that when dictators are enthroned, when they are established in any nation they soon tire of a consideration of domestic problems and seek new worlds to conquer. The people in democratic countries abhor war and it is that democratic sentiment that steadies the leaders of a nation. But behold the development of war manifestations and war equipment in the nations where people are ruled by dictators.

Naturally labor is concerned in this terrible threat to the world's peace. We are concerned about it, but I know I but give expression to the hearts and minds and

judgment of the working men and women of the nation when I say that labor—labor as represented through the American Federation of Labor—will say to our own Government, "Under no circumstances whatever must we be drawn into this European war." We have not forgotten the tragic lesson learned in the World War and the disappointments that have come as a result of the determination of that great conflict. They are still within our hearts and our minds. We shall urge our Government to exercise its good influence, its good offices, to mediate, to extend a helping hand, to do all that lies within its power to promote a settlement of the conflict and to promote peace. But when our Government has discharged its duty in that respect we feel that it has served fully and completely in the discharge of its obligations.

I am thinking as you are thinking, about our fellow trade unionists and their wives and families in that great democratic country of Great Britain. We read with great interest the declaration of the British Trades Union Congress regarding the attitude of the workers there toward this impending conflict. I felt that if I had been in Great Britain attending the British Trades Union Congress I would have joined my voice with the workers there in the action that was taken because instinctively the workers in Great Britain turn to the only instrumentality available for the promotion of peace, and their action is the action of men who are endeavoring so far as it lies within their power to minimize the conflict, to confine it, and to bring economic pressure through economic sanctions upon those who will not listen to reason, but who are determined to plunge the world into a horrible war. I am of the opinion that our workers there took the only action they could have taken, living so close as they do and associated so directly as they are with the European situation.

As I look into your earnest faces this morning I am inspired to say that it is your purpose and your determination to face every problem courageously and fearlessly as it may be presented to this delegation for solution. There is nothing in the expression on your faces which indicates any disposition to evade issues. All of them will be presented here, and I am confident that, notwithstanding divisions which may

occur upon administration and organization policies, ultimately and finally we will reach a right and just solution. But above and beyond all our purpose here is to shape a constructive policy.

I am thinking as you are thinking about the millions of workers back in the communities from which you come. They stand as a shadow over the deliberations of this great congress of labor and in the consideration of all questions we must subordinate our personal opinions and our personal wishes in the interests of the common good. These workers are not so much concerned in academic and abstract questions as they are in the real problems of life. They are yearning and hoping and praying and fighting for the realization of higher standards of living, a more equitable distribution of the wealth which labor creates, and the enjoyment of the political and social rights to which they are entitled and we shall fall in our purpose if we in this great congress assembled here for the next two weeks do not make the contribution and make toward the realization of their hopes and lofty ambitions.

To those who are our enemies we serve notice that our organization will militantly carry on. We shall press for the acceptance of our social and economic and legislative programs. We will mobilize so far as we can every ounce of the economic and political strength of the nation in support of our program. We accept the challenge of our enemy, from wherever it may come. We ask no quarter. Forward and onward we will go toward a realization of our hopes and our ambitions.

President Green: And now I officially declare this Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor legally convened and open for the transaction of business.

PRESENTATION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: May I present to you formally the representatives of the British Trade Union Congress and their good wives, and with them a representative of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and his wife, who is here with him. I am doing this so that you may know them and become acquainted with them, and

help them, and assist them, and extend to them a personal and cordial greeting when opportunity presents itself.

First of all, may I present Brother A. Conley, General Secretary National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, Headquarters Union Chamber, 20 Park Place, Leeds, England. And then may I present to you Mrs. Conley, who is here to watch him and keep him right. Now may I present Brother Andrew Naesmith, J. P., Secretary, Amalgamated Weavers Association, 19 St. James Street, Accrington, England. A very husky looking weaver!

Now may I present to you Miss A. Loughlin, General Organizer, National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, Union Chambers, Park Place, Leeds, England, who comes as a visitor.

I now present Mr. J. A. P. Haydon, of Ottawa, Canada, Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, a member of the International Typographical Union. And now I present to you his dear wife, Mrs. Haydon, who is here with him and will be our guest at this convention.

Now we are all introduced and all acquainted. We will hear from the fraternal delegates in attendance at this convention at some hour when it is mutually convenient. They are our guests here, and we want to extend to them a most cordial and hearty greeting and we want them to enjoy all the privileges of delegates and guests at this great convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Towers, Chairman of the Committee. The Committee on Credentials is prepared to submit its report in two sections. The first will be a report on credentials on which there is no protest; Secretary Gillooly will read that section of the report.

Secretary Gillooly read the following list:

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 7, 1935.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, consisting of three duly elected delegates, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 510 delegates, representing 93 International and National Unions, 3 Departments, 83 State Branches, 87 Central Bodies, 122 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 4 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Paul Dullzell, 43 votes.

Air Line Pilots' Association, International—Edward G. Hamilton, 7 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 25 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, J. Goldstone, Peter Beisel, Henry L. Koch, 218 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, William C. Birthright, John B. Robinson, Patrick H. Reagan, Anthony Merlino, 323 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—William McCarthy, 14 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, W. G. Fowlesland, 50 votes.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, William E. Walter, 153 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, J. B. Brewitt, 117 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, George W. Lawson, 259 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obersfell, Albert J. Kugler, Adam E. Zusi, 417 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, International Union of America—William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, Walter V. Price, John J. Stretch, William J. Moran, 650 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, P. J. Brice, John J. Dempsey, Edward Ryan, 169 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—Jerry J. Horan, Oscar F. Nelson, George Scalise, James J. Bambrick, 276 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Felix H. Knight, J. O. Holmgren, Robert Macrorie, John J. Fitzgerald, 550 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, J. W. Williams, Thomas

Flynn, Wm. J. Kelly, Chas. Hanson, C. J. Mulcahy, 2000 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—I. M. Ornburn, 70 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Joseph Hewitt, William A. Collins, H. W. Smith, 320 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—George M. Harrison, J. O. Jackson, H. D. Ulrich, 725 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association Retail—W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, 72 votes.

Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated—Sidney Hillman, Joseph Schlossberg, Abraham Chatman, Abraham Miller, Joseph Catalonotti, Sidney Rissman, 1000 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—J. R. Deckard, 20 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, 29 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 12 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel W. Tracy, G. M. Bugniazet, Chas. M. Paulsen, E. D. Bieretz, Joseph S. McDonagh, 1,300 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, Harry Milton, Mathew Taylor, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—John Fossel, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Charles B. Gramling, William P. Walsh, 350 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 87 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, Vincent J. Kane, 235 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, John Clinton, John Conway, James L. Kelley, 149 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, International—Pietro Lucchi, 30 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, A. Adamski, A. Gordon, I. W. Hashkins, Daisy A. Houck, 371 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—David Dubinsky, Nathan Margolies, Abraham Snyder, Reuben Zuckerman, Isidore Nagler, Julius Hochman, Basilio Desti, 1,600 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, 60 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—M. J. Gillooly, 61 votes.

Glass Workers of America, Federation of Flat—Glen W. McCabe, 100 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—James H. Kennedy, 35 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—E. Claude Babcock, David R. Glass, John Daniels, 139 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United—Michael F.

Greene, Max Zaritsky, Israel H. Goldberg, Herman Finkelstein, 214 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America—International—Jos. V. Moresechi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, 523 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Fiore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris. Lane, 570 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—Louis Leonard, 86 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—Samuel E. Beardsley, Leon Williams, 55 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, George T. Moore, Charles J. Case, 81 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union—W. E. Bryan, 27 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edw. J. Gainer, M. T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, L. E. Swartz, Charles D. Duffy, 500 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Andrew J. Kennedy, Robert Bruck, 67 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, John J. Sampson, 400 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—A. O. Wharton, W. F. Robinson, Charles Fry, N. P. Alifas, R. A. Henning, Dan Hagerty, 325 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—Fred H. Fljozdal, Elmer E. Milliman, T. Claude Carroll, Louis Vogland, 335 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, Joseph A. McInerney, 55 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—John J. Scully, 22 votes.

Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National Association of—Harry Turner Morningstar, 1 vote.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, M. S. Maxwell, M. J. Kelly, 193 votes.

Metal Workers, Sheet, International Association—John J. Hynes, James J. Ryan, James T. Moriarty, James Close, 160 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Paul M. Peterson, Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin, 146 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, Thomas Kennedy, William Green, Van A. Bittner, Mart F. Brennan, P. T. Fagan, John Kmetz, 4,000 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Lawrence O'Keefe, Aloys Towers, John Barnett, 118 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Jos. N. Weber, Edward Canavan, Chauncey A. Weaver, Chas. L. Bagley, Otto J. Kapl, Frank B. Field, 1,000 votes.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—H. C. Fremming, J. L. Coulter, B. J. Schafer, 429 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—Lawrence P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Christian M. Madson, James P. Meehan, Harry Kaufman, Joseph F. Kelley, 666 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Matthew J. Burns, Frank P. Barry, 90 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—George Q. Lynch, 25 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—M. J. Collieran, John E. Rooney, John H. Donlin, 180 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, Charles M. Rau, Charles Anderson, William Fallon, 340 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, 40 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, John McGillivray, James H. Grafton, 100 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—James H. Windsor, 14 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Edward F. McGrady, Andrew R. Armstrong, William Wilson, Charles A. Sigmund, 320 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, John Bayha, H. W. Sullivan, 85 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—John C. Lawson, 20 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—William D. Mahon, Joseph J. Kehoe, Neil McLellan, Matthew J. McLaughlin, Thomas F. Broderick, 734 votes.

Railway Mail Association—W. M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, 191 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—George W. Jones, J. M. Gavlak, 40 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, 125 votes.

Sheep Shearers' Union of North America—A. A. Evans, 11 votes.

Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—Geo. E. Browne, Fred J. Dempsey, Thomas V. Green, Manus McCaffery, 240 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leon De Vese, Chas. A. Sunner, 70 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, P. J. Cullen, 87 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Edw. W. Kaiser, 20 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Thomas C. Cashen, James B. Connors, John Lundergan, 80 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Wm. Reznicek, 45 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Raymond F. Lowry, George Davis, 120 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, L. G. Goudie, John McLaughlin, John McKenna, 1,370 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, G. E. Leighty, 350 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—Frank B. Powers, 20 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, Alexander McKeown, William F. Kelly, Emil Rieve, Frank Schweitzer, 792 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, J. E. Lentie, 104 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William R. Trotter, Frank X. Martel, John Simons, Jack Gill, 734 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of America—James H. Hatch, Edwin E. Graves, 65 votes.

Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United—Alfred H. Billet, 6 votes.

DEPARTMENTS

Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes' Department—B. M. Jewell, 1 vote.

STATE BODIES

Alabama State Federation of Labor—William Mitch, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Hugo Ernst, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—C. B. Noxon, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—J. Sid Tiller, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—Aug Rosqvist, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Adolph J. Fritz, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. C. Lewis, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—Ed. J. Morgan, 1 vote.

Maryland—District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Joseph P. McCurdy, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Robert J. Watt, 1 vote.
 Michigan State Federation of Labor—Frank B. Wade, 1 vote.
 Minnesota State Federation of Labor—T. E. Cunningham, 1 vote.
 Missouri State Federation of Labor—Wm. M. Brandt, 1 vote.
 Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.
 New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Charles Hollolpeter, 1 vote.
 New York State Federation of Labor—George Meany, 1 vote.
 North Carolina State Federation of Labor—R. R. Lawrence, 1 vote.
 Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Donnelly, 1 vote.
 Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Jesse Palmer, 1 vote.
 Oregon State Federation of Labor—Ben T. Osborne, 1 vote.
 Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—Frank Hughes, 1 vote.
 Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workers—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.
 Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—Elizabeth Nord, 1 vote.
 South Carolina State Federation of Labor—Dowell E. Patterson, 1 vote.
 Tennessee State Federation of Labor—C. C. Arthur, 1 vote.
 Texas State Federation of Labor—Charles H. Poe, 1 vote.
 Utah State Federation of Labor—Harold Granville Crose, 1 vote.
 Vermont State Federation of Labor—Cecil V. Crawford, 1 vote.
 Virginia State Federation of Labor—E. J. Shave, 1 vote.
 Washington State Federation of Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.
 West Virginia State Federation of Labor—John B. Easton, 1 vote.
 Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—J. J. Handley, 1 vote.

CITY CENTRAL BODIES

Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council—R. M. Burr, 1 vote.
 Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—A. Steve Nance, 1 vote.
 Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union—Ray McAloon, 1 vote.
 Barre, Vt., Central Labor Union—Andrew Mitchell, 1 vote.
 Battle Creek, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Harry M. Slout, 1 vote.
 Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Charles B. Campfield, 1 vote.
 Brownsville, Pa., United Trades Council—Richard Mayer, 1 vote.
 Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—John Van Vaerenyck, 1 vote.
 Cambridge, O., Guernsey County Central Labor Union—John Owens, 1 vote.
 Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Darrell Smith, 1 vote.
 Charleston, S. C., Central Labor Union—Al Flynn, 1 vote.
 Chester, Pa., Central Labor Union of Delaware County, Pa.—E. J. Reinhart, 1 vote.

Cheyenne, Wyo., Central Labor Union—James Morgan, 1 vote.
 Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Joseph D. Keenan, 1 vote.
 Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—Thomas A. Lenehan, 1 vote.
 Clinton, Ia., Tri-City Labor Congress, Clinton and Lyons, Ia., and Fulton, Ill.—Paul Nadelhoffer, 1 vote.
 Columbus, Ga., Central Labor Union—W. C. Jeffries, 1 vote.
 Dayton, O., Central Labor Union—John E. Breidenbach, 1 vote.
 Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Wm. A. Matchley, 1 vote.
 Des Moines, Ia., Trades and Labor Assembly—James W. Soutter, 1 vote.
 Detroit, Mich., Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor—Mira Komaroff, 1 vote.
 Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Trades Council—George F. Cushing, 1 vote.
 Ely, Nev., Central Labor Union of White Pine County—Geo. Townshend, 1 vote.
 Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor—Robert Passage, 1 vote.
 Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—W. C. Brooks, 1 vote.
 Galesburg, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Thomas R. Downie, 1 vote.
 Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council—Humphrey Mitchell, 1 vote.
 Hamilton, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council—Milton Doll, 1 vote.
 Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union—Lawrence J. Katz, 1 vote.
 Hattiesburg, Miss., Central Labor Union—H. W. DeWitt, 1 vote.
 Hazleton, Pa., Central Labor Union of Hazleton and Vicinity—John Yourishin, 1 vote.
 Idaho Falls, Idaho, Central Labor Union—Wm. Eardley, 1 vote.
 Jasper, Ala., Central Labor Union—W. H. Riley, 1 vote.
 Jeannette, Pa., Central Trades Council—John W. Crother, 1 vote.
 Johnstown, Pa., Central Labor Union—Clyde S. Slick, 1 vote.
 Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—W. R. Brooks, 1 vote.
 Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Harturck Dahl, 1 vote.
 Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union—Paul T. David, 1 vote.
 Latrobe, Pa., Central Labor Union—Patrick Hanoway, 1 vote.
 Marion, O., Central Labor Union—G. L. Sweetland, 1 vote.
 Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—Jacob Friedrich, 1 vote.
 Missoula, Montana, Missoula County Central Trades and Labor Council—S. H. Rivin, 1 vote.
 New Brunswick, N. J., Trades and Labor Federation—Joseph V. Egan, 1 vote.
 New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Andrew P. Harvey, 1 vote.
 Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union—Paul I. Topping, 1 vote.
 New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.

Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union—E. L. Pickler, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Paterson, N. J., Central Labor Union of Passaic County—John Lyding, 1 vote.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and Vicinity—Adolph Hirschberg, 1 vote.

Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—Joseph T. Cahir, 1 vote.

Quakertown, Pa., Central Labor Union of Bucks County—Larry Heimbach, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

Reno, Nev., Central Trades and Labor Council—Paula Day, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—Clarence King, 1 vote.

Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Fred Heber, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—James A. Duncan, 1 vote.

Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—John Howat, 1 vote.

Somerset, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council—H. V. Sager, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Ruben T. Wood, 1 vote.

Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council—C. M. Dahlager, 1 vote.

Taylorville, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Ray Edmundson, 1 vote.

Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union—Lee Roy Musgrave, 1 vote.

Toledo, O., Central Labor Union—Otto W. Brach, 1 vote.

Uniontown Pa., Trades and Labor Council—William J. Hymes, 1 vote.

Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly—Michael Walsh, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Selma Borchardt, 1 vote.

Waukegan, Ill., Lake County Central Labor Council—B. R. McMahon, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—John C. Saylor, 1 vote.

Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union—E. L. Sandefur, 1 vote.

Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—Freeman M. Saltus, 1 vote.

York, Pa., Federation of Trade Unions—George Buckingham, 1 vote.

Zanesville, O., Federation of Labor—Frank J. Bender, 1 vote.

LOCAL UNIONS

Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union, United, No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.—J. T. Myles, 1 vote.

Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18310, South Bend, Ind.—Russell J. Merrill, 32 votes.

Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18347, South Bend, Ind.—Carl J. Shipley, 12 votes.

Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union,

United, No. 18384, Toledo, O.—George F. Addes, 21 votes.

Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18454, Philadelphia, Pa.—Thos. J. Killeen, 1 vote.

Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18463 (13 votes); Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18614 (1 vote); Battery Workers Federal Labor Union No. 19263 (1 vote); Cleveland Ohio—Wyndham Mortimer, 15 votes.

Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18615, Cleveland, Ohio—Wm. Kics, 1 vote.

Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union, United, No. 19970, Grand Rapids, Mich.—John North, 1 vote.

Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union, United, No. 20012, Cleveland, Ohio—Elmer Davis, 1 vote.

Bakelite, Lacanite and Phenolic Workers' Union No. 18195, Scranton, Pa.—Hubert J. Gormley, 3 votes.

Battery Workers Federal Labor Union No. 18551, Philadelphia, Pa.—Charles Goff, 12 votes.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.—Sam Baron, 7 votes.

Brass Bobbin Winders' Union No. 14659, Philadelphia, Pa.—Joseph A. Long, 3 votes.

Brass Workers' Union, United, No. 19804, Waterbury, Conn.—John J. McGurk, 1 vote.

Brush Makers' Union No. 16303, New York, N. Y.—Herman Templeman, 1 vote.

Brush Workers' Union No. 18919, Hartford, Conn.—Patrick Martocchio, 1 vote.

Button Workers' Union, Ivory and Casein, No. 18756, Newark and Vicinity, N. J.—Joseph Pavona, 1 vote.

Casket Makers' Union No. 19306, Chicago, Ill.—Howard Lawrence, 1 vote.

Cement Mill Employees' Union No. 18673, Bath, Pa.—Arthur J. Strunk, 1 vote.

Cement Plant Workers' Union No. 18337 (1 vote); Cement Plant Workers' Union No. 19714 (1 vote), Tarrant, Ala.; Cement Plant Workers' Union No. 19877 (1 vote), Powderly, Ala.—J. R. Tucker, 3 votes.

Cement Mill Employees' Union No. 18710, Bath, Pa.—Charles Rundle, 1 vote.

Cement Mill Employees' Local No. 19466, Martins Creek, Pa.—Weldon Merritt, 2 votes.

Chemical Workers' Union No. 19019, Barber-ton, Ohio—A. P. Lee, 3 votes.

City and County Public Service Employees' Union No. 17212, Atlanta, Ga.—Walter C. Caraway, Sr., 1 vote.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17742, Chicago, Ill.—B. A. Albert, 7 votes.

Cleaners, Pressers and Dyers' Union No. 20001, New Haven, Conn.—William B. Clark, 1 vote.

Display Fixture and Figure Workers' Union No. 20039, New York, N. Y.—Jack Rand, 1 vote.

Doll and Toy Workers' Union No. 18230, New York, N. Y.—Alexander Ravitch, 2 votes.

Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, N. J.—Leif Dahl, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18256, Globe, Ariz.—Lester B. Doane, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18271 (1 vote), Bessemer, Ala.; Federal Labor Union No. 18373 (1 vote), Birmingham, Ala.; Federal Labor Union No. 18388 (1 vote), Tarrant, Ala.—J. A. Burks, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18344, Syracuse, N. Y.—Clair Bellows, 11 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18412, Aurora, Ill.—LeRoy F. Wise, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Ill.—Frank Marek, Jr., 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.—Emil Costello, 13 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18476 (7 votes), Springfield and Chicopee Falls, Mass.; Federal Labor Union No. 18518 (1 vote), Chicopee, Mass.; Federal Labor Union No. 19469 (1 vote), Chicopee Falls, Mass.—Joseph T. Masucci, 9 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18526, Philadelphia, Pa.—Alexander John Ross, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18529, Fort Wayne, Ind.—Freeman White, 12 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wis.—Charles Heymanns, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18589, Aurora, Ill.—Loy Dance, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18603, Asheville, N. C.—H. L. Sanders, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18651 (3 votes); Federal Labor Union No. 19114 (1 vote), Canton, Ohio—Tom Finnegan, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18835, Two Rivers, Wis.—David Sigman, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18872, Lester, Pa.—Edward P. Hanlon, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—Michael A. O'Gorman, 10 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Wash.—James P. Dallas, 9 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19311, Cleveland, Ohio—C. S. Taylor, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 19393, Hartford, Conn.—William E. Kuehnell, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 19401 (3 votes), Tonawanda, N. Y.; Gas Workers' Union No. 19243 (1 vote), Buffalo, N. Y.—Howard H. Sticht, 4 votes.

Gas Distribution Workers' Union No. 15268, Boston, Mass.—Thomas B. Lilly, 3 votes.

Gasoline Station Operators' Union No. 18378, Cleveland, Ohio—Phil Hannah, 9 votes.

Gas Station Attendants' Union No. 18912, Akron, Ohio—H. A. Bradley, 1 vote.

Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990, Lancaster, Pa.—Harry Krauss, 1 vote.

Match Workers' Union No. 18928, Barberston, Ohio—F. B. Gerhart, 2 votes.

Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago, Ill.—Morris Fine, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.—Michael J. Flynn, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 19414, Flint, Mich.—M. J. Burke, 1 vote.

Oystermen's Union, United, No. 19600, Bi-valve, N. J.—Harry Henderson, 2 votes.

Paper Box Makers' Union No. 18239, New York, N. Y.—Abraham N. Weinberg, 1 vote.

Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18070, Chicago, Ill.—Milton P. Webster, 1 vote.

Radio and Accessory Workers' Union No. 18639, Indianapolis, Ind.—Mary Lovell, 1 vote.

Radio and Television Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18368, Philadelphia, Pa.—Charles Schillinger, 56 votes.

Radio and Television Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18369, Philadelphia, Pa.—Edward McCloskey, 13 votes.

Radio and Television Workers' Union No. 19833, Camden, N. J.—A. B. Nicholson, 1 vote.

Radio Factory Workers' Union No. 18609, New York, N. Y.—William Beedie, 1 vote.

Rubber Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18320, Akron, Ohio — N. H. Eagle, 2 votes.

Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18363, Chicopee Falls, Mass.—Thomas F. Burns, 6 votes.

Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18759, Jeannette, Pa.—Charles Serra, 3 votes.

Rubber Workers, Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18319, Akron, Ohio—S. H. Dalrymple, 15 votes.

Rubber Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18616, Barberton, Ohio—M. E. Shacklette, 2 votes.

Russian Turkish Bath Rubbers and Workers' Union No. 18702, Newark, N. J.—Irving Matlin, 1 vote.

Sightseeing Guides and Lecturers' Union No. 20076, New York, N. Y.—John Dougherty, 1 vote.

Spring and Accessory Workers' Union No. 18339, New Kensington, Pa.—Frank Maikovich, 2 votes.

State Employees' Local No. 17659, Richmond, Virginia—George L. Turner, 1 vote.

State Administrative Employees' Association, Wisconsin, No. 18213, Madison, Wis.—Arnold S. Zander, 6 votes.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597, Indianapolis, Ind.—O. L. Garrison, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16456, Milwaukee, Wis.—Paul Rasmussen, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.—L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19866, Cleveland, Ohio—Maxine Makman, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19708, Toledo, Ohio—John C. Taylor, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20048, Baltimore, Md.—Edith Braun, 1 vote.

Taxi Chauffeurs' Union No. 19795, New York, N. Y.—Benedict J. Cannizzaro, 1 vote.

Technical, Editorial and Office Assistants' Union No. 20055, Washington, N. J.—Susan Jenkins, 1 vote.

Technical and Research Employees' Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.—Louis O. Harper, 1 vote.

Theatre and Amusement Employees' Union No. 19905, St. Louis, Mo.—John P. Nick, 1 vote.

Title Examiners' Union No. 19496, Cleveland, O.—Henry W. Raisse, 1 vote.

Wardrobe Attendants' Union, Theatrical, No. 16770, New York, N. Y.—Augusta Ocker, 3 votes.

Wardrobe Attendants' Union, Theatrical, No. 17298, Philadelphia, Pa.—Bertha Fearn, 1 vote.

Wardrobe Attendants' Union, Theatrical, No. 18030, Baltimore, Md.—Jennie Mack, 1 vote.

Ward Superintendents' Union No. 16171, Chicago, Ill.—James A. Ryan, 1 vote.

Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 19961, Hoboken, N. J.—Domenick Marzocca, 1 vote.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

British Trades Union Congress—Andrew Conley, Andrew Naesmith, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Captain J. A. P. Haydon, M. C., 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League of America—Rose Schneiderman.

Respectfully submitted,

AL TOWERS, Chairman.

EDWARD CANAVAN,

M. J. GILLOOLY, Secretary.

Secretary Gillooly moved the adoption of the report of the committee as submitted. The motion was seconded by Chairman Towers.

President Green: You have heard the reading of the report of the Committee on Credentials. It is regularly moved and seconded that the report be adopted.

Mr. M. J. McDonough: I understand the Secretary of the Committee, in his announcement, stated that Credentials that were protested would be heard separately. Is that correct?

Chairman Towers: That is correct.

Mr. McDonough: As President of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, I protest the seating of Mr. Williams as President of that Department.

Chairman Towers: Is the delegate protesting to the committee or to the convention?

Mr. McDonough, I believe the Chairman of the Committee will agree there is a protest now, and I believe the proper course to be followed is to have it re-referred to the committee.

Secretary Gillooly: The Secretary doesn't

wish to add anything further to what has been said by the Chairman of this Committee. The statement of the Chairman was that this committee was reporting on delegates upon whom there was no protest registered against their seating in this convention. The committee is recommending the seating of John W. Williams, of the Building Trades Department, because there is no protest entered with the committee against his seating. According to the usual custom in the American Federation of Labor conventions, we are recommending the seating of delegates on whose credentials no protest has been registered.

Delegate Moriarty, Sheet Metal Workers: Were there not two credentials before the committee for the Building Trades Department? I would like to ask that of the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

Chairman Towers: There is a credential in from another Building Trades Department, which is held among those protested.

Delegate Moriarty: Wasn't that enough to show there was contention for the seat?

Chairman Towers: There is evidently a contention for the seat from the second Building Trades Department, but no protest on the delegate whose credentials have been reported on by the committee.

Mr. McDonough: In what manner did you receive the information that the Department, as represented by Mr. Williams, was a proper Building Trades Department?

Chairman Towers: Just a minute!

President Green: If the seat of some delegate whose name has been read to this convention is protested, the protest will be considered by the Credentials Committee; consequently it will not be necessary to go into a discussion of the merits of the protest. May I ask if there is a delegate to this convention whose name was included in the report of the committee as a delegate to this convention who is protesting the seating of Delegate Williams representing the Building Trades Department?

Delegate Collieran, Plasterers: Yes, Mr. Chairman, I am.

President Green: You file the protest. The Chair will rule that, inasmuch as the protest has been filed against the seating of Brother Williams representing the Building Trades Department, that protest will be referred to the Committee on Credentials

and all the parties in interest may appear and present their arguments in opposition.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I move that we accept the report of the Credentials Committee as read, leaving out Brother Williams' name, that to go back to the committee.

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

President Green: The hearing on the protested seats of delegates will be taken up by the committee in regular order and a report brought into the convention at some later date.

Secretary Gillooly: The Credentials Committee will meet in Rooms 204-05, Ambassador Hotel, Wednesday evening, at 7 o'clock, to hear the arguments against seating Brother Williams.

APPOINTMENTS

Secretary Morrison read the following appointments:

Assistant Secretary for the Convention—Mr. W. Morris Lesenby, Secretary, Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union.

Sergeant-at-Arms—William Glass, Business Agent, Carpenters' Local Union No. 432.

Messenger—Mr. William Tully, member Bartenders' Local No. 401, Atlantic City, N. J.

Secretary Morrison read the following radiogram message from Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States:

Washington, D. C.,
October 6, 1935.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Atlantic City, N. J.

I regret exceedingly that circumstances will prevent me from attending the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which will meet at Atlantic City tomorrow. I request that you express my regret to the convention and that you will convey to them my hope and confidence that your meeting will be successful and rich in accomplishment.

ROOSEVELT, U. S. S. HOUSTON.

President Green: If there are no objections the message will be received and included in the printed proceedings of the convention. It is so ordered.

It appears that there is no further business to come before the convention at this time, and the convention will stand recessed until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention recessed until 2:30 o'clock p. m.

FIRST DAY—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock p. m.

ABSENTEES—Hamilton, Desti, McGrady, Horan, Campbell, Armstrong, Nelson, Kennedy Bayha, Scalise, Goldberg, John Lawson, Bambrick, Finkelstein, McLellan, Leonard, Jones, Beardsley, Gaviak, Chatman, Miller, McInerney, Olander, Catalanotti, Scully, Kaiser, Rissman, Morningstar, Reznick, Milton, Gorman, Taylor, Lentie, Hannah, Lucchi, Britton, Graves, Billet, McGillivray, Mitch, Ernst, Rosqvist, Morgan, Wade, Graham, Lawrence, Palmer, Osborne, Nord, Patterson, Merrill, Goff, Baron, Long, McGurk, Pavona, Strunk, Tucker, Rundle, Merritt, Caraway, Albert, Clark, Doane, Bellows, Wise, Ross, Heymanns, Dance, Finnegan, Sigman, Dallas, Bradley, Krauss, Burke, Henderson, Weinberg, Ratkin, Lovell, McCloskey, Nicholson, Burns, Serra, Shacklette, Matlin, Dougherty, Malkovitch, Makman, Taylor, Cannizzaro, Ocker, Mack, Marzocca, Dehlager, Edmundson, Walsh, Sanderfur, Saltus, Bender, Arthur, Egan, Crawford, Shave, Easton, Mitchell, Slout, Campbell, Mayer, Owens, Bainford, Smith, Darrell, Morgan, Nadelhoffer, Jeffries, Matchley, Komaroff, Cushing, Brooks, W. C. : Mitchell, H. ; Katz, Dewitt, Eardley, Riley, Slich, Regan, Brooks, W. R. ; Kennedy, David, Hanoway, Sweetland, Rivin, Quinn, Pickler, Campbell, Lyding, Hirschberg, Heimbach, Howat, Sager, Sweeney.

The Chair will now call upon Reverend Cornelius J. Kane, of the Holy Spirit Catholic Church, to pronounce the invocation at this afternoon's session.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Cornelius J. Kane, Holy Spirit Roman Catholic Church.)

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Almighty God, in Thy infinite wisdom, grant to the delegates assembled in this convention the direction of their minds that they may obtain for each individual member of their organization the utmost betterment of mind, body and property. May the guidance of the Holy Spirit assist them in restoring some semblance of peace and order to a world torn asunder by war, eco-

nomie distress and prevalence of social evils and injustices. Grant, in Thy providence, that they may return to their respective districts with good tidings of betterment, with good tidings of accomplishment for community, state and national act. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Secretary Gillooly reported as follows:

We have received communication from Wallace C. Reilly, Secretary of the Texas State Federation of Labor, requesting that B. M. Egan be seated in place of Brother Chas. H. Poe, to represent the Texas State Federation. In accordance with his request we recommend the seating of Brother B. M. Egan to represent the Texas State Federation of Labor.

Your Committee also recommends the seating of Joe C. Campbell to represent the Oklahoma City, Okla., Trades and Labor Council, in accordance with letter received from Secretary John Howe, today.

We have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union—Stanton A. Sweeney, 1 vote.

Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly, Kenton and Campbell Counties—G. F. Weizenecker, 1 vote.

Radio Workers' Union No. 19774, Chicago, Ill.—James B. Carey, 1 vote.

In accordance with request received from President Harry C. Bates, of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, we recommend the seating of Elmer Spahr in place of William J. Bowen, who is unable to be here for the rest of the session.

We also recommend that Marx Lewis be seated in place of Max Zaritsky of the Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, in accordance with request received from Secretary Zaritsky of that organization.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates whose names were read were seated in the convention.

Secretary Gillooly: We desire to change the time of the hearing of the protest raised this morning on the credentials of J. W. Williams and ask all parties interested to appear in Rooms 204, 205, Ambassador Hotel, at 7 o'clock this evening.

The committee also wishes to announce that a protest has been entered to the seating of E. Curry, representing the Brotherhood of Foundry Employes by the International Molders Union and a hearing on that

protest will be held in Rooms 204-205, Ambassador Hotel, at 7 o'clock on Tuesday evening.

Likewise a protest by the General Secretary of the Laundry Workers' International Union protesting the seating of their delegate to this convention, on which a hearing has been set by the committee at 8 o'clock Tuesday evening in Rooms 204-205, Ambassador Hotel.

The committee wishes to make a correction at this time in the name of the delegate representing Federal Labor Union No. 18887. The correct name is Michael A. O'Gorman.

APPOINTMENTS

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce the appointment of Annabelle Lee Glenn as Assistant Messenger.

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

A. J. Kugler, James Hatch, Daisy A. Houck, Edward Ryan, J. J. McKenna, E. Lewis Evans, John B. Robinson, Matthew Taylor, John E. Rooney, M. F. Brennan, Marx Lewis, J. R. Deckard, H. W. Sullivan, N. P. Alifas, George W. Jones, Isadore Nagler, Steve Nance, Frank Kasten, H. T. Morningstar, Emil Rieve.

President Green: The Chair desires to substitute on the Committee on Rules and Order of Business the name of Marx Lewis for that of Max Zaritsky, who is unable to attend the convention.

Delegate Kugler, Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, announced that the committee would meet immediately following adjournment of the afternoon session.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, will address the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention tomorrow, Tuesday afternoon at 2 o'clock.

Later on we will be honored by addresses from Joseph W. Madden, Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board; Honorable John G. Wynn, Chairman of the Social Security Board; John W. Studebaker, Commissioner of Education; Ray Murphy, National Commander of the American Legion.

and Miss Lenroot of Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. These speakers will address the convention at stated periods during this week.

I wish further to announce that the fraternal delegates in attendance at the convention will deliver their messages to the convention on Thursday morning at eleven o'clock. Please bear that in mind and be present.

Delegate Woodmansee announced that the annual meeting of the Labor Press would be held at 8 o'clock Monday evening in the Venetian Room of the Ambassador Hotel.

President Green: In conformity with the usual custom the Chair will now call upon First Vice-President Frank Duffy, of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to read the synopsis of the report of the Executive Council, which is now being distributed to the delegates.

Vice-President Duffy read the following:

SUMMARY, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

In our introduction we point out the unusual opportunity afforded wage-earners to organize through both the enactment of federal legislation and the fundamental changes taking place in our economic institutions.

In reviewing the work of the Secretary's office, we report that total receipts amounted to \$1,032,475.31, with a balance on hand of \$565,706.36, making a total income of \$1,598,181.67. Our total expenditures for the year amounted to \$975,227.14. Our balance on hand August 31, 1935, was \$622,954.53. The balance on hand consists of \$35,376.10 in the General Fund and \$587,578.43 in the Defense Fund.

The report of the trustees of the American Federation of Labor building shows a balance on hand of \$57,411.86.

Under the heading "National Recovery Administration", we show that this effort at control of industry resulted in a greater gain in purchasing power and re-employment than had occurred in uncontrolled recovery periods. There were 550 approved codes which controlled 90 per cent of all industry and trade. As a result of the codes, unfair trade practices were checked and a fair basis of competition developed through minimum wage and hour standards,

elimination of child labor, regulation of home work, and the formulation of trade practices.

The National Recovery Administration was primarily an effort to develop self-government in industry under government supervision. Its shortcomings lay in insufficient formulation of policy, failure to accord Labor equal participation in code making with management—an inadequate basis for industrial planning, and inadequate powers of enforcement.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the *Schechter* case reopens for us the problem of industrial regulation.

National Labor Relations Board

Under this heading we report on the organization of the Board established under Joint Resolution No. 40, its jurisdiction, and the principles established through the decisions of this Board.

We discuss the difficulties arising through the creation of industrial relations boards organized under code authority and without appeal to the National Board as well as upon the special boards established under Joint Resolution No. 44.

The limitation of the powers of this Board resulted in the enactment of the National Labor Relations Act under which a new Board has been created to prevent unfair labor practices and to hold elections for the purpose of determining the union which the majority of the employees wish to have as the collective bargaining agency.

Apprenticeship Training

Under this title we report the formation of a Federal Committee on Apprenticeship Training by executive order of the President. This was to prevent abuses in apprenticeship under the codes and to reaffirm standards for vocational education. This committee was continued by the President after the *Schechter* decision and has become the agency in the field of apprenticeship training for the Youth Administration.

Reported Shortage of Skilled Workers

We have assembled data that refute this claim and our investigation indicates there is no shortage of skilled workers, but that these claims are due to unwillingness of employers to employ union members and to meet union standards.

Thirty-Hour Week

Under this title we report progress for the shorter work week. We show that well over two million members are working 40 hours or less per week.

Re-Employment

Re-employment has not kept pace with increases in business activity. Under the President's Re-employment Program, which shortened work hours, 1,800,000 were put back to work, but since that time there has been little drop in the amount of unemployment.

During the first six months of 1935, production in manufacturing industries increased 16.3 per cent, while employment increased only 5 per cent. Since March 1933, business activity has recovered 50 per cent, but only 39 per cent of those who lost their jobs have returned to work. This lag in re-employment constitutes a serious problem. Labor today receives a smaller proportion of the total income than in 1929.

U. S. Employment Service

Because this service is the key agency in our relief program and should serve as an even more important function in our Social Security Program, we call attention to certain changes in policy which we think essential and indicate that its placement function should be developed. We hold it essential that Labor should have a part in making the policies of this agency.

Relief

Relief is a major national problem. We show the immensity of the problem by data revealing the rising number of persons on relief and the mounting expenditures. Prior to 1933, relief was administered through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. After May, 1933, came the Federal Relief Emergency Administration. Under this Administration were direct relief and work relief—the Emergency Conservation Works with Civilian Conservation Corps, the Civil Works Administration and the Public Works Administration, special Drought Relief and the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation.

The per capita monthly relief bill increased more than 2½ times under the FERA. Over three million dollars has been spent. Our report gives tables and charts

which furnish a comprehensive picture of relief work.

The Emergency Appropriation Act of 1935 represents the most gigantic work relief program ever launched. We report our efforts to have the prevailing rate of pay principle incorporated in this act.

Under this measure the Works Progress Administration was organized. We show how the funds have been allocated and the wage schedules established by Executive Order.

National Youth Administration

To meet the special problem of young persons unable to secure work, this agency was organized. We report the program so far formulated which includes aid to students who have not yet finished their education in high schools and colleges.

Social Security

This act provided for federal grants in aid to states for the purpose of old age assistance, unemployment insurance, aid to dependent children, maternal and child welfare, crippled children, vocational rehabilitation, aids to the blind and public health work. A federal old age benefit plan is authorized. With the exception of the latter, states must enact approved legislation as condition for federal grants. The act is to be administered by the Social Security Board.

Need for Medical Care and Its Costs

We consider the cost of adequate medical services as contrasted with the incomes of the majority of families. The high costs of medical care make major illnesses a catastrophe to most families, which demoralizes the family finances and leads to hopeless indebtedness or dependency. As it is impossible to foresee sickness or to accumulate savings against the time of need, we confront a two-fold problem—finding incomes for the families of those disabled by illness, and organization of the medical profession to give adequate service at reasonable costs. We urge study of these problems by the federal government.

ORGANIZATION OF MASS PRODUCTION INDUSTRIES

In this section we report what has been done to carry out the directions of the San

Francisco convention. We report the number of federal labor unions established in the following industries: Automobile; Rubber; Aluminum; Radio; Cement; Gasoline Station; Gas and By-product Coke; Lumbermen, Loggers, Sawmill and Timber; Miscellaneous.

We report the basis upon which an international charter was granted to the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America and to the United Rubber Workers of America. As we did not believe the strength of organization in other industries adequate for an international charter, we took the preliminary step of organizing national councils.

Owing to the internal difficulties within the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, we did not deem it advisable to launch an organizing campaign for the steel industry until that breach was healed. As the internal difficulty is now adjusted, the Executive Council believes that discussion, education, and pursuit of progressive policies will help toward development of a sound organizing policy.

ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN

We urge that organizing activities be made the major concern for the coming year. Wage earners must be organized to have their rights and promote their own welfare whether through the method of collective bargaining with employers or the administration of law.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

We include a table showing union benefits paid through the year 1934, which total \$28,840,644.65. The table shows a decline of 11 millions as compared with 1933 and a 50 per cent increase in the number of persons working the 5-day week.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The death of our revered treasurer, Martin Francis Ryan, made it necessary for the Executive Council to fill that office. We directed Secretary Morrison to assume the functions of treasurer as well as secretary, and we recommend a continuation of that practice through constitutional amendments.

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Under this heading we submit an historical review of our efforts to carry out the instructions of the San Francisco convention with regard to the Building Trades Department as well as matters bearing on the controversy. We emphasize and restate for approval of this convention the relationship of departments to the American Federation of Labor, the fundamental principles which must be observed and respected by officers and members of all departments of the American Federation of Labor.

We report a number of developments which are concerned with jurisdiction under the following headings:

Loggers, Lumbermen and Sawmill Workers.

Flint Glass Workers and Glass Bottle Blowers.

Foundry Employees and Molders.

Masters, Mates and Pilots and Seamen.

CHANGE OF TITLE

We report our refusal to grant the Laundry Workers International Union jurisdiction over cleaners and dyers employed in laundries and our approval of the change of title of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance to Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

APPEAL

We report the protest of the officers of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers against the agreement between the Metal Trades and Building Trades departments and the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. We decided the agreement did not constitute an infringement upon the jurisdiction of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union.

OBSERVANCE OF CONTRACTS

Under this title the Executive Council urges upon officers and representatives of all national and international unions to require their members to adhere to and observe all contracts negotiated in collective bargaining and all agreements signed by their representatives.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

We report the following laws enacted by Congress which were of major interest to Labor:

Labor Disputes Act.

Security Act.

Law to stabilize the coal industry.

Air Mail Act providing rates of compensation and working conditions for all pilots.

Forty-hour week for 121,000 postal employees with no reduction in wages.

Railroad Retirement Act.

Appropriation of \$4,880,000,000.00 for relief of unemployed.

Repeal of the last five per cent reduction made by the Economy Act.

Appropriated funds to send 30,000 Filipinos to their homeland.

Prison labor law prohibiting transportation of prison-made products into states having state use systems.

We report our efforts to prevent weakening or modification of immigration laws and to secure enactment of the thirty-hour week.

We report that one of the most important bills that failed to pass Congress was that introduced by Senator Walsh which provided that all persons selling to the government or entering into contractual relations with it, must maintain fair wage and work standards.

Under the caption "Child Labor Amendment" we urge a revival of efforts to secure ratification of the Child Labor Amendment and list the states which have failed to ratify it. We show that state legislation has failed to achieve adequate regulation of child labor.

We point out that state compacts will not accomplish the same purpose without an act of Congress and that uniformity in child labor legislation can be secured by state legislation after the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.

We report that nineteen states now have anti-injunction laws based on the Norris-LaGuardia Act and that three states have thus far failed to enact workmen's compensation legislation. Sixteen states have enacted minimum wage legislation for women and children.

We urge activity in these fields.

NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL POLICY

We urge the continuation of this policy in the 1936 campaign when a President, Vice-President, thirty-two members of the

United States Senate and 435 members of the House of Representatives will be elected.

We urge State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies to interview candidates on remedial legislation.

EDUCATION

We urge renewed activity of Labor in connection with our public school system and suggest specific ways of having representation in policy-making agencies.

We urge activity to secure representation for Labor's needs in connection with the federal program for emergency workers' education.

We urge enlarged support for the Workers' Education Bureau.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Under this aspect of Labor's relations we report the participation of the representative of the American Federation of Labor in the Nineteenth International Labor Conference at Geneva and summarize the matters that came before the conference.

We recommend that the Executive Council select representatives to attend the meetings of the International Labor Office and International Labor Conference.

Under the heading "International Federation of Trade Unions" we summarize the history of our relationships to that organization.

Under "Pan-American Federation of Labor" we report our efforts to encourage trade unionism in Latin-American countries and report the International Conference to be held in Chile under the auspices of the International Labor Office.

A report is made on progress in Puerto Rico emphasizing the Recovery Administration which is being established for the Island.

COMMUNIST OPPOSITION TO THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

Under this topic we review the actions of recent conventions on Communism and recommend the amendment of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor to exclude organizations controlled by Communists.

GERMAN BOYCOTT

The Council recommends the continuation of the boycott against German-made goods and services as an expression of our disapproval of religious persecution and Fascism.

Our report submits to this convention serious problems to be decided by you and great opportunities which we may plan to utilize during the coming year.

President Green: The summary of the Executive Council's report read by Vice-President Duffy will appear in today's proceedings of the convention.

The Chair desires to announce that delegates in attendance at the convention may introduce resolutions today and tomorrow. Ordinarily the time limit for the introduction of resolutions expires at midnight Tuesday. You can submit your resolutions to Secretary Morrison at his office on the first floor of the Ambassador Hotel, or you can present them to him here at his desk in the convention. Please bear this in mind, because it is important. Resolutions can only be introduced after midnight Tuesday by unanimous consent.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, October 7, 1935.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greetings:

INTRODUCTION

The past year has been one of momentous consequence to the labor movement of this country. The enactment of federal substantive law recognizing Labor's right to organize in unions so as to have the machinery for collective bargaining, with the consequent obligation devolving upon employers to respect this right and to do their part in putting it into effect, was an event of great importance.

The year has also brought substantial gains in average paid-up union membership. Behind this gain we know there is an additional group of workers who have pledged allegiance to the union cause but have been prevented by unemployment from regular payment of union dues. The events of the past few years have demonstrated so conclusively that organization is the one method by which wage earners and small salaried workers can have the machinery for sustained self-progress, and that while legislation may provide opportunities for progress, group organization is the agency through which results are secured. The establishment of this fact will tremendously facilitate organization during the coming years.

The labor movement has an opportunity to take a determining part in the shifting and shaping of national economic and social policies which are remaking the world in which we live. Organized use of intelligence and experience will enable us to establish a new status for those who do productive work, a recognition and protection of the right of human beings to life, self-respect and dignity and to full benefits from the work and scientific discoveries which are our social heritage from past work as well as the results of joint work of the present generations.

The establishment of rights carries with them duties and as it gains in status the organized labor movement will increasingly assume duties to its membership, employers and the public. We must decide all policies in the light of the welfare of each group as a part of the whole movement.

We face perplexing problems and serious difficulties, but we live in an age of unparalleled opportunity because it is an age of changes. With unity and cooperation in our ranks, with desire to find solutions for our problems, with subordination of smaller matters to the best interests and progress of the labor movement, we can make the coming years an epoch of union organization and union progress for the advancement and progress of Labor.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1934, and ending August 31, 1935.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$622,954.53. Of this total \$587,578.43 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, to be used to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions and the balance, \$35,376.10, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$1,032,475.31, the total expenses, \$975,227.14, amount of receipts over expenses, \$57,248.17.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1935:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1934.....	\$ 565,706.36
Per Capita Tax.....	\$454,839.05
American Federationist	280,415.12
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	167,186.47
Initiation fees	76,108.02
Reinstatement fees	9,526.75
Supplies	13,395.22
Interest	17,651.25
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	9,603.77
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts....	3,599.66
Dividend on Union Labor Life Ins. Stock.....	150.00
Total receipts	1,032,475.31
Grand total	\$1,598,181.67

EXPENSES

General	\$769,792.83
American Federationist	151,721.97
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	45,650.71
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	8,062.13
Total expenses	975,227.14
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1935.....	\$ 622,954.53

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	\$ 35,376.10
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	587,578.43
Balance on hand, August 31, 1935.....	\$ 622,954.53

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1935.

Rent	\$15,548.00
Refund, Charter and Outfit, Initiation Fees, and Supplies	1,969.55
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions	8,062.13
Secretary's bond	15.00
Treasurer's bond	187.50
Insurance	1,028.71
Expressage, freight and drayage	1,932.42
Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of legislative committeemen	15,570.22
Postage stamps	17,781.79
Newspapers, Magazines and Books (Library)	8,918.95
Printing Bound Proceedings of San Francisco, Calif., convention	3,958.54
Supplies and Printing	37,720.91
Supplies for Resale	11,967.58
Miscellaneous expenses	6,230.29
Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes (Mailing Department)	6,060.44
Mailing Equipment	6,870.84
Office furniture and fixtures	4,259.09
Official stenographers, San Francisco, Calif., convention	1,976.71
Telegrams and telephones	12,185.99
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada	445.30
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress	1,600.00
San Francisco, Calif., Convention:	
Messenger, sergeant-at-arms, assistant secretary and roll-call clerk	590.00
Printing roll-call	194.75
Printing Daily Proceedings	6,437.48
Stenographers	5,240.09
Rental of office furniture	100.84
Printing and supplies	158.79
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, sending out Daily Proceedings	1,101.06
Auditing and Credential Committee	673.13
Salaries:	
President Green	12,000.00
Secretary Morrison	10,000.00
Treasurer Ryan	666.67
Office employes	186,683.40
Expenses:	
Executive Council meetings	21,064.81
Telegrams, typewriter rental, baggage, E. C. meeting	254.81
Stenographers attending E. C. meeting	670.00
President traveling	7,048.46
Secretary traveling	1,424.62
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits	45,650.71
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department	612.29
Union Label Trades Department	26.58
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada	40.01
Organizers' salaries and organizing expenses	338,576.42
Printing and publishing American Federationist	151,721.97
Printing and publishing A. F. of L. Weekly News Service	7,648.25
Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, San Francisco, Calif., convention ..	409.50
Expenses, special committees and conferences	7,826.78
Legal expenses	9,114.81
Total	<u>\$975,227.14</u>

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

27

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1934 and ending August 31, 1935:

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund... \$167,186.47

EXPENSES

No.	Union and Location	Aver. Mcm.	Weeks	Amount
18332	Aluminum Bronze Powder Workers, New Kensington, Pa.	47	1 +	\$383.83
18356	Aluminum Workers, New Kensington, Pa.	6	2 +	91.00
19064	Aluminum Workers, La Grange, Ill.	67 +	4	1,890.00
19078	Aluminum Workers, Lemont, Ill.	69 +	4	1,946.00
19306	Casket Makers, Chicago, Ill.	2	6	84.00
18300	Cleaners and Dyers, Pittsburgh, Pa.	12	6	504.00
18405	Dental Laboratory Technicians, St. Louis, Mo.	5 +	6	224.00
18531	Fish Handlers, Cleveland, Ohio.	56	3	1,176.00
18655	Greenhouse Workers, Ashtabula, Ohio.	2 +	6	119.00
18769	Mother of Pearl Workers, Newark, N. J.	1	6	42.00
18758	Pearl Button Workers, Hudson County and Vicinity, N. J.	50 +	6	2,114.00
18949	Pearl Button Workers, New York, N. Y.	11	2	154.00
18945	Plastic Workers, Hartford, Conn.	39 +	8	2,212.00
18982	United Rubber Workers, Canton, Ohio.	43 +	6	1,841.00
18287	Scissors Workers, Fort Smith, Ark.	93 +	6	3,913.00
18792	United Steel Drum Workers, Apollo, Pa.	54 +	6	2,275.00
18423	Wholesale Grocers Employees, Toledo, Ohio.	20	2	280.00
18316	Federal Labor, St. Louis, Mo.	76 +	10	5,362.00
18350	Federal Labor, Fort Wayne, Ind.	58	6	2,436.00
18545	Federal Labor, Sheboygan, Wis.	26	6	1,092.00
Amount appropriated for assistance of members of striking unions:				
18356	Aluminum Workers, New Kensington, Pa.			1,000.00
18799	Gas House Workers, St. Louis, Mo.			3,500.00
18284	United Rubber Workers F. L. U., Willoughby, O.			200.00
19694	Enameling & Stamping Mill Emp., Terre Haute, Ind.			1,000.00
18316	Federal Labor Union, St. Louis, Mo.			1,000.00
19393	Federal Labor Union, Hartford, Conn.			2,000.00
19511	Federal Labor Union, Vincennes, Ind.			2,250.00
18545	Federal Labor Union, Sheboygan, Wisc.			500.00
19086	Federal Labor Union, South Bend, Ind.			2,000.00
18423	Wholesale Grocery Emp., Toledo, Ohio.			280.00
19306	Casket Makers, Chicago, Ill.			200.00
Legal service assisting striking unions.				3,581.88
Total expenses.				<u>\$45,650.71</u>

RECAPITULATION

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1934.	\$466,042.67
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1935.	167,186.47
Total	<u>\$633,229.14</u>
Strike benefits.	\$28,188.83
Legal assistance.	3,581.88
Assistance of members of striking unions.	18,930.00
Total	<u>45,650.71</u>
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1935.	<u>\$587,578.43</u>

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1935, there have been issued 312 charters to International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions. Of this number, one was issued to the following International:

International Union United Automobile Workers of America

Central Bodies as follows:

Alabama	Mississippi	Pennsylvania
Tarrant	Vicksburg	Frederickton
Winfield	Montana	Somerset County
Bibb County	Havre	Williamsport
Arizona	Gallatin County	Indiana
Coconino County	Valley County	Leighton
California	New Jersey	Clearfield County
Marion County	Cumberland County	Texas
Canada	and Vicinity	Borger
Three Rivers, Quebec	New York	Gladewater
Connecticut	Beacon and Vicinity	Baytown, Goose Creek
Torrington	North Carolina	and Pelly
Manchester	Fayetteville	Washington
Illinois	Roanoke Rapids	Jefferson County
Freeport	Ohio	West Virginia
Ottawa	Bellefontaine	Beckley
Indiana	Portage County	Williamson
New Castle	Oklahoma	Wisconsin
Hartford City	Sand Springs	Beaver Dam
Clinton County	Oregon	
Minnesota	St. Helens and	
Virginia	Vicinity	

The following is a statement showing the number of Charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year:

	1934-1935
International Union	1
Central Labor Unions.....	39
Local Trade Unions.....	226
Federal Labor Unions.....	46
Total	312

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26th, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a Memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1935.....\$118,073.23
Interest on fund investments..... 15,510.89

Total receipts.....\$133,584.12
Expenses, January 12, 1929 to and including August 31, 1935..... 117,748.87

Balance on hand August 31, 1935..... \$15,835.25

Funds deposited as follows:

Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust Account..... \$1,266.66
Riggs National Bank checking account..... 13,724.15
The City Bank, checking account..... 844.44

Balance on hand August 31, 1935..... \$15,835.25

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On August 31, 1935, we had 1,354 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 111,489, and a defense fund of \$587,578.43, to protect the members of the 1,354 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout.

The Federation has 1,609 general and district organizers, as well as 50 paid organizers and the officers of the 730 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$167,186.47, initiation fees, \$76,108.02, and reinstatement fees, \$9,526.75.

Charters Revoked, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 3; reinstated, 22.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 73; suspended, 384; joined national and international organizations, 103; reinstated, 27.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 37; suspended, 126; joined national and international organizations, 12; reinstated, 7.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Friendly Society of Engravers, Withdrawn from A. F. of L.

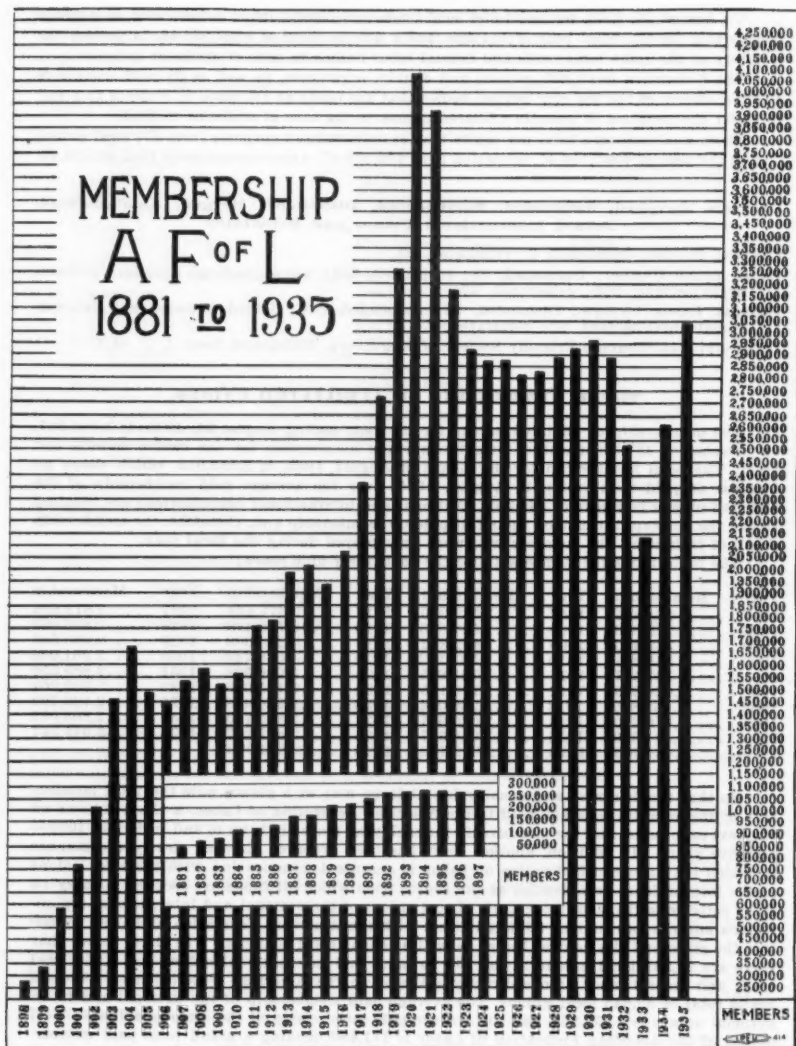
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

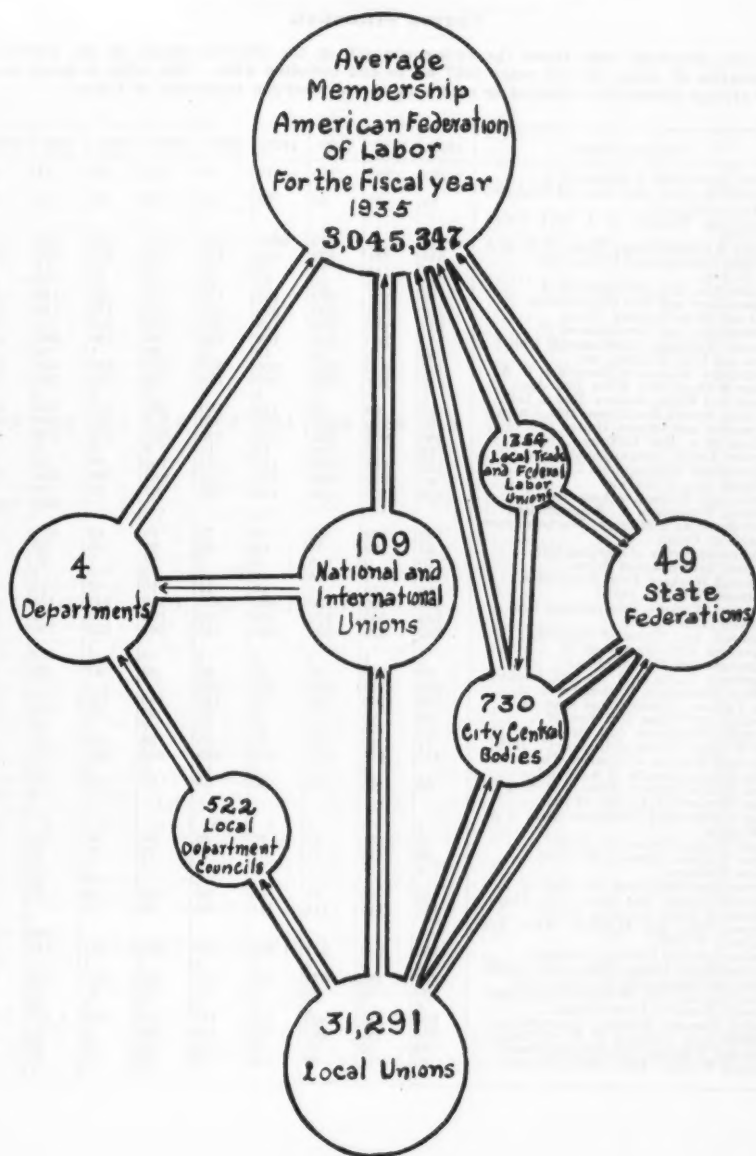
The membership of affiliated unions for the year ending August 31, 1935, is 3,045,347, an increase of 437,336 members over the average membership for the twelve months last year. The total membership for the month of August, 1935, is 3,153,013, which shows an increase of paid membership in August, 1935, over the average paid membership of the affiliated unions last year of 545,902. National and international organizations are required to pay the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership and, therefore, the membership does not include all the members who were unemployed during the fiscal year.

The following is the membership for the past thirty-nine years:

Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897	264,825	1907	1,538,970	1917	2,371,434	1927	2,812,526
1898	278,016	1908	1,586,885	1918	2,726,478	1928	2,896,063
1899	349,422	1909	1,482,872	1919	3,260,068	1929	2,933,545
1900	548,321	1910	1,562,112	1920	4,078,740	1930	2,961,096
1901	787,537	1911	1,761,835	1921	3,906,528	1931	2,889,550
1902	1,024,389	1912	1,770,145	1922	3,195,635	1932	2,532,261
1903	1,465,800	1913	1,996,004	1923	2,926,468	1933	2,126,796
1904	1,676,200	1914	2,020,671	1924	2,865,799	1934	2,608,011
1905	1,484,300	1915	1,946,347	1925	2,877,297	1935	3,045,347
1906	1,454,200	1916	2,072,702	1926	2,803,966		

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1935—fifty-five years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organization as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 31,291 local unions in the 109 national and international unions and 1,354 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a grand total of 32,645 local unions. The average paid membership of the national and international unions is 2,933,858, and the average paid membership of the directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor is 111,489, making a grand total paid membership of 3,045,347.





VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1927 up to and including 1935. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor.

ORGANIZATIONS	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.	103	103	115	112	83	45	33	31	43
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Asso. of Heat and Frost Insulators.	26	27	29	33	41	20	20	25	25
Automobile Workers of A. Intl. Union United.									1
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs., I. U. of A.	219	216	212	200	201	179	150	181	213
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	545	541	522	512	461	399	320	393	323
Bill Posters.	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	14	14
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.	148	171	172	193	170	150	142	143	153
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.	350	326	324	322	275	170	134	192	259
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.	138	138	136	139	137	119	107	119	117
Brewery Workmen, International Union.	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	255	417
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	50	50	50	42	33	20	1	14	16
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasters I. U. A.	837	900	900	900	900	567	458	458	650
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Asso.	213	207	204	209	175	120	100	160	160
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	5	5	5	5	4	3	2	1	2
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union.	62	69	92	162	180	180	180	192	275
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.	3,220	3,220	3,220	3,032	3,020	2,900	2,058	2,000	2,000
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway.	800	800	800	800	800	800	592	550	550
Carvers' Union, International Wood.	12	13	12	12	11	9	8	8	6
Cigarmakers' International Union.	183	175	170	155	155	155	98	70	70
Clerks, Bro. of Railway.	320	320	969	970	753	608	600	600	725
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.	100	100	100	100	100	87	50	58	72
Clothing Workers of A., Amalgamated.								833	1,000
Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union.	102	82	69	60	58	46	61	d	d
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.	23	23	23	23	23	21	20	20	20
Coopers' International Union.	10	9	8	7	7	6	7	25	29
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	2	2
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.	16	19	15	12	17	10	7	10	12
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,399	941	1,135	1,300
Elevator Constructors.	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating.	302	320	330	340	340	344	350	350	350
Engravers, Friendly Society of.	1	1	1	4	5	5	5	4	3
Engravers Intl. Union, Metal.	79	83	86	89	90	89	87	86	87
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	200	226	305	335	381	c	c	c	c
Federal Employees, National Fed. of.	160	160	168	180	180	180	180	197	235
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.	90	83	95	90	91	93	92	101	149
Fireman and Oilers, Intl. Bro. of.	35	35	35	28	10	7	5	20	32
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of.	72	42	28	70	80	38	40	20	30
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.	475	475	475	472	463	456	395	370	371
Garment Workers of America, United.		3	9	9	10	9	6	10	12
Glass Cutters League of A., Window.	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.								8	100
Glass Workers of A., Fed. of Flat.									
Glass Cutters and Flatteners Assn. of A., Window.	4	3	3	b	b	b	b	b	b
Glass Workers, American Flint.	52	51	52	49	46	39	36	61	61
Glass Workers, National Window.	20	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Glove Workers.	6	7	8	8	5	3	5	34	35
Government Employees, Am. Fed. of.	85	85	85	85	85	85	62	83	139
Granite Cutters' Intl. Asso. of A., The.	115	115	115	115	93	85	85	d	d
Hatters of North America, United.									
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Int. Union, United.								198	214
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.	700	753	917	1,027	1,150	900	521	442	523
Horsehoers of United States and Canada.	12	9	9	7	4	2	1	1	1
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	398	385	378	365	337	283	227	378	570
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.	99	90	89	79	58	50	46	55	86
Jewelry Workers' International.	6	9	8	8	8	8	8	49	55
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.	800	303	323	508	475	400	250	1,500	1,600
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal.	175	165	165	165	165	165	81	81	81
Laundry Workers, International Union.	55	55	55	55	55	55	50	53	60
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.	10	10	50	50	50	10	8	30	27

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

33

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of.....	400	404	450	508	550	550	550	517	500
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fe. of Rural.....	6	8	8	8	8	11	12	12	12
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso.....	57	61	58	56	57	56	52	58	67
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.....	347	371	377	347	299	270	234	343	400
Machinists, International Association of...	723	745	770	780	776	707	650	820	925
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of...	282	350	322	401	408	371	278	312	335
Marble Polishers, etc., Intl. Asso. of.....	49	56	64	77	77	77	62	55	55
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....	31	31	30	30	30	30	25	20	22
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Natl. Asso. of...							1	1	1
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	117	118	118	125	113	114	111	195	198
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.....	250	250	250	250	250	250	175	160	160
Mine Workers of America, United.....	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	3,083	3,000	3,000	4,000
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of...	40	45	40	40	40	21	13	116	146
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....	265	232	237	218	152	95	60	88	118
Musicians, American Federation of.....	800	967	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Oil Field, etc., Workers.....	10	10	16	11	9	4	3	125	428
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	1,129	1,103	1,081	1,062	964	796	593	578	656
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	40	40	40	40	40	40	23	115	90
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	25
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of...	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C...	24	23	23	24	24	22	22	22	21
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.....	5	5	5	5	4	3	3	2	2
Pilots Assn., Air Line, (Intl.).....					1	5	6	7	7
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C., Oper...	390	392	392	382	377	353	226	180	180
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	340
Polishers, Intl. Union of Metal.....	60	60	60	60	58	23	14	35	40
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of...	300	300	320	352	360	360	360	333	320
Printers, National Bro. of Operative.....	72	69	66	58	54	52	45	79	100
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Printing Pressmen, International.....	400	400	400	400	400	400	353	320	320
Printers', Die Stampers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plate.....	12	12	12	11	12	11	10	12	14
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.....	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	69	85
Quarry Workers, International.....	30	30	30	30	30	26	21	20	20
Railway Employees' Amal. Asso. S. & E.....	1,012	1,013	997	972	914	817	712	700	734
Railway Mail Association.....	194	197	198	198	198	207	200	192	191
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn. United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	150	150	150	150	150	97	60	50	125
Sheep Shearers Union of N. A.....						1	6	8	11
Sideographers, Intl. Assn. of.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....	80	80	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical...	231	232	233	240	240	240	240	240	240
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.....	73	74	77	78	82	81	82	80	79
Stonecutters Association, Journeymen.....	58	58	58	58	58	57	56	56	57
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	16	16	14	10	8	7	6	15	20
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	89	91	93	92	82	72	63	73	80
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen...	77	72	68	67	58	28	17	26	45
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....	35	35	42	52	63	70	70	85	120
Teachers, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of...	865	894	955	988	920	820	713	955	1,370
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	39	38	38	38	38	35	22	20	20
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	350	350	390	410	410	370	350	350	350
Textile Workers of America, United.....	300	300	300	300	300	275	150	387	792
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America...	14	32	42	24	24	25	26	83	104
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.....	40	40	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Typographical Union, International.....	749	758	764	776	775	761	738	731	734
Upholsters, International Union of.....	102	107	107	107	101	65	65	65	65
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.....	6	6	6	6	6	3	3	3	3
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3
Centrals.....	794	792	803	804	728	619	618	686	730
State Branches.....	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor unions.....	467	485	468	397	376	339	711	2,184	1,750
Total vote of Unions.....	29,191	29,385	30,406	30,678	29,906	26,092	22,554	28,105	31,866

†Suspended. ††Disbanded. uSuspended for failure to comply with decision of Atlantic City Convention.

**Reinstated May 17, 1928. aAmalgamated with Hod Carriers. bAmalgamated with Window Glass Cutters
League of America. cWithdrew affiliation. dAmalgamated and title changed to United Hatters, Cap and Millinery
Workers Intl. Union.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SLEEPING CAR PORTERS INJUNCTION FUND

Receipts from January 13, 1933 to and including March 31, 1933.....	\$660.00
*Amount forwarded to M. P. Webster, President.....	660.00

Fund deposited in Mt. Vernon Savings Bank

UNION LABELS

There are now 50 labels and 10 cards issued and used by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

American Federation of Labor	Fur Workers	Molders
Bakers and Confectioners	Garment Workers, United	Painters
Bill Posters and Billers	Garment Workers, Ladies	Papermakers
Boilermakers	Glass Bottle Blowers	Photo-Engravers
Blacksmiths	Glove Workers	Piano and Organ Workers
Bookbinders	Hatters and Millinery Wkrs.	Plate Printers
Boot and Shoe Workers	Horseshoers	Powder Workers
Brewery Workmen	Iron and Steel Workers	Pressmen, Printing
Brick and Clay Workers	Jewelry Workers	Stereotypers and Electrotypers
Broommakers	Lathers	Stove Mounters
Carpenters and Joiners	Laundry Workers	Tailors
Brotherhood	Leather Workers	Textile Workers
Carvers, Wood	Machinists	Tobacco Workers
Cigarmakers	Marble Workers	Typographical
Coopers	Metal Polishers	Upholsters
Draftsmen's Unions	Metal Workers, Sheet	United Wall Paper Crafts
Electrical Workers	Metal Engravers	Weavers, Wire

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS, BUTTONS, EMBLEMS

Actors	Firemen, Stationary	Musicians
Barbers	Hotel and Restaurant	Stage employes, Theatrical
Clerks, Retail	Employees	Teamsters
Engineers, Operating	Meat Cutters and Butcher	
	Workmen	

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor labels: Coffee, Spice and Baking Powder Workers; Flour Mill Workers; Horse Nail Workers; Suspender Makers; Sausage Seasoning and Spice Workers.

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation of the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and of all our affiliated bodies and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank Morrison

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

* The full amount of this fund was paid over to the Sleeping Car Porters from the General Fund, American Federation of Labor, pending the reopening of the Mt. Vernon Bank. The Mt. Vernon Bank consolidated with the Washington Mechanics Savings Bank and released 40% of deposits. We, therefore, transferred \$264.00, which amount represents 40%, to the General Fund of the A. F. of L. The remaining 60% or \$396.00 will be transferred as it is released by the Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust.

TREASURER (PRO TEM.) MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from September 1, 1934, to August 31, 1935. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME		EXPENSES	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants Paid:	
1934		1934	
September 30	\$68,720.23	September 30	\$81,688.90
October 31	76,242.85	October 31	93,158.90
November 30	85,275.86	November 30	83,602.00
December 31	90,046.82	December 31	73,294.36
1935		1935	
January 31	79,392.15	January 31	69,481.66
February 28	85,288.18	February 28	80,659.09
March 31	97,246.95	March 31	72,897.41
April 30	83,945.01	April 30	80,757.12
May 31	86,161.25	May 31	88,599.12
June 30	86,538.39	June 30	75,884.18
July 31	86,149.95	July 31	85,431.04
August 31	113,467.67	August 31	89,773.36
Total income for 12 months.	\$1,032,475.31	Total expenses for 12 months.	\$975,227.14
Balance in hands of Treasurer August 31, 1934	563,706.36		
Grand total	\$1,596,181.67		

RECAPITULATION

Total balance and income	\$1,596,181.67
Total expenses	975,227.14
August 31, 1935—Balance in hands of Treasurer	\$620,954.53
August 31, 1935—Balance in hands of Secretary	2,000.00
Total balance on hand, August 31, 1935	\$622,954.53
Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	\$225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds (4¼-3¼) (\$50,000.00) @ 98 18/32	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%)	100,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%)	1,531.25
Accrued Interest on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%)	742.71
Total Investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds	\$378,625.53
\$102,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%)	
Par value \$100.00 @ 86½	\$88,230.00
\$80,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%)	
Par value \$100.00 @ 92½	74,200.00
\$18,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%)	
Par value \$100.00 @ 85½	15,390.00
Total Investment in Federal Land Banks Bonds	177,820.00
Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C. (Subject to check)	49,509.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock)	15,000.00
Treasurer's balance August 31, 1935	\$620,954.53

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK MORRISON,

Treasurer (Pro Tem.), American Federation of Labor.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1935.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1935.

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1934.....		\$52,106.12
Rents		\$33,696.00
Interest:		
U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	\$187.50	
Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	2,000.00	
		2,187.50
Sale of waste paper.....		52.27
Total receipts		35,935.77
Receipts and balance.....		88,041.89

EXPENSES

Maintenance:

Pay roll (building employees).....	\$15,832.20	
Taxes	2,759.44	
Electricity	1,658.70	
Fuel (coal)	1,020.70	
Supplies	1,270.76	
Upkeep and repairs.....	3,286.84	
Plastering and painting.....	3,246.96	
Cleaning windows.....	425.00	
Insurance (liability).....	434.70	
Water rent	214.68	
Hauling ashes and trash.....	147.00	
Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.).....	19.65	
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	302.09	
Rent of safe deposit box.....	3.30	
Federal tax on checks.....	1.92	
Total expenses		30,624.03
Balance on hand August 31, 1935.....		\$57,417.86

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance.....	\$88,041.89
Expenses	30,624.03
Balance on hand August 31, 1935.....	\$57,417.86

Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust.....	\$1,218.31
City Bank	561.80
Riggs National Bank.....	11,608.37
\$40,000.00 Consolidated Federal Farm Loan Bonds, 3½ % received in exchange for \$40,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds, 5% plus premium, ¾% \$300.00.....	\$38,050.00
\$6,000.00 3½ U. S. Treasury Bonds @ 99 21/32.....	5,979.38
	44,029.38
Balance on hand August 31, 1935.....	\$57,417.86

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JOHN P. FREY,
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

THE NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION

Our first great experiment in national planning, which was launched as the National Recovery Administration, was brought abruptly to a close on May 27, 1935, when in the *Schechter* case, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that "such a delegation of legislative power is unknown to our law and is utterly inconsistent with the constitutional prerogatives and duties of Congress."

At this time, therefore, it behooves us to consider certain outstanding issues in connection with this attempt at federal control of our production and distribution facilities. To what extent were the desired results obtained? What were the principal shortcomings which developed? When a sound program has been devised, based on the 1933-35 experience, what steps must be taken to enable us to go forward with the program without interference from the Supreme Court?

As a basis for an analysis of the degree of success which was achieved we must look closely at the general policy on which the National Industrial Recovery Act was based.

1. To promote the organization of industry.
2. To induce and maintain united action of labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision.
3. To eliminate unfair competitive practices.
4. To promote the fullest possible utilization of the productive capacity of industries.
5. To avoid undue restriction of production.
6. To increase the consumption of industrial and agricultural products by increasing purchasing power.
7. To reduce and relieve unemployment.
8. To improve standards of labor.
9. To otherwise rehabilitate industry and conserve natural resources.

The next logical step in our report certainly should be a brief review of the outstanding developments in connection with each of the aims listed above.

Organization of Industry—There can be no question but that there has been a tremendous growth in the organization of industry. When we consider that more than 90 per cent of all industry and trade was codified—involving more than 550 approved codes—and that each individual code had to be sponsored by a group representing a major portion of the trade or industry involved, it is obvious that, nominally at least, the major portion of all industry and trade was organized into employer groups of one kind or another. It is of real significance that for employers, organization under the NRA was mandatory.

United Action of Labor and Management—Here we come very close to the crux of the whole problem. Had true united action of Labor and management been achieved, code provisions would have been determined through negotiations between Labor and management until there was agreement; Labor would have had a voice in code administration; and, certainly, Labor would have had the right to initiate adjustments in code provisions when they were found necessary, and to participate directly in the determination of such adjustments.

Actually, none of these conditions existed except in particular cases. It is true that in the early days of code making, there was a spirit of cooperation which was instrumental in bringing about certain concessions so far as labor provisions were concerned. It is also true to the very last that there was give and take in the determination of code provisions where sufficient organization had been developed. NRA was, therefore, effective in the development of this united action to the same extent as Section 7(a) was effective in the development of organization.

It is not proposed that we should overlook the rates set in the Bituminous Coal Code, which established conditions already in existence; the provision for area agreements under the Construction Code, or rate adjustments made under the code for the petroleum industry. While labor representatives were appointed on some code authorities, there were only isolated cases where they had any power to act. Adjustment boards were established under certain codes, but, as is illustrated in another section of this report, some of them proved to be distinctly harmful rather than helpful, so far as Labor is concerned.

In general, it may be stated that Labor had no voice in the determination of code provisions, in code administration, or in adjustments in code provisions as they were found necessary. United action of Labor and management was the exception, not the rule.

Unfair Competitive Practices—Labor is genuinely interested in the question of unfair competitive practices because optimum operation of industry is essential if working men and women are to obtain the fullest possible benefits therefrom. Under the codes, advances were made in the elimination of unfair competitive practices through a combination of circumstances. While the compliance machinery of the Administration was at all times available for the handling of violations, indications are that many important results were obtained through the closer organization of industry and the machinery which was set up under the codes whereby many violations could be handled directly. Without attempting to point out the principal gains which have been made in this field, it is clear that much has been accomplished already, and, further, that many of these gains will be retained despite the invalidation of the NRA.

Fullest Possible Utilization of Present Productive Capacity—The objective of any planned program should be the "fullest possible utilization" of our productive capacity which may be said to include "industry" in its broadest sense as well as those natural resources which have not yet become a part of that great flow of materials and supplies which continues without ceasing throughout our nationwide system of production and distribution to the ultimate consumer. Since the NRA was a temporary measure it is only logical that major emphasis was to be put on the utilization of our "present" productive capacity. It was recognized that this could only be achieved through reemployment, increased purchasing power and improved standards of work. It was also necessary to avoid undue restriction of production, to rehabilitate industry, and conserve natural resources.

This plan of action called for maximizing wages and minimizing dividends. The demand for the products of our industry is created by the pay envelope of

men and women who work. It is they who make possible the fullest possible utilization of our present productive capacity. Our mass production demands mass consumption, and dividends, for the most part, go toward the financing of additional productive equipment for which there is no need until those facilities which we have are being utilized.

The effectiveness of the NRA in increasing employment and purchasing power cannot be judged in absolute terms. The interplay of the many complex forces which go to make up our economic system must be carefully evaluated. We may, however, make a simple comparison of our experience following the 1921 depression and the developments between 1933 and 1935. Such a comparison indicates that definite steps were taken toward the goal which was sought, although the measures adopted were not substantial enough to obtain our objective.

In the recovery of 1922 and 1923, hours were increased with increased demand so that at the peak of 1923, when we had factory production more than 10 per cent above the high of 1920, a recovery of almost 70 per cent from the low of 1921, employment was 5 per cent below 1920, and the recovery from the low of 1921 was only 33 per cent, or half the recovery recorded in factory production.

At the high point in factory production after the NRA became effective, which was January, 1935, we were almost 30 per cent below the 1929 peak and there had been a recovery of 60 per cent from the 1933 low. Employment, on the other hand, reached a point only slightly over 20 per cent below its 1929 high, and showed a recovery of about 40 per cent from its low, or two-thirds of the recovery recorded in factory production. As compared with recovery in factory production, then, employment recovered twice as well under NRA as under *laissez-faire* of 1922-1923.

The factor making the difference between these two periods was hours of work. In 1921, they were allowed to increase whereas under the NRA they were kept down at least to those existing prior to enactment of the law. It is significant to bear in mind the technological difference between the two eras. Labor's productivity, due to mechanical and managerial improvements, is very much greater than it was in the early twenties. If employers had been permitted to increase hours to take care of increased demand when it came, it is conceivable that they could have managed without any increase in employment.

The record shows, then, that the regulation of hours had certain direct results; it shows, too, how much more effective a lower maximum work week would be in giving employment to the many millions of idle workers.

The effect of the NRA on total payrolls is indicated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics index of manufacturing payrolls which increased 84 per cent from the low in 1933 to May, 1935. It should be noted that there was an increase of approximately 25 per cent by June, before the NRA became effective. However, price changes govern the purchasing power of these increased payrolls and we find that the cost of living as measured by the National Industrial Conference Board, has increased so that the gain in real payrolls or in purchasing power under the NRA has been about 60 per cent. This, of course, is an important gain and constitutes a real factor in recovery.

From the standpoint of the individual, however, while we had a 31 per cent

increase in the hourly rate, the weekly money wage is up only about 18 per cent, due to shortened hours. It is easily seen that the increased cost of living of 15.5 per cent has largely nullified this gain. For a lift in purchasing power to be more than a mere deterrent to further deflation, the weekly wage of the individual must be raised substantially above a mere subsistence level.

In this connection, it is relevant to bring the question of profits and dividend payments into the discussion. From data now available, it is possible to compare 1933 and 1934 results for a representative group of large industrial and mercantile corporations. These units showed an increase in profits of almost 50 per cent. Aggregate dividend payments were 10 per cent higher in 1934 than in 1933. Since this effort at recovery was supposed to be based on the theory that profits were to be held down and wage earners were to receive an increased share of industrial income, it is clear from the above that the measures which were adopted were not substantial enough to effectuate this policy.

It has been shown above that the condition of the wage earner who was at work when the NRA became effective, was improved little, if any, under this control. On the average, weekly earnings were hardly increased sufficiently to offset increases in the cost of living. Actually, decreases in weekly earnings were brought about in countless cases. Furthermore, through the manipulation of wage incentives and other forms of the stretch-out, there has been a widespread increase in the work load placed upon individual workers, with no proportionate increase in compensation.

With specific reference to the matter of improved standards of labor, brief mention should be made of the general provision which codes contained on the basis of which standards of safety and health were to be approved and made effective within a period, generally, of three or four months. It is indeed significant that out of more than 550 codes, such standards have been improved in approximately twelve cases.

Price and production control and conservation of natural resources are topics of tremendous import which can not be considered within the scope of this report. Certain brief points, however, might be mentioned in passing, as indicative of the progress that was made with respect to these items.

In the rush of code making, miscellaneous devices were approved. Little, if any, uniformity in these devices is found and it is difficult indeed to reconcile policies which have been adopted by the Administration in specific cases. On the one hand we might consider the Petroleum Code which went as far as any toward the conservation of natural resources. On the other hand we have the Lumber Code with certain price fixing provisions which were not accompanied by adequate control of production, so that production was unduly stimulated in violation of sound policies concerning the conservation of natural resources.

In some codes provision was made for the control of production, while in others an attempt was made to establish minimum prices, but there was apparently no general recognition of the joint control which must be exercised over prices and production if there is to be true control. No attempts were made to establish limits within which prices might be permitted to move. No adequate facts were gathered as a basis for such control and finally no adequate power was vested

in the Administration to exercise such control. The collapse of the Lumber Code when the Department of Justice determined not to proceed with the Belcher case, is an illustration in point. Although reference has been made to the question of united action of Labor and management, which must be predicated on organization of Labor and management, no specific reference has been made to organization as such under Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Now that the Wagner Bill has been enacted into law, we are not directly concerned with protection of the right to organize and bargain collectively as an integral part of any program which looks toward national planning, unless such a program is to be based on powers of the Congress other than those included under the commerce clause. Looking back over the short history of Section 7(a), we are instantly confronted with the realization that this alleged protection was never enforceable so that the benefits derived were accomplished for the most part by those who proceeded in reliance on the section and who consolidated their gains, despite the fact that enforcement could not be achieved. A further point in this connection, however, is the increased recognition by both management and workers that collective bargaining must become a part of our economic system.

Summary of Achievements—It cannot be denied that the NRA resulted in certain economic and social benefits. Minimum standards were adopted as a base upon which to build a better economic structure. Child labor was virtually eliminated. Unfair trade practices which had been eating into the very core of our industry and trade were brought under some degree of control. The way was cleared for progress.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that those steps which were taken did not go far enough and that there were certain major insufficiencies which must be remedied in our next program for national economic control. These may be summarized as follows:

1. Insufficient formulation of policy and adherence thereto.
2. Insufficient labor participation in code making, code administration, and code reformation.
3. Insufficient statistics on which to base the entire program.
4. Insufficient powers of enforcement.

Insufficient Formulation of Policy—If any constructive program is to be carried out, definite policies must be formulated and adhered to very closely. That this was not possible in the case of the NRA is due largely to the pressure under which codes were formulated and to the "voluntary" submission which was intended to pervade all code making.

Why were more than 550 codes approved when 75 percent of the workers involved were included under 36? Was it because of the ability of the different industries to pay, or was it because of the differences in working conditions? In many instances, particular codes were approved to insure particular advantages to certain groups of employers or to permit them to have a code with relatively low labor standards because of conditions already approved in a related industry. As the number of approved codes increased, there tended to be a pyramiding of unsuitable labor provisions.

So far as ability to pay is concerned, it is in many cases determined not by the industry of which a given enterprise is a part, but by the particular set-up of the enterprise involved. How, then, are labor standards to be determined, and what policy should be adopted with regard to the paramount issue of wages vs. dividends?

Under the NRA, it was an established policy that no code would be approved which would impose an undue hardship on any enterprise involved. In many cases, where hardship was alleged, special exemptions were granted. Assuming that such a program should, at the outset at least, maximize payrolls and minimize dividends, it is obvious that labor standards cannot be kept down to the level of the most uneconomic unit in the industry. Standards must be formulated on the basis of those who are better able to pay.

Insufficient Labor Participation—It was because of insufficient labor participation that certain unfavorable code provisions were approved, that they were permitted to continue, and that adjustments specified by the codes, or which should have been specified by the codes, were not made effective.

If our program is to succeed, there must be labor participation in the formulation of policies, and in the carrying out of these policies.

Insufficient Statistics—A national program of economic planning can be no better than the facts which are available as a basis for general policy formulation and the countless refinements which must be effected. While the NRA was instrumental in bringing together much information which had never before been available and certainly never before segregated and analyzed, the job was only started. Voluntary information prepared initially with the employer bias can never be relied upon as a sound base on which a program is to be constructed. The administrative agency must have access to all pertinent facts so that a true picture of actual conditions can be obtained with respect to any situation. The value of considering information presented by Labor in direct connection with information presented by industry must not be overlooked. A fact-finding agency far outstripping the Research and Planning Division of the NRA must be established if the essential data are to be at hand.

Insufficient Powers of Enforcement—On March 7, 1935, Mr. Richberg testified before the Senate Committee at the NRA investigation that up to February 16, 1935, there had been 118,400 labor complaints and 31,667 trade practice complaints received by the NRA. Wage restitutions made through the NRA field offices and through certain code authorities approximated \$3,000,000.

The above figures, however, cannot be accepted as any indication of the extent to which compliance was obtained. Reports from the field indicate wide areas where little, if any, attempt at real code enforcement was ever made. Initially, code compliance was to be the condition on which the Blue Eagle could be displayed. Codes were on a voluntary basis. As employer opposition increased, we were faced with two major difficulties. On the one hand, employers apparently lost interest in the right to display the Blue Eagle; on the other hand, the Government was restrained from removing the emblem although the conditions on which it was to be displayed had been violated.

The load was too heavy for the compliance machinery which had been set up. The necessary power of enforcement was lacking.

We have reviewed briefly the results which were achieved under the NRA. We have pointed out some of the most glaring defects which developed and have indicated, in the briefest possible way the type of steps that should be taken in the next program that is set up, so that the most serious of these weaknesses will be taken care of.

That some control must be exercised over our former system of *laissez-faire* cannot be denied. The experiment which has been concluded has helped to point the way to the goal which we must seek. How is Congress to acquire that control over the industry and trade of our country which will make possible the necessary reforms? Granting that much might be done under the commerce clause of the Constitution, how can we handle the problems arising in those establishments which are purely intra-state? The complexities within our national economy are increasing daily. Whatever planning is done must be applied universally. The problem of how such application is to be made is still before us. Until exhaustive studies have been made with respect to attaining this great objective under our present Constitution, we cannot recommend just what steps should be taken in connection with this particular problem. Our final decision on this issue will determine the course that is to be followed in assuring to the wage earners of this country the right to work.

THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

The first National Labor Relations Board was created by Executive Order on June 29, 1934, under Public Resolution No. 44 which was passed by Congress on June 16, 1934, and approved by the President on June 19, 1934. As provided in the Executive Order, the National Labor Relations Board replaced the National Labor Board on July 9th.

The National Labor Board had been established by Executive Order on August 5, 1933, as a bi-partisan board under the chairmanship of Senator Robert F. Wagner. While important principles in the interpretation of Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act were established, this Board was without power to enforce its rulings. Furthermore, although the question at issue in many cases was what agency should represent the employees in collective bargaining, this Board was without power to proceed with the necessary elections. In order that the agency which was responsible for the administration of the law might have the necessary powers to enforce decisions, to hold elections when necessary and to invalidate the company union as a recognized agency for collective bargaining, the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill was introduced by Senator Wagner. In the rush of last minute legislation, this bill was replaced by Joint Resolution No. 44.

Under the Joint Resolution, the President was authorized to establish a board or boards "authorized and directed to investigate issues, facts, practices, or activities of employers or employees in any controversies arising under Section 7(a)—or which are burdening or obstructing, or threatening to burden or obstruct, the free flow of interstate commerce —."

Any board so established was empowered when it was in the public interest to order and conduct elections by secret ballot to determine "by what person, or persons or organization" the employees involved wished to be represented for the purpose of collective bargaining. In connection with such elections, power was given to order the production of pertinent documents or the appearance of witnesses to give testimony under oath.

Finally, after making provision for prescribing rules and regulations and specifying "a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both" for knowing violation of such rules and regulations or for interfering with or impeding the activities of any board, the Joint Resolution specifically protects the right to strike. "Nothing in this resolution shall prevent or impede or diminish in any way the right of employees to strike or engage in other concerted activities."

From the above, it is clear that the principal benefits to be anticipated from this legislation pertained to the matter of holding elections. The Board was empowered to order the production of the necessary documents or the appearance of witnesses to give testimony under oath. No additional powers were granted with respect to the enforcement of decisions where an election was not involved. No power was given to the Board to outlaw the company union as an agency for collective bargaining, but as will be seen from certain decisions of the Board which are reviewed below, the Board ruled in some cases that the company union would not be recognized as an agency for collective bargaining.

The personnel of the National Labor Relations Board was as follows:

Lloyd K. Garrison, Dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School, Chairman, and upon his resignation, Francis Biddle, Attorney, Philadelphia, Chairman.

H. A. Millis, Head of the Department of Economics of the University of Chicago.

E. S. Smith, Commissioner of Labor and Industries for Massachusetts.

The Board was authorized:

1. To investigate issues arising under Section 7(a).
2. To order and conduct elections.
3. To hold hearings and make findings of fact with reference to alleged violations of Section 7(a).
4. To prescribe, with the approval of the President, certain rules and regulations.
5. To act as a Board of voluntary arbitration at the request of the parties to a labor dispute.

The Board was to recommend, when necessary, the establishment of regional boards or special boards over which the National Labor Relations Board would have the power of review. Furthermore, although it was stipulated that the Board "may decline to take cognizance of any labor dispute when there is another means of settlement provided," the Executive Order contained no provision that might be interpreted as denying the Board the power to review decisions or recommendations of the other boards created.

The Regional Labor Boards already in existence were continued with some changes in location and personnel. Seventeen districts were established and 24 local boards to act as agents of the National Board. Under this set-up, the Re-

gional Boards were for the most part, fact-finding agencies. While they might attempt to settle disputes or hold elections where the consent and cooperation of the employers were obtained, they were not permitted to hold elections where pay-rolls were refused except under instructions and direction of the National Labor Relations Board. They had no power to enforce recommendations with regard to violations of Section 7(a).

While the centralization of all powers in the National Board did involve certain delays, these were more than offset by the fact that all policies emanated directly from the Board itself. Consequently, uniformity was achieved that could not otherwise have been possible.

Right of Appeal—The operations of the National Labor Relations Board, demonstrated beyond question that where it may be advisable to establish special agencies to deal with particular situations or problems arising in certain industries, the interpretation and enforcement of the federal law that is enforced by all must be centered finally in one agency, to which all workers who primarily may be under the jurisdiction of a special agency, will have the right of appeal. Brief reference may be made to the Automobile Labor Board and to the Daily Newspaper Industry Board which were not established under Public Resolution No. 44, and which had no connection with the National Labor Relations Board, but which operated along lines which to a substantial degree were in direct conflict with the principles established by the National Labor Relations Board. Furthermore, the workers who were included under the jurisdiction of these two boards were granted no right of appeal to the National Labor Relations Board.

The Automobile Labor Board was created under the President's settlement of the threatened automobile strike. The settlement specifically provided for minority representation:

If there be more than one group, each bargaining committee shall have total membership pro rata to the number of men each member represents.

Since the National Labor Relations Board clearly enunciated the principle of majority representation in the Houde decision and strictly adhered to it thereafter, we find that workers in the automobile industry were completely denied certain fundamental rights which the National Labor Relations Board had determined to be theirs. One other outstanding issue in this connection was the matter of holding elections and the manner in which they were conducted.

The Daily Newspaper Industry Board was one of the adjustment boards which were established under the codes. The complaint of Dean S. Jennings of the San Francisco Call-Bulletin was filed with the San Francisco Regional Labor Board on October 5, 1934, and a hearing on the record was held before the National Labor Relations Board on November 13. A decision was made in favor of the complainant. The employer contended that the Board did not have jurisdiction and Mr. Richberg in his subsequent brief, contended that the stipulation that the Board "may decline to take cognizance" of situations arising where there is another means of settlement meant "shall" decline to take cognizance. To this the Board replied: "It is unnecessary to torture the meaning of plain language." This

problem of jurisdiction was finally ended by President Roosevelt's letter to the Labor Board on January 22, in which he requested that the National Labor Relations Board refuse to entertain a complaint arising in an industry where the code provides machinery for settlement.

This decision applied to eighty-five industries (February 12, 1935) whose codes provided for Industrial Relations Boards to adjust labor complaints or disputes, or both. On that date, fifteen Industrial Relations Boards were actually functioning under the sanction of actual code provisions. The boards were in the following industries:

- Brewing
- Household Goods Storage
- Infants' and Children's Wear
- Coat and Suit
- Bituminous Coal
- Electrotyping and Stereotyping
- Photoengraving
- Trucking
- Commercial Relief Printing
- National Lithographic Printing
- Newspaper Publishing
- Textile Print Roller Engraving
- Printing Ink
- Motion Picture (three standing committees)

In addition to these agencies set up under the authority contained in the code itself, six other Industrial Relations Boards were established by Administrative Order. These were:

- Shipbuilding and Ship Repair
- Dress
- Cotton Garment
- Men's Neckwear
- Cigar
- Men's Clothing Industries

Some of these boards included more than one labor representative.

Principles Established—The more important of the earlier decisions issued by the National Labor Relations Board established certain fundamental principles which had been enunciated by the National Labor Board. These interpretations of Section 7(a) may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The right of employees to bargain collectively imposes a corresponding duty upon employers. The employer is obligated by law to negotiate in good faith.
2. The representatives selected by the majority of the employees within a bargaining unit are the sole agency for collective bargaining for that unit.
3. The employees may select any person, persons or organization to represent them, and such representatives are in no way restricted to fellow employees.
4. The reduction to writing of agreements negotiated accords with sound business policy.

The right of majority representation and the obligation imposed upon employers to enter into negotiations in good faith were clearly set forth in the case of the Houde Engineering Corporation. In the decision, dated August 30th, the position of the Board on these two points was clearly set forth in the following language:

This Board, therefore, stands upon the majority rule. And it does so the more willingly because the rule is in accord with the American traditions of political democracy, which empower representatives elected by the majority of the voters to speak for all the people.

When a person, committee or organization has been designated by the majority of employees in a plant or other appropriate unit for collective bargaining, it is the right of the representatives so designated to be treated by the employer as the exclusive collective bargaining agency for all employees in the unit, and the employer's duty to make every reasonable effort, when requested, to arrive with this representative at a collective agreement covering terms of employment of all such employees.

In this connection it is of interest to note that the principle of majority rule under Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act, was first established by the Petroleum Labor Policy Board of which William M. Lelserson was chairman.

In the Johnson Bronze Company case, the Board stated that the company should meet with the union committee, regardless of whether or not non-employees are on the committee.

The status of the signed agreement was established in the National Aniline and Chemical Company case when the Board found that "an insistence by an employer that he will go no further than to enter into an oral agreement may be evidence, in the light of other circumstances in the case, of a denial of the right of collective bargaining."

One of the most significant decisions by the Board in any case involving company unions was made on September 27, 1934, in the case of Ely-Walker Dry Goods Company of St. Louis. This decision provided in substance that the company should withdraw all financial support from the League, should cease from soliciting or suggesting membership in the League, and should withdraw from the League any recognition as a collective bargaining agency. Wholesale House Workers Union Local 18316 which represented a conceded majority of the employees in the departments concerned was to be recognized as the exclusive collective bargaining agency for the employees in those departments, and the company was to negotiate in good faith with the union and make every reasonable effort to arrive at a collective agreement.

Two important forms of discrimination were recognized in the cases of the Foster Knitting Company, Inc., and the Globe Gabbe Corporation, respectively. In the first of these, the Board found that the company in denying to several employees reinstatement because of their union affiliations and activities, upon the termination of a temporary plant shut-down, had in effect discharged these employees. In the latter case, it was found that the removal of a plant from one location to another would not be found a sufficient reason for any change in relations already established with the union where former employees were also willing to remove to the new location.

The position of the Board in seeking to protect the interests of employees who had been discharged for union activity is illustrated by the case of the U. S. Smelting, Refining and Mining Company. The company expressed its readiness to reinstate the men who had been discharged, but offered to two of them jobs with rates of pay considerably lower than what they had been receiving. The Board ordered that they be offered reinstatement immediately in their former positions with the same rights as previously enjoyed.

While the definite policy of payment in full for all time lost through discriminatory discharge was never established, back wages to the date of the Regional Board decision were ordered in the case of the Brunswick Laundry, and this principle was followed in many subsequent cases.

One of the last decisions which was of significance, so far as the establishment of principles was concerned, was in the case of the Macauley Company where it was determined that no jurisdiction could be taken over a situation which did not arise under the President's Reemployment Agreement or under an industry code.

Elections—During the first six months of operation by the National Labor Relations Board, one hundred elections were conducted by Regional Boards with the consent of the employers. An analysis of the results shows that 59 percent of the valid votes were cast for trade unions and 34.9 percent were for company unions or employee-representation plans. After these elections, recognition and collective bargaining were achieved in half of the units involved and written agreements were reported in about 40 percent of the units.

Special Boards Established Under Resolution No. 44—Under Public Resolution No. 44, the following special boards were established in addition to the National Labor Relations Board:

1. The National Longshoremen's Labor Board
2. The National Steel Labor Relations Board
3. The Textile Labor Relations Board

The National Longshoremen's Labor Board was created by Executive Order on June 26, 1934, in connection with the wide-spread strike of longshoremen then in progress on the Pacific Coast. The personnel of the Board was as follows: Rt. Rev. Edward J. Hanna, Edward F. McGrady, and O. K. Cushing. Pursuant to the agreement of August 7, 1934, between the parties, the Board on October 12, 1934, handed down its decision between the International Longshoremen's Association and the Waterfront Employers of Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco, and the Marine Service Bureau of Los Angeles. The basic features of the award were:

- (a) An increase in the basic wage rate from 85 cents to 95 cents per hour.
- (b) A 6-hour day and a 30-hour week.
- (c) Provision for the hiring of all longshoremen through halls maintained and operated jointly by the International Longshoremen's Association and the respective employers.

The proposals of the International Longshoremen's Association had been:

- (a) An increase in the basic wage from 85¢ to \$1.

- (b) Limitation of hours of work to 6 per day, 30 hours per week.
- (c) Hiring and dispatching through the International Longshoremen's Association halls, under regulation established by a joint committee.

On October 17, 1934, decisions were handed down involving certain members of the International Longshoremen's Association engaged as grain handlers in Portland, Vancouver and Seattle and certain members engaged as dock and terminal workers in Portland, Oregon. By order of the President, the Board ceased to exist on March 11, 1935.

The National Steel Labor Relations Board was created by Executive Order on June 28, 1934, with powers similar to those of the National Labor Relations Board but with jurisdiction limited to the iron and steel industry. The principal functions of the Board, therefore, were:

- (a) To investigate issues arising under Section 7(a).
- (b) To promote the settlement of controversies by mediation and conciliation.
- (c) To serve as a board of voluntary arbitration.
- (d) To exercise all the powers provided in said Public Resolution No. 44, 73rd Congress, for a board established under said resolution.
- (e) To hold elections, applying the majority-rule principle.

The Board was composed of Walter P. Stacy, Chairman; Henry A. Wiley and James Mullenbach.

Under the Steel Labor Relations Board, certain differences were adjusted; reinstatement was required where discriminatory discharges were found and elections were ordered in many cases to determine by what person, persons, or organization the employees concerned wished to be represented for the purpose of collective bargaining. As sufficient power was not granted to the Board, it was unable to enforce decisions. In many instances, elections which had been ordered were prevented by court action. Although the Board was authorized to continue in a mediatory capacity after the invalidation of the NRA by the Supreme Court, operations were actually terminated by the Schechter decision.

The Textile Labor Relations Board was created on September 26, 1934. The establishment of the Textile Labor Relations Board and of the special boards to study the actual operation of the stretch-out were recommended in the report of ex-Governor Winant to the President. On September 5, 1934, a Board of Inquiry under the chairmanship of John S. Winant had been appointed by the President to assist in reaching a settlement of the textile strike. The other two members of the Board were Marion Smith of Atlanta, Georgia, and V. Ingersoll of New York. The Board was authorized to inquire into the complaints and problems involved; to consider ways and means of meeting them; and upon the request of the parties, to act, or to select persons who should act, as a board of voluntary arbitration. The report of this Board of Inquiry was released on September 20th. With respect to the ability of the industry to carry higher payroll costs and with respect to the enforcement of certain code provisions, special studies were recommended by the Federal Trade Commission and by the United States Department of Labor. It was further recommended that special committees be

created to supervise the use of the stretch-out and to recommend a permanent plan for the control of the stretch-out.

While these recommendations were of real significance, it may be said that the recommendations for a Textile Labor Relations Board "for the more adequate protection of Labor's rights under the collective bargaining and other labor provisions of the code", was the most significant feature in the recommendations of the Board.

After a thorough analysis of the agencies which had been established in connection with code administration, the Board found "that the whole system of administering the labor provisions of the code has completely lost the confidence of Labor in this industry, and is for that reason alone, impossible of functioning satisfactorily in the future." It should be noted that the Board of Inquiry, in recommending that a special board be established for the Textile Industry, took cognizance of the fact that cases arising out of Section 7(a) may be appealed to the National Labor Relations Board: "By this means harmony of principle in dealing with Section 7(a) cases is assured."

In its creation, the Textile Labor Relations Board had the same general functions in the textile industry as did the National Steel Labor Relations Board in the iron and steel industry. The personnel of the two boards was the same. The foremost function of this Board, however, was to "take appropriate action in any case in which it is alleged that there has been discrimination in taking men back to work after the textile strike." The major portion of the activities of the Board were devoted to this problem. In addition to recommending the reinstatement of strikers in many cases which were submitted to the Board, other cases were handled which concerned violations of Section 7(a) and some elections were ordered.

The action which was taken by the Board in two instances warrants particular notice. In the case of Standard-Koosa-Thatcher Company, the alleged company union, the Good Will Adjustment Club, was certified by the Textile Labor Relations Board as the representative of the employees for the purpose of collective bargaining. In the case of the Ninety-six Cotton Mill which involved certain strikers who had not been reinstated after the textile strike, the Board ruled that "The complainants' strike was unsuccessful and for that reason, it is not incumbent upon the employer to reinstate the strikers in their former positions." This ruling was in direct contradiction with the request of the Winant Board that the employers in the industry "take back the workers now on strike without discrimination."

As was the case with the National Steel Labor Relations Board, the National Textile Labor Relations Board for all practical purposes was terminated with the invalidation of the NRA, although it was authorized to continue in a mediatory capacity.

Limitations—Brief consideration of principles established by the Board and of the results obtained through those elections which were held indicates the tremendous potentialities of such an agency, but the total inability of the Board to enforce compliance with rulings which were made shows most conclusively

that under Public Resolution No. 44, the Board was not vested with adequate power.

Chairman Biddle in his appearance before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor during hearings on the Wagner Bill presented figures illustrating the scope of the Board's achievement. Of approximately 5300 cases brought before the regional labor boards, between July 1, 1934, and March 1, 1935, approximately 3950 were disposed of. Approximately 1,500,000 workers were involved. On the other hand, where decisions were issued by the National Labor Relations Board finding violations, restitution in accordance with the decision was made in only 34 out of 86 cases. While 33 of these cases were referred to the Department of Justice, not one suit had been brought at the time of Chairman Biddle's statement.

With regard to elections, it is important to note that while many elections were held with the consent of employers, Chairman Biddle reported that in the case of each of the six elections ordered by the Board, the employer filed a petition with the Circuit Court of Appeals to review the Board's order in accordance with the provisions in Public Resolution No. 44.

The National Labor Relations Act—The next chapter in our history of organization and collective bargaining under the protection of the federal government will be based on our experience under the National Labor Relations Act which became law on July 5, 1935.

The Board is empowered to prevent any of the unfair labor practices listed below when they "affect" interstate commerce. It is an unfair labor practice for an employer:

1. To interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in self-organization and collective bargaining.
2. To dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it.
3. To discriminate with regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment, to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization.
4. To discharge or discriminate against any employee for filing charges or giving testimony under the Act.
5. To refuse to bargain collectively with the representatives of the employees.

On August 23, the President appointed the following to constitute the new National Labor Relations Board: Joseph W. Madden, Chairman; John M. Carmody, and Edwin S. Smith.

Certain of the more important principles established by the National Labor Relations Board have been written into the new law. The right of majority representation is specifically included and employers have the affirmative duty to bargain collectively with the duly chosen representatives of their employees. The company union is outlawed and the union shop is specifically legalized. The provisions in the Act which pertain to these points should go far toward clarifying certain fundamental issues which have been recognized since the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act and Section 7(a). Of greater importance, however, than the above, are the new powers with which the Board has been vested:

1. The power to subpoena witnesses and any evidence "that relates to any matter under investigation or in question";

2. The power to issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the courts.

Under the National Labor Relations Act, we have every reason to believe that new goals in the field of labor relations will be achieved. The one outstanding question in connection with this legislation is to what extent will the National Labor Relations Board be permitted to protect the right to organize and bargain collectively under the commerce clause of the Constitution.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

In the codes negotiated under the National Recovery Act, the term apprenticeship was used to describe many different types of training and unskilled work, and hence became a method of undercutting the minimum wage on special jobs or for special groups. To restore standards in the apprenticeship field the President issued an executive order defining an apprentice as a person of at least sixteen years of age who has entered into a contract with his employer providing at least two thousand hours of continuous employment and an approved program of training. The Secretary of Labor was to set up a national committee to guide the apprentice training program consisting of representatives of the Office of Education, the National Recovery Administration, and the United States Department of Labor. To this group were added representatives of organized labor and industry. John P. Frey was designated to represent Labor.

The committee was responsible for establishing standards of apprenticeship training, apprenticeship contracts, and for granting authorization for the employment of apprentices. The committee promoted the establishment of state and local committees on which education, industry, and Labor were jointly represented, to assume responsibility for standards in apprenticeship training. Committees have been organized in practically all of the states and for special apprenticeship training projects developed in localities. Its primary objective was to maintain genuine apprenticeship training of a kind designed to turn out craftsmen trained in all branches of the trade. School as well as work training was stipulated.

The following are the regulations for employment and training to be followed in the making of apprentice contracts:

1. Extent of the Period of the Apprenticeship and of the Probationary Period—The contract must state the total number of years and the total number of hours for the whole period of apprenticeship. The contract should definitely specify the extent of the probationary period in hours. This probationary period shall constitute part of the apprentice period.

The training period shall be not less than 2,000 hours nor more than 10,000 hours and shall be reasonably continuous.

2. Schedule of Processes to be Learned—The contract must specify (1) each division of the trade in which the apprentice is to receive training and experience and (2) the processes which he is to learn, with the approximate time to be spent at each process and in each division. This schedule should, of course, conform to the requirements of the individual trade and should be such as to insure that the apprentice will receive sufficient training to make him a skilled worker in all phases of the occupation which he is contracting to learn.

Trade advisory committees will be of assistance to the state committees in determining this schedule.

Any requirements of state laws regarding apprentice contracts, such as the presence of a notary's seal or the signature of both parents, must of course be met.

The work of the above committees proved especially useful as a number of industries were migrating from northern states to southern states where state labor legislation afforded less protection to the workers. A number of unfortunate vocational training projects were developed to provide employees for these factories which were taking advantage of special exemptions from local responsibilities. In some cases the local labor movement had been induced to approve vocational education projects which were in no way educational and only trained the operative in speed in a specific operation. An investigation of this evil, especially in the garment industry of the south, was made jointly by the Office of Education and the Department of Labor.

When the National Recovery Act was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and the extension of a national recovery agency was authorized until April 16, 1936, the President by executive order provided for like extension for the apprenticeship training committee.

After the creation of the Youth Administration, the Committee on Apprentice Training was accepted by this new administration as the agency for the field of apprenticeship training. The federal committee will continue to serve in an advisory capacity to all agencies concerned with apprenticeship training. It will furnish guidance and information and will work with national trade associations and national labor organizations. It will attempt to safeguard the interests of apprenticeship training through federal and state legislation and will provide for a federal certificate for those who complete apprenticeship contracts under conditions meeting federal apprenticeship training standards.

In order to decentralize control over apprenticeship training, state committees will assume local responsibility while cooperating to make effective at least the federal standards. The national committee which is directly responsible to the United States Department of Labor is responsible for a field of tremendous importance to many of our national and international unions.

Temporarily the question of apprenticeship is not such a serious problem as it was some years ago due to the fact that there are thousands of workers in the skilled trades out of employment.

We are willing to cooperate in such a way as will not interfere with the apprenticeship rules and regulations of such organizations as have established such rules and regulations.

We recommend, therefore, that the closest cooperation and vigilance be exercised with the work of the national committee and that state and local labor organizations exercise the greatest care with regard to state and local committees and projects.

REPORTED SHORTAGE OF SKILLED WORKERS

Recently, your Executive Council has felt much concern over a report given wide circulation in industrial centers. It is claimed by a number of employers and

by an important employers' association that a shortage of skilled workers has developed in industry during the depression and is now beginning to be felt. This claim is accompanied with the suggestion that hours of work be lengthened to make up for the shortage, that immigration restrictions be relaxed, that employers engage less skilled employees (who can be had at lower rates) and train them for the skilled work needed.

Knowing from our monthly trade union unemployment reports that there have been at all times during 1935 several hundred thousand skilled union mechanics available and eager for work, your Council felt this matter should have thorough investigation. Our monthly unemployment reports showed the following record of unemployment among skilled members during 1935:

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG SKILLED WORKERS

(Percent of Members Unemployed)

1935	Building	Metal Trades	Printing	Railroads	Professions ¹
January.....	59.8	24.8	16.7	13.7	42.1
February.....	61.0	24.7	15.3	13.9	42.6
March.....	59.0	23.7	15.3	11.7	42.2
April.....	57.0	23.4	14.5	11.4	43.6
May.....	53.5	22.7	14.1	11.1	43.0
June.....	51.2	22.9	13.9	10.9	42.5
July.....	51.0	22.5	14.7	10.7	42.8

¹ Chiefly musicians and actors.

These figures, when all members of the Federation are counted, indicate some 325,000 skilled union craftsmen are unemployed, eager for work. With this huge reservoir of highly skilled craftsmen available and seeking employment, there can clearly be no true basis for the reported shortage of skilled workers.

It is significant also that the shortage is claimed to be chiefly in the metal working industries. This claim was given publicity through a pamphlet issued by the National Industrial Conference Board in June 1935. Since the above figures show that there is more unemployment and a greater proportion of skilled workers available for work in metal industries than in either the printing industries or the railroads, such a claim appears particularly illogical. No shortage of skilled mechanics is reported on railroads or in printing. It appears that the metal industries which have discriminated against trade unions for many years are now concentrating on this claimed shortage.

Because of this fact, a special survey has been made among international unions and local councils in the metal-working industries. The table below gives a summary of the records sent in from different metal-working centers. The Conference Board claims a shortage of skilled metal trades workers among its member firms amounting to 1,193 craftsmen at the present time, with a possible shortage of 7,767 when plants return to normal production. This table indicates by actual count well over 10,000 skilled union mechanics available for work in the same crafts and approximately the same localities where a shortage is claimed. Clearly, Conference Board member firms have had an ample supply of skilled labor at hand, had they been willing to employ union mechanics.

UNEMPLOYMENT, SPRING OF 1935

(Percent of Members Unemployed)

<i>City</i>	<i>All Metal Trades</i>	<i>Machinists</i>	<i>Metal Polishers</i>	<i>Pattern Makers</i>
Baltimore.....	31	21	..	..
Birmingham.....	23	13	..	..
Boston.....	26	..	61	55
Buffalo.....	35	10	..	..
Chicago.....	33	22	32	..
Cleveland.....	33	10	19	..
Dayton.....	..	..	44	..
Denver.....	26	..	..	86
Detroit.....	27	8	45	..
Duluth.....	..	7	..	..
Erie.....	..	4	..	70
Grand Rapids.....	..	..	71	..
Indianapolis.....	..	10	..	25
Los Angeles.....	48	32	..	..
Louisville.....	..	..	37	..
Milwaukee.....	32	11	..	50
Minneapolis.....	41	..	..	25
Newport News.....	..	..	..	13
New London.....	..	..	..	16
New York City.....	19	23	25	63
Philadelphia.....	31	15	34	21
Pittsburgh.....	15	9	..	59
San Francisco.....	31	20	..	41
St. Louis.....	26	23	..	65
Seattle.....	44	32	..	..
Springfield, Mass.....	..	..	..	34
Toledo.....	..	15	73	..
Wilmington.....	..	37	..	..
Youngstown.....	..	6	..	..

Sources: All metal trades: from monthly unemployment reports to American Federation of Labor. Others: reports from international unions.

Reports have come to us showing that, where claims of a skilled labor shortage have been traced to their source, they were proved to be either without foundation or due to discrimination against union members. The International Association of Machinists reports as follows:

On numerous occasions when requests were made of the NRA for an exemption from the maximum hours provision of the code, based on the claim that skilled mechanics, etc., were not available, we have sent this information to the locality making the request, advising our members to apply for positions and report to us. In almost every instance the members of our organization, when applying for positions with firms which claimed they were unable to secure skilled workers, were advised that no skilled men were needed.

The Metal Trades labor organizations brought out the following information in a hearing before General Johnson:

In the Port of New York employers claimed they could not secure skilled craftsmen in the shipbuilding industry. Our organization had canvassed the situation and had the names and addresses of more than 17,000 skilled

mechanics in the various trades, all having extensive experience in the shipbuilding industry and when employers were asked what efforts they made to secure mechanics they stated they had applied to the Federal Reemployment Agency and the various agencies set up by the respective employer associations and that they had been unable to secure workmen of the type needed. They were asked if they had sought to secure skilled workers affiliated with the various labor organizations and the answer was "No." It was also developed that these same employers at this time were declining to meet duly authorized representatives of the Metal Trades Council in the Port of New York for the purpose of handling grievances and negotiating a working agreement.

Another case where a claimed shortage proved to be without foundation is cited by the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders:

Recently, the shipbuilders on the Atlantic Coast, working on government contracts, claimed that there was a shortage of skilled shipfitters and especially loftsmen. We at that time made a survey of the country and found that there were more unemployed of this classification than the total estimated possible employment as given by the shipbuilders.

A similar report comes from Pattern Makers in Minneapolis:

Twenty-five per cent of our members are unemployed and about 40 per cent of the non-union pattern makers are out of work or on work relief. Molders and machinists say that conditions in their trade are about the same. There has been some advertising for men in the metal trades but these ads seem to be a blind of some kind; very few have materialized into jobs.

And from Pattern Makers in Boston:

The Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation have recently discharged approximately 25 per cent of their journeymen pattern makers. This firm some time back reported to Washington a scarcity of pattern makers while at that very time they were refusing to accept applications from unemployed pattern makers.

Special reports were received from Metal Trades Councils in 10 cities, representing all sections of the country: East—Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Ilion, N. Y., New York City; South—Mobile; Central—Akron, Chicago, Milwaukee; West—San Francisco, Long Beach. They show the following significant facts: All councils report that there is no shortage of skilled workers. Instead, there is serious unemployment in most localities, varying from 10 to 75 per cent of the membership, the largest number reporting from 20 to 30 per cent unemployed. In all but three cities there is much discrimination against union members. Three cities report that all or nearly all employers discriminate against union members; one states that about half the employers discriminate and, in three others, there is discrimination in several large shops or intimidation through foremen on the job.

Thus it is clear that the claim of a shortage of skilled workers is being used to discriminate against trade unions and to avoid employing union mechanics.

Reports from these councils and from other sources indicate that a shortage of skilled workers is often claimed as an excuse for lengthening work-hours or in order to avoid paying the wage scale fixed by unions for competent mechanics. In

Buffalo, hours are being lengthened since NRA became ineffective. The 10 Metal Trades Councils report that the wage set for mechanics who have the skill and training necessary to equip them as journeymen union craftsmen is from 10 to 50 per cent higher than the rate for which non-union men can be hired. Many employers hire men of less skill to avoid the wage standard for truly competent work. The International Molders Union makes the following statement of conditions in Michigan:

The companies will not pay the prevailing wages and most of them are attempting to employ skilled mechanics at the wage provided for common labor in the codes and, to make this worse, they allege that they are living up to the code when doing this.

The International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders has had the following experience with a company doing contract work:

Whenever the company secured a contract, they would spread the claim over the city that there was not enough skilled labor to man the job and insist on the right to employ laborers to cover the gap, although there were men skilled at the work standing at their gates who were refused employment.

One important difficulty met by employers could be solved by a better adjustment of work schedules. In times of prosperity, an actual shortage of skilled workers is often due to the employer's failure to provide steady work for his skilled employees. A man is wanted for a month or two in the busy season but the skilled mechanic cannot afford to be idle and takes steady work outside the trade rather than wait for these casual jobs. The Pattern Makers of Pittsburgh report:

The reason for any shortage of pattern makers in the Pittsburgh District, which happened once in the last seventeen years, is that men who have worked at the trade have found it to fluctuate so much that it has been necessary for them to find something else to work at during the slow periods. The majority of these men are first-class mechanics. They have found that they needed a side line to follow when they do not have work at pattern making and when they are called by the Association Business Manager for work they are not always in a position to leave on a minute's notice to accept the job at pattern making.

The Metal Trades Council of Ilion, N. Y., find a similar situation:

When an industrial corporation desires to change the model of its product, it dispenses with the services of the skilled and unskilled employees alike. Instead of retaining the skilled employees at least and taking advantage of the situation by repairing and readjusting machines for the new product, the management waits until ready for the new machine to be put on the market. Then a call is issued to double the force of skilled mechanics, agreeing to give employment for only two or three months. The result is that these employees, because of their skill, have been able to obtain positions in lines of endeavor other than their trade. Even though these positions pay less per hour than their trade, they hesitate to return to their trade for the short period of time for which they will be employed. This is the actual state of affairs in Ilion at the present time and has been so in Middletown, Connecticut. Similar reports have been received from other cities.

Finally, it should be noted that an adequate employment service would assist in making contact between worker and job, as would also a greater use by employers of the trade union office as a source of skilled help. The following report from Ilion, New York, is revealing:

There are very few of the mechanics who avail themselves of the services of the Federal Reemployment Bureau and for this reason: In a great many communities the Federal Reemployment Bureau is located in the same building with the welfare offices, sometimes using the same entrance, and a skilled mechanic does not care to be seen entering a welfare office. Indeed, in listing your name, it is practically the same as applying for relief. One is made to feel like a pauper.

To sum up: Our investigation indicates (1) that there is no shortage of skilled workers if employers are willing to employ union mechanics; (2) that the claimed shortage of skilled workers is due to discrimination against union members and is used as an excuse for lengthening hours or undercutting union rates of pay; (3) that instability of employment often forces skilled mechanics to seek work in other occupations; (4) that an adequate employment service would help to make contact between the employer seeking skilled men and the employee equipped to do the job.

THE THIRTY-HOUR WEEK

With increasing industrial activity this year, a tendency to increase work hours has become apparent. Records of actual hours worked are furnished by the United States Department of Labor, covering about half of all wage and small-salaried workers in industry. The records show that, in the first half of 1935, work hours in American mines, factories and service industries have steadily averaged about one-half hour longer per week than in the first half of 1934. The average work week last year was 37½ hours; this year, 38.

This is a matter of much significance and accounts in large part for the fact that unemployment is higher today than it was a year ago. Instead of absorbing the unemployed, American industry has in many cases lengthened hours to take care of an increasing volume of production. Thus in April 1935 we find American factories producing a larger quantity of goods than last year but employing the same number of wage earners, while in June, 1935, the same quantity was produced as in 1934 with 120,000 fewer wage earners.¹

	FACTORY EMPLOYMENT (U. S. Department of Labor)		FACTORY PRODUCTION INDEX (U. S. Federal Reserve Board)	
	1934	1935	1934	1935
April.....	6,906,100	6,906,100	89	91
June.....	6,799,900	6,680,200	84	84

During both these months, unemployment exceeded last year's levels; in April there were 414,161 more out of work than last year; in June, 682,489 more.

Thus the forces which have increased unemployment even in prosperity are

¹ In May, production and employment were both below last year, so that the relation between the two trends is not so clearly discernible.

again at work. Experience in the first half of 1935 emphasizes the need for a constant drive to shorten hours. If the tendencies here shown are allowed to prevail, we shall find ourselves back at the 1929 level of production with millions still unemployed. This has been the experience of Great Britain, where no concerted effort was made to shorten work-hours and put men and women back to work. In Great Britain today, industry is back at 1929 levels but unemployment is considerably above 1929. The number of unemployed receiving benefits in Great Britain today is nearly double the number in 1929, and the employment exchanges report 38 per cent more unemployed registered for work. Since the hourly productivity of American factory workers probably increased more than 20 per cent,² between the summer of 1929 and the early months of 1935, we shall unquestionably meet this same situation in the United States.

According to our calculations, based on Labor Department figures, a week of 30 hours or less would be required to give employment to all those seeking work in the first half of 1935, at the present level of industrial activity. Figures covering mines, factories, trade and some service industries (about half of all non-farm wage and small-salaried workers) show an average of 12,448,000 employed in the first half year, while 16,474,000³ sought work in these industries. The work time needed averaged 473,522,000 man hours per week; if all those seeking work were to have jobs, a work week of less than 29 hours would have been necessary.

The struggle for shorter work hours has been carried forward with marked success by the labor movement during the past year.

In addition to our efforts to secure passage of the Thirty-Hour-Week bill by Congress, we have been successful in shortening work-hours by agreement in many trades and localities. We have reports from 73 international unions which indicate that all or part of their members are working a 40-hour week or less. These members have in general 5 work days per week; in some cases, however, the work week includes 5½ or 6 days although the hours are 40 or below. (The table on page 78 and accompanying text give the number working a 5-day 40-hour week.) In all, 2,035,794 members are reported as working 40 hours per week or less and, of these, 603,989 have work hours of less than 40 per week (chiefly 35 and 36 hours) and 13,806 have already won the 30-hour week by agreement. In addition, several thousand members are working on PWA projects where the 30-hour week is in effect due to provisions in the original act won through the efforts of organized labor.

Our reports also show that the steady drive of the international unions to reduce hours by agreement has shortened the work week for 770,031 members during the last year and a half (January 1934 to June 1935). These gains have been accomplished since codes were established. They represent gains over and above the shortening of hours effected by codes.

Many internationals are requiring that all new agreements negotiated provide

² F. C. Mills, National Bureau of Economic Research.

³ Since 1929, 3,326,000 had been laid off in these industries. With an increase of over 2,000,000 since 1929 in persons seeking gainful work, the share of new employment falling to these industries would conservatively be placed at 700,000, making a total of 4,026,000 jobs sought in addition to the 12,448,000 provided. These industries are taken as a group representative of American industry as a whole.

for the 40-hour week or less. The 30-hour week is being pressed by a large proportion of our membership and the figures above show that excellent progress is already being made in further shortening of the work week below 40 hours.

TRADE UNION MEMBERS WORKING 40 HOURS OR LESS

<i>International Union</i>	<i>No. Mem- bers Covered</i>	<i>International Union</i>	<i>No. Mem- bers Covered</i>
Asbestos Workers.....	500	Longshoremén.....	10,000
Bricklayers.....	52,000	Machinists.....	55,000
Bookbinders.....	11,000	Marble Polishers.....	5,500
Brewery Workers.....	42,000	Meat Cutters.....	2,000
Brick & Clay Workers.....	200	Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.....	15,000
Bridge & Structural Iron Workers.....	10,500	Mine Workers, United.....	450,000
Carmen.....	40,000	Oil Workers.....	42,700
Carpenters.....	110,000	Paper Makers.....	1,250
Clerks, Post Office.....	150,000	Painters.....	58,680
Clothing Workers.....	100,000	Pattern Makers.....	1,500
Coopers.....	3,000	Pavers, Rammermen, etc.....	1,500
Diamond Workers.....	250	Paving Cutters.....	2,200
Draftsmen.....	2,000	Plasterers.....	16,155
Electrical Workers.....	104,000	Plumbers.....	33,000
Elevator Constructors.....	10,000	Pilots, Air Line.....	749
Engineers, Operating.....	18,000	Polishers, Metal.....	1,700
Engravers, Metal.....	350	Powder & High Explosive Workers.....	24
Engravers, Photo.....	8,000	Printers, Die Stampers & Engravers.....	650
Fire Fighters.....	350	Printing Pressmen.....	32,000
Firemen & Oilers.....	5,500	Pulp & Sulphite Workers.....	8,500
Foundry Employees.....	2,500	Quarry Workers.....	4,500
Fur Workers.....	10,000	Railway Mail Association....	19,750
Garment Workers, Ladies'....	200,000	Roofers.....	3,500
Garment Workers, United....	37,100	Stereotypers, etc.....	5,545
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	2,500	Stone Cutters.....	270
Glass Cutters.....	1,200	Stove Mounters.....	2,010
Glass Workers, Flat.....	4,000	Street & Electric Railway Employees.....	12,000
Glass Workers, Flint.....	4,729	Teachers.....	12,000
Glove Workers.....	3,600	Textile Workers.....	90,000
Government Employees.....	12,500	Telegraphers, Railroad.....	687
Granite Cutters.....	5,000	Tobacco Workers.....	150
Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers.....	33,000	Typographical Workers.....	40,000
Hod Carriers.....	45,000	Upholsterers.....	10,000
Hotel & Restaurant Employees	500	Wall Paper Crafts.....	345
Lathers.....	8,100	Wire Weavers.....	350
Leather Workers.....	2,700		
Letter Carriers.....	50,000		
Lithographers.....	6,500		
		Total, 73 Unions.....	2,035,794

RE-EMPLOYMENT

The problem of putting some 11,000,000 unemployed back to work in industry is one of the greatest tasks now before the American people. Many persons take it for granted that, as industry comes back to normal, the unemployed will automatically find work. We wish the problem were as simple as this. Careful observation of economic facts indicates, however, that (1) increases in the worker's

productivity have been so great, both during the decade ending in 1929 and during the following five years of depression, that even a return to normal business will not give work to all who seek it. The problem will never be solved until reduction in the hours of labor goes hand in hand with the introduction and development of machinery. (2) The greatest progress made during depression in putting the unemployed to work was accomplished through the codes and the President's Re-employment Program, by shortening work hours; through this program, 1,800,000 men and women went back to work from July to October, 1933. (3) Very little progress has been made since then in creating jobs in industry, although business activity has increased considerably.

Re-employment under codes reached its peak in May and June, 1934, when 39,500,000 persons in all were at work in the United States, compared to 35,700,000 at the bottom of depression. Since that time, employment has continually been below the 39,500,000 figure, although industrial activity has averaged 3 per cent higher during the first 6 months of 1935 than it was in May and June of 1934.

Comparing production and employment, we find the following: In manufacturing industries, production in the first half of 1935 exceeded the last half of 1934 by 16.3 per cent, while employment was higher by only 5 per cent. Comparing the first half of 1935 with the same period in 1934, for both manufacturing and mining, we find that production in 1935 exceeded 1934 by 4.7 per cent while employment was only 1.5 per cent higher. Thus it is clear that, at the present time, in our great mining and manufacturing industries which employ nearly one-third of all industrial wage and small-salaried workers, production is increasing more rapidly than employment.

This lag of employment stands out just as clearly when we compare business activity as a whole with employment in all industries and review the whole period from the bottom of depression to the present time. Employment gains made through codes have not been continued during the past year and consequently, by June 1935, recovery in employment had fallen behind recovery in business activity. In the 2 years and 3 months since March 1933, which was the bottom of depression both for business activity and employment, business activity has risen half-way back to normal but only 39 per cent of those laid off during depression have gone back to work. Of the 9,500,000 persons who lost their jobs during depression, only 3,700,000 had found work in industry up to June 1935 and all these jobs were found before June 1934. Business activity, on the other hand, has risen from a low point of 58.4 per cent of normal to 79.1 per cent of normal—a recovery of 50 per cent (according to the Annalist index of business activity).¹

It is clear from this record that we cannot count on recovering business to put all the unemployed to work unless business activity reaches a level very substantially above normal. To sustain business at a level adequate to give work to all would require large increases in workers' buying power, and maintenance of workers' buying power at a higher level than any thus far attained. By lifting workers' income through the economic power of labor organizations we have

¹ The number laid off in depression is determined by comparing employment in April, 1930, and March, 1933. The Annalist index of business activity stood at 101.8% of normal in April, 1930, that is, so close to normal as to make the above comparison between business and employment entirely valid.

already started to lay the necessary foundation of buying power, but progress has not yet gone far enough.

Why has employment failed to increase with business revival during the past year? This is a question of vital importance, since the livelihood of millions depends on their finding work in industry as business recovers.

To answer the question adequately requires study of the economic factors underlying the present business situation. By comparing the business recovery of 1933-35 with previous periods of recovery and expansion since 1920, we find this significant fact:² In recent periods of business revival, production has always increased more rapidly than employment.

Comparing the present revival with three previous periods of revival approximately equal to the present in degree of recovery, we find: (1) The increase in factory employment in previous revivals varied from 7 to 16 per cent; in 1933-35, it was 31 per cent. (2) The increase in factory wage payments in previous revivals varied from 12 to 27 per cent; in 1933-35, the increase was 46 per cent.

Thus it is clear at once that our effort to control economic forces through organization has tended to speed the readjustment of labor income. This is the more important since workers' income declined more in proportion to the gross income of manufacturing industry during this depression than in any previous depression since 1920. The National Bureau of Economic Research states: "Wage liquidation paralleled the general drop in gross income. . . In this respect the recession of 1929-33 stands alone . . . for traditionally the decline in wage disbursements lags behind the drop in gross income of manufacturing industries."

The controlled revival of 1933-35 differed from previous revivals in other respects. Normally, in a period of business recovery, the primary emphasis is on production as a means of increasing profits and workers' income. Production increases more rapidly than wage payments and labor cost per unit of product declines. Work hours are lengthened without increasing wage rates and workers raise their income by working longer hours. Thus workers' share in the income from production steadily falls behind.

In the present recovery, this process occurred in the usual way until the introduction of codes. Then it was reversed. Instead of emphasizing production as a means of increasing income, under codes workers' income in many instances was lifted by shortening work hours and putting men to work. Thus is the period from the depression bottom³ to the beginning of 1935,⁴ wage payments increased more than production and labor costs were not reduced as rapidly as in previous recoveries. A reduction of 8 per cent in labor costs during this period compares with reductions varying from 12 per cent to 23 per cent in previous recoveries.

In previous recent recoveries, industry has depended largely on decreasing labor costs to permit reductions in prices to consumers and increase in profits to investors: Labor costs were reduced by increasing productivity; production increased faster than either employment or wage payments; and thus the total share of Labor as a group in the income of industry declined. This is the usual

² In making this comparison, we use Bulletin No. 56 of the National Bureau of Economic Research, published May 10, 1935.

³ February-March, 1933.

⁴ December, 1934-January, 1935.

development when industry recovers from depression without measures for control. It results eventually in gains for investors and consumers at the expense of Labor. Its immediate effects, however, are greatly to speed recovery. For (1) reduced prices lead to greater consumer buying and (2) rapidly increasing profits together with the increasing demand for production of goods induce industrial executives to make rapid increases in the production of goods. Employment increases as production rises (though less rapidly) and the unemployed are returned to work more quickly than they have been in the present depression.

These forces, if allowed to operate unchecked, however, eventually produce an unbalance in industry—a shortage of consuming power, because Labor's income increases less rapidly than production. This shortage prevents production from reaching its highest possible levels and is instrumental, within a few years, in bringing on another recession. Such a shortage of buying power in 1929 is now generally recognized as one of the outstanding causes of the present depression.

In the present recovery, measures for control have emphasized the increase in Labor's income rather than the reduction of labor costs. Prices of manufactured goods are not yet entirely readjusted—they are still high in comparison with the prices of other goods. As a result, consumer buying and the demand for production of goods have not yet increased as rapidly as in some other recoveries, and production and employment have recovered more slowly.

That recovery is proceeding there can be no doubt. Consumer buying today (June 1935) is 22 per cent above the depression low point and 3 per cent above last year. Profits of industrial firms are increasing. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York reports an increase of 48.5 per cent in profits of 163 industrial firms from 1933 to 1934, and the National City Banks report an increase of 18 per cent in the first half of 1935 over the same period of 1934 for a similar group.

The fact that employment failed to increase during the past year is probably due partly to the slow recovery of production and also to readjustments in industry following the large increase in employment in 1933. Industrial indicators today give evidence of a healthy development in business which promises gains in employment and production during the next few months. If workers' buying power can be maintained and further increased in proportion to industrial income as business rises we may look forward to a period of more healthy business than that of the predepression decade.

Gains in workers' buying power are shown by the figures on income recently released by the United States Department of Commerce. These figures show that the share of industrial wage earners in the nation's total income paid out has increased from 14.6 per cent in 1932 to 18.1 per cent in 1934. The fact that this gain was made during a period when the share of property holders and entrepreneurs did not increase shows a readjustment of labor income. This readjustment is not yet complete, however, for wage earners in 1934 received only 18.1 per cent of the total income paid out while in 1929 they received 21.9 per cent. Labor today is receiving a smaller proportion of the total income than in 1929. The proportion going to investors (property income) on the other hand is practically the same as in 1929, and the income of entrepreneurs is actually a larger proportion of the total than in 1929 (16.4 per cent in 1934 compared to 15.8 per cent in 1929).

These figures indicate that a further increase in Labor's buying power is essential to assure a healthy recovery. This increase must be made by re-employing the unemployed as well as by increasing the income of those already at work. With the gradual increase of production and the consequent reduction of unit overhead costs; and with the steady increase in productivity and consequent reduction of labor costs, increases in workers' income and in workers' share of total income will be possible without unduly burdening industry. This will not be accomplished, however, unless we have strong labor organizations to enable workers to secure their share of industry's earnings.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The United States Employment Service, created under the Wagner-Peyser Act, has suddenly become of greater importance than ever before because of the part which this agency is to play in the administration of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935.

The opportunity for service and the responsibility put upon the service brings out the weaknesses and ill-advised policies with striking emphasis. From the first the American Federation of Labor maintained that the experience of employees and union executives was essential to wisest administration of the Employment Service. Those who work for wages have a practical experience in employment that is necessary to supplement that of management and the student of policies and mechanisms. Many union executives have maintained successful employment bureaus for the service of their members and employers over many years.

The regulations of the Service which insist upon formal education to the exclusion of educational experience in the field concerned, has been repeatedly protested by the representatives of organized labor. We wish to reaffirm that protest and to urge that the experience of Labor be utilized in the administration of the government service which affects the lives of workers so fundamentally. It is generally charged that the service gives preference to unorganized workers and to employers paying low rates. Labor should be in a position to advise in the formulation of policies and to watch the results of their administration.

One of the requirements which must be fulfilled before persons are eligible for employment on projects under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, is that they be "registered with the employment offices designated by the United States Employment Service."

Because of this condition, it is additionally in order that careful consideration be given to the United States Employment Service and to the part which Labor must play in seeing to it that this agency is so administered that the fullest possible benefits will result. This service, which has been established for Labor, cannot function effectively unless Labor is actively identified with it and participates whole-heartedly in the many phases of its administration. We refer not only to Labor participation in the National Advisory Council, which may be considered as the control group for the whole national machinery, but more especially to Labor participation in connection with local and state branches

where the forces of this nationwide service are actively at work. It is here that policies in effect will meet with realities. It is here that the need for changes in administration procedure will first become apparent.

This is a project of tremendous significance to Labor because it can help the man and the job to find each other. Such a service not only is one of the important agencies which must be exercised to the full in getting people back to work, but the information which may be made available through the proper functioning of such an agency should go far toward disclosing trends in their beginnings and in thus making possible some better control over both employment and our unemployment problems.

The Wagner-Peyser Act which was approved by the President on June 6, 1933, provides for the establishment of "a national system of public employment offices." The service is created in the Department of Labor. An appropriation is authorized of \$1,500,000 for the first fiscal year and \$4,000,000 for the four subsequent years. Thereafter, the sum necessary is to be determined by Congress.

Appropriations to the states depend generally on matched contributions from the respective states and on approval of state agencies by the United States Employment Service. The Act provides that "during the current fiscal year and the two succeeding fiscal years" apportionment may be made to states where there is no system of public employment offices "in establishing and maintaining a system of public employment offices under the control of the Director" or in setting up offices in states when the state system of public employment is not in compliance with the requirements of the Act.

Provision is made for the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council and State Advisory Councils, made up of men and women representing employers, employees and the public. At the end of June 1935, twenty-four states were affiliated with the United States Employment Service. Approximately two hundred operating offices were in existence. The service in each of the states, which is affiliated with and cooperating with the United States Employment Service, so that it is entitled to appropriations, is known as an Affiliated State Employment Service.

The National Reemployment Service which is operated on federal funds, directly under the United States Employment Service, where state employment services have not been set up, was operating 501 district offices and 1268 branch offices.

Some idea of the relative magnitude of these two employment services may be gained from the figures shown above as to the number of offices established under each. The fact that twenty-four states have affiliated services does not by any means indicate that half of the work is handled by the State Employment Services. In addition to the tremendous variations in population as to the different states, it must be remembered that an existing affiliated State Employment Service does not necessarily cover the entire state. One clear indication of the responsibility which must be carried by the Federal Reemployment Service is found in the fact that while approximately one-third of the population has access to State Employment Services, more than 90 per cent of the area of the country is not covered by these offices.

As a general index of the extent to which these offices are functioning, we may turn to reports which are now available for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1934 and 1935. In the first year, the National Reemployment Service and the State Employment Services received 12,634,974 new applications and made 6,951,523 placements. Approximately, three-quarters of the applications and placements were handled by the National Reemployment Service.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, complete details are not available.

RELIEF

The extent of our national problem of relief may be best measured by the extent of unemployment. At the opening of the first year of depression, 1930, there were 3,216,000 unemployed. In March, 1930, the figure stood at 3,543,000. Three years later, in March, 1933, unemployment reached 13,689,000—its highest mark. In three years, more than ten million men and women were added to the jobless army—a development without precedent or parallel in the industrial history of the world.

The immensity of the relief problem which confronted the nation at the inception of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration is further illustrated by the following table indicating the annual trend of relief in seventy selected cities from May, 1929, to May, 1933.

TABLE I
The Trend of Relief in 70 Cities for the Month of May

Year	Number of Cases Aided	Amount of Expenditure
1929	30,721	\$744,156
1930	56,530	1,463,559
1931	143,739	3,218,645
1932	449,293	9,459,042
1933	863,620	17,593,946

It is seen that in May, 1933, when the FERA began to function, the number of cases was 28 times greater and the amount expended almost 24 times greater than the same month of 1929.

Prior to May, 1933, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had carried on relief and work relief activities through allocation of funds to states. The trend of this activity is shown by the following table, in which the first column represents the entire amount of expenditure by the end of each month and the second, the amount of monthly disbursement.

TABLE II

	Total Amount Spent (Cumulative)	Monthly Disbursement
1932	(000)	(000)
August	\$3,948	\$3,948
September	14,160	10,212
October	30,979	16,819
November	51,442	20,463
December	79,968	28,526

	<i>Total Amount Spent (Cumulative) (000)</i>	<i>Monthly Disbursement (000)</i>
1933		
January	\$120,148	\$40,180
February	159,557	39,409
March	201,376	41,819
April	242,741	41,365
May	294,845	52,104

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration was established on May 22, 1933, and in that month 4,250,000 families, or nearly 19,000,000 persons, were receiving relief from public funds.

From the outset, the major portion of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration's work was devoted to direct relief activities. At the same time an effort was made to provide as much relief as possible in the form of work projects. One of the agencies designed to accomplish this purpose was the Civilian Conservation Corps, instituted under the Emergency Conservation Works project.

The CCC was formed to enroll unemployed young men between the ages of 18 and 25, to protect and improve the nation's forest lands. The boys were stationed at forest camps and given a cash allowance of \$30 per month of which not less than \$23 was to be sent to dependents. In addition, each CCC worker was provided with food and clothing and medical care. The extent and progress of this work relief project is indicated in Table III.

When the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was instituted, work relief was being carried on in a varied manner in a number of states and an effort was made to regulate this to some extent by issuing instructions as to minimum wages and urging cash payment. On November 1, 1933, there were 2,000,000 on work relief rolls. To take care of these and 2,000,000 additional relief and non-relief unemployed, the Civil Works Administration was inaugurated to carry on socially useful works projects such as public construction and repair, education, arts, research, public welfare, health, etc. By far the greater proportion of workers under this program were engaged in public construction and repair. The number of workers, payrolls and average weekly earnings during the existence of the CWA are shown in Table IV.

During the summer of 1933, special aid for relief in the drought areas was arranged. At that time it was estimated that about 207,000 families in drought areas needed relief. Direct relief and work relief were supplied and public roads projects were instituted in these areas. The Public Works Administration contributed funds for materials while the wage costs were met by relief funds. The CWA, after its organization, took over the labor supply problem for these projects.

In addition to the highway program, feed for livestock was made available in drought sections through the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation, which was organized early in October, 1933, to purchase agricultural surpluses for distribution to the needy. Funds for this activity were supplied by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

When the Federal Emergency Relief Administration started its operations, there were 4,250,000 families, or nearly 19,000,000 persons, receiving relief from all public funds, including national, state and local disbursements. In May, 1935, there were 4,300,000 families, or about 19,250,000 people, receiving relief under

general and special programs. However, at the beginning the monthly expenditure was only \$70,800,000, as against almost \$190,000,000 in May, 1935. In other words, the per capita monthly relief bill was increased more than 2½ times since the inception of the FERA. In the 29 months from January, 1933, to May, 1935, the amount expended for emergency relief under general and special programs from all public funds was \$3,211,928,595, of which the federal government contributed 71 per cent, the states 12 per cent, and local bodies 17 per cent.

A comprehensive picture of the number of cases covered and the total amount expended each month on direct and work relief, may be gained from Table V, which covers a period of thirteen months from April, 1934, to May, 1935.

Various special programs of rural rehabilitation, emergency education, student aid and transient relief have been instituted under the FERA. While no figures are available on the amount of funds expended for these programs, the number of people benefited by each one is shown in Table VI. It will be seen that in May of the current year about 287,000 transients received aid, in 205,000 cases assistance was given under the Rural Rehabilitation program, 101,000 college students received benefits, and 41,000 students were assisted by the Emergency Education program.

A portion of the unemployed has been absorbed as a result of grants or loans made available by the Public Works Administration and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The PWA has sponsored federal construction projects by allotments to the various departments and agencies of the government. Non-federal projects have been financed by allotments from the PWA to states, municipalities or commercial firms. In the cases of states and municipalities, a direct grant of not more than 30 per cent is made and the remaining 70 per cent is financed by the recipient, sometimes by a loan from the PWA. No outright grants are made to commercial firms. Monthly data showing the employment effected under the Public Works program, as well as the amount of payrolls and the value of material orders since June, 1933, is contained in Table VII.

On projects financed by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, some absorption of the unemployed has also been accomplished. The number of wage-earners employed on these projects, however, was considerably curtailed in the first half of 1935. Employment and payrolls on these projects are shown in Table VIII.

While the federal government was thus fighting against the inroads of economic depression on several fronts, the problem of unemployment in private industry was far from being solved. Between July and October some 1,800,000 were returned to private employment. By October of that year unemployment stood at 10,122,000. But between October and November, 580,000 lost their jobs, the worst lay-offs occurring in the manufacturing industry from which 330,000 were dismissed. These factory lay-offs were larger than in any normal year or in any year since the depression, showing a cumulative effect of the severe curtailment in business activity during the first four months of NRA. Due to a variety of causes business was obviously failing to "do its part."

Such resumption in the rising tide of unemployment would have been disastrous to the wage-earners were it not for the jobs made available by the federal government under the phases of the program just described. By the end of 1933,

about 4,000,000 were at work under CWA and 600,000 under PWA and CCC, but more than 6,000,000 remained without any employment whatever.

Business activity was dull in the winter of 1933-34, and increased spring activity could not reemploy all those laid off during the winter. In April, 1934, there were 500,000 more out of work than in October, 1933.

In August, 1934, there were 10,821,000 without work. While 3,500,000 more persons were at work in private industry than in March, 1933, actually unemployment was lessened only by 2,900,000, because the steady increase in population had added 600,000 to the army of job seekers. With more than 5,000,000 employed on emergency jobs provided by the government, and on relief, about 5,700,000 still remained dependent for support on relatives, private charity, or savings.

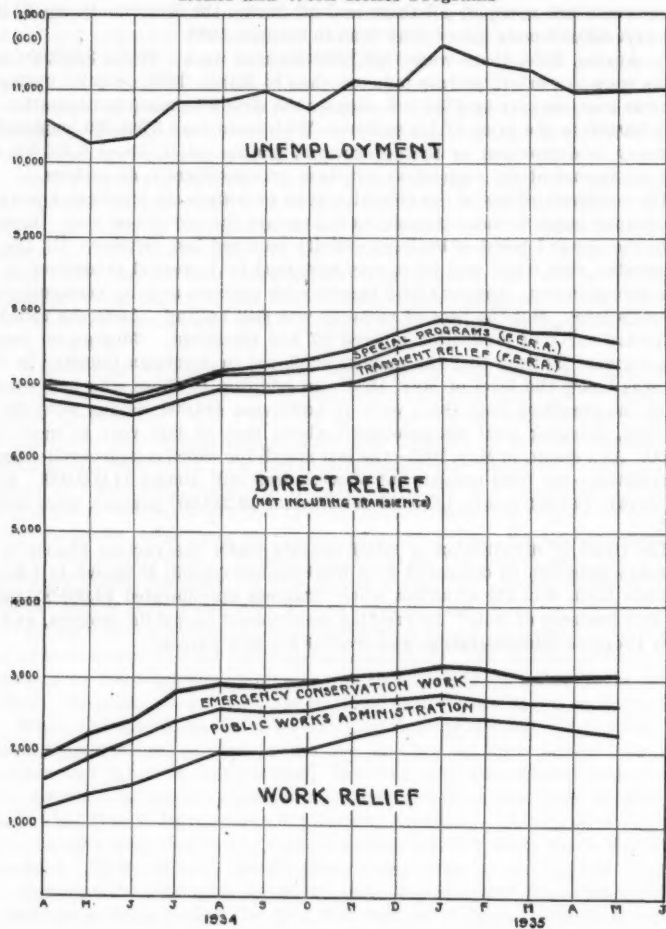
The combined efforts of the administration to sustain the purchasing power of the consumer began to make themselves felt toward the end of last year. Resumption in the upward trend of business activity occurred last October. By the end of December, this trend was effectively sustained by increased production in the automobile industry. The year 1935 opened with business activity markedly above last year's level. But the pace of recovery was still halting. As weeks rolled on, the upward curve of production tapered off and slackened. Government records of employment indicate that the number employed in American industry in May, 1935, was below the level of May, 1934. In addition to those who had work in May of the preceding year, there were an additional 446,000 seeking work for the first time, bringing total unemployment above that of last year to more than 700,000. As a result, in May, 1935—the last month for which complete relief figures are available—the total number out of work was still almost 11,000,000. As we have shown, in that month 4,300,000 families, or 19,250,000 persons, were still on relief.

The trend of distribution of relief benefits under the various phases of the emergency program, as compared with total unemployment, is shown in Chart I.

Such, then, was the situation when Congress appropriated \$4,000,000,000 to "end this business of relief" by creating employment on public projects, and the Works Progress Administration was created for this purpose.

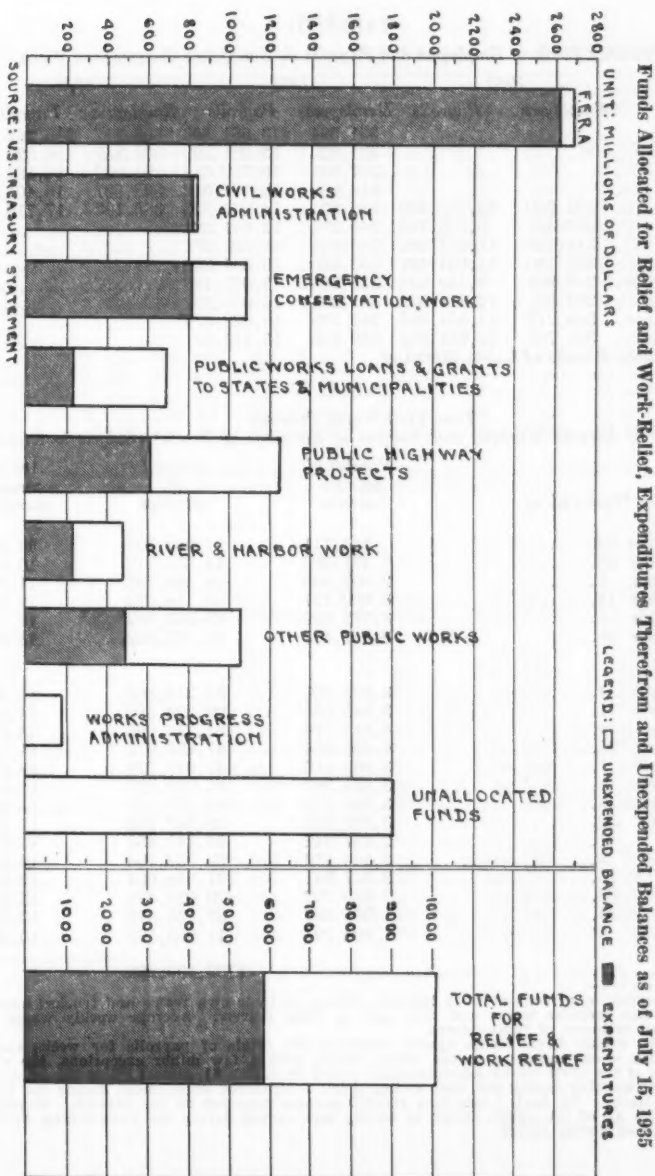
CHART I

Total Persons Unemployed Compared with Persons Receiving Aid from Relief and Work Relief Programs



The unemployment curve is based on the unrevised estimate of the American Federation of Labor. This estimate includes the number on relief and work relief projects.

The curves of number of persons receiving direct or work relief are based on government figures and are plotted cumulatively so that the area between the lines represents the number of persons covered as described and the topmost relief curve represents the total number of persons aided by public funds. Thus the area between the topmost relief curve and the unemployment curve represents the number of unemployed persons not cared for in any way.



REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

TABLE III

Monthly Totals of Employees and Payrolls in Emergency Conservation Work

	1933		1934		1935	
	Employees	Payrolls	Employees	Payrolls	Employees	Payrolls
January			331,594	\$13,581,506	398,717	\$16,762,027
February			321,829	13,081,393	373,847	16,320,151
March			247,591	10,792,618	294,952	14,187,741
April			314,664	13,197,012	368,537	16,401,114
May	191,380	\$6,388,760	335,871	14,047,826	385,192	17,719,018
June	283,481	9,876,780	280,271	12,641,571		
July	316,109	11,482,262	389,104	16,033,071		
August	307,100	11,604,401	385,340	16,364,048		
September	242,968	9,759,628	335,788	15,023,183		
October	294,861	12,311,033	391,894	16,939,922		
November	344,273	14,554,695	387,329	16,622,374		
December	321,701	12,951,042	350,028	15,415,071		

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE IV

*Total Civil Works Program**Number of Persons Working and Amount of Earnings by Weeks¹ (Subject to Revision)*

		Number of persons working	Amount of earnings	Average weekly earnings
1933:				
November 23.....		854,711	\$7,963,323	\$9.28
November 30.....		1,471,200	14,854,212	10.00
December 7.....		2,097,899	25,469,753	11.96
December 14.....		2,609,727	34,159,472	12.86
December 21.....		3,373,939	45,563,602	13.25
December 28.....		3,457,460	46,177,842	13.08
1934:				
January 4.....		3,698,493	52,215,869	13.86
January 11.....		3,948,085	59,324,382	14.87
January 18.....		4,074,778	61,774,986	14.78
January 25.....		4,054,684	47,481,015	11.51
February 1.....		3,862,516	42,916,729	10.90
February 8.....		3,824,367	43,928,827	11.30
February 15.....		3,743,722	43,187,181	11.28
February 22.....		3,466,810	39,947,760	11.31
March 1.....		2,937,342	34,141,483	11.42
March 8.....		2,646,126	33,232,184	12.31
March 15.....		2,427,941	31,836,004	12.83
March 22.....		2,139,262	29,023,424	13.25
March 29.....		1,955,388	27,135,675	13.57
April 5 ²		1,104,784	11,865,527	10.38
Total.....			\$732,199,250	

¹ Number of persons at work includes drivers of their own teams and trucks; amount of earnings includes wages and hire paid to these drivers. Average weekly wages are computed exclusive of these figures.

² The weekly Civil Works figures represent the totals of payrolls for weeks ending during the weeks indicated in the table. Since, with a few minor exceptions, the work program of the Civil Works Administration ended on March 31, almost all of the employees shown as working during the week ending April 5 represent employment during the latter part of March. On April 2 less than 100,000 persons remained on the payrolls. Similarly, practically all of the wages, shown as having been earned during the week ending April 5, were earned during March.

TABLE V

	GRAND TOTAL			DIRECT RELIEF			WORK RELIEF		
	Cases (000)	Amount (000)	Per Case	Cases (000)	Amount (000)	Per Case	Cases (000)	Amount ¹ (000)	Per Case
<i>1934:</i>									
April.....	4,437	\$113,307	\$26	3,170	\$55,215	\$17	1,177	\$38,971	\$33
May.....	4,436	128,240	29	2,971	54,879	18	1,363	42,703	31
June.....	4,327	125,275	29	2,754	51,120	19	1,505	42,424	28
July.....	4,400	130,809	30	2,638	50,095	19	1,726	47,367	27
August....	4,626	149,127	32	2,661	54,531	20	1,924	54,921	29
September.	4,748	141,505	30	2,678	52,882	20	1,950	50,290	26
October...	4,817	156,378	32	2,656	59,698	22	1,997	53,902	27
November.	4,990	172,141	34	2,647	63,128	24	2,159	62,850	29
December..	5,263	179,477	34	2,745	71,433	26	2,316	61,926	27
<i>1935:</i>									
January...	5,463	196,751	36	2,779	76,524	28	2,472	71,686	29
February...	5,438	180,429	33	2,755	71,843	26	2,460	63,624	26
March.....	5,468	188,244	34	2,747	74,265	27	2,402	62,868	26
April.....	5,353	188,027	35	2,684	70,765	26	2,309	62,344	27
May.....	5,165	188,093	36	2,589	65,855	25	2,228	64,560	29

¹ Represents earnings of relief persons only. Does not include earnings of non-relief persons, cost of materials and supplies or administrative expenses.

TABLE VI

	Rural Rehabilitation	Emergency Education	College Student Aid	Transient Relief
<i>1934</i>				
April.....	325	24,957	65,524	164,244
May.....	14,475	25,819	62,353	174,138
June.....	26,127	8,352	34,069	187,282
July.....	29,130	8,115	*	195,051
August.....	31,445	9,188	*	206,173
September.....	37,436	13,366	68,907	221,734
October.....	44,439	23,631	96,196	235,903
November.....	52,348	31,385	99,538	266,790
December.....	69,208	33,932	99,234	288,955
<i>1935</i>				
January.....	75,243	40,313	102,293	297,058
February.....	77,884	42,752	103,251	300,460
March.....	170,664	44,243	104,673	299,509
April.....	212,912	43,409	104,380	293,676
May.....	204,726	41,467	101,323	286,861

* Not available.

TABLE VII

Employment and Pay Rolls, July 1933 to May 1935, inclusive, on Projects Financed from Public Works Funds
(Subject to revision.)

	Maximum Number of Wage Earners ¹	Amount of Pay Rolls	Value of Material Orders Placed
July 1933 to May 1935, incl. 1933	\$432,959,898	\$837,640,684	
July.....	267	26,433	.....
August.....	4,719	131,937	202,100
September.....	39,535	1,784,996	1,628,537
October.....	146,747	6,353,835	23,351,150*
November.....	255,512	11,552,547	24,568,577
December.....	300,758	13,091,587	25,702,750
1934			
January.....	298,069	12,646,241	24,206,352
February.....	311,381	14,348,094	25,269,537
March.....	307,274	14,113,247	69,766,559*
April.....	382,220	18,785,405	68,526,223*
May.....	506,056	25,942,387	50,468,427*
June.....	610,752	33,808,429	60,797,939*
July.....	644,729	34,845,461	53,377,997*
August.....	602,360	35,126,409	53,282,956*
September.....	549,624	31,688,655	50,685,634*
October.....	507,886	29,289,216	50,234,495*
November.....	470,467	28,791,297	54,228,457
December.....	382,594	22,443,944	45,683,081*
1935			
January.....	304,723	18,462,677	30,746,857*
February.....	272,273	16,896,475	29,264,484
March.....	281,461	17,400,798	27,276,566
April.....	333,045	20,939,741	31,645,166
May.....	394,875	24,490,087	36,726,840*

¹ Maximum number employed during any one week of the month by each contractor and Government agency doing force-account work. Includes weekly average for public-road projects.

* Includes orders placed for material for naval vessels prior to October, 1933.

* Includes orders placed by railroads for new equipment.

TABLE VIII

Employment and Pay Rolls on Projects Financed by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, April 1934 to May 1935
(Subject to Revision)

	Maximum Number of Wage Earners	Amount of Pay Rolls	Value of Material Orders Placed
1934			
April.....	18,731	\$1,516,915	\$2,357,408
May.....	19,429	1,649,920	2,143,864
June.....	19,022	1,676,075	2,230,065
July.....	17,475	1,612,848	2,402,174
August.....	17,221	1,697,161	2,384,887
September.....	16,809	1,637,047	2,579,969
October.....	17,482	1,596,996	2,274,174
November.....	16,502	1,621,468	2,856,371
December.....	14,321	1,337,719	2,440,620
1935			
January.....	11,180	1,054,708	3,966,718
February.....	10,373	1,048,593	5,028,547
March.....	9,586	890,333	1,072,886
April.....	10,300	1,007,424	2,517,175
May.....	10,506	1,100,977	2,287,090

Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935—On April 8, the President signed Public Resolution No. 11 of the 74th Congress, known as the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935. Four billion dollars of federal money were appropriated under this Act to remain available until June 30, 1937, for the financing of a gigantic work relief program. The primary purpose of the measure was to end direct relief by the federal government and put to work on socially useful projects the 3,500,000 breadwinners who, with their families, had been dependent on government dole.

The total appropriation was allocated among various classes of projects but the maximum amount of appropriation to be spent on each class was fixed by Congress, leaving it within the President's discretion to increase the amount in any given class by not more than 20 per cent of the entire appropriation. The funds were to be distributed as follows:

1. Loans and grants for projects of states, territories, possessions and municipalities, and for self-liquidating projects of public bodies where not less than 25 per cent of the grant or loan is to be expended for work.....	\$900,000,000
2. Highways, roads, streets, and grade-crossing elimination.....	800,000,000
3. Civilian Conservation Corps.....	600,000,000
4. Rural rehabilitation and relief in stricken agricultural areas, water conservation, trans-mountain water diversion, irrigation, and reclamation.....	500,000,000
5. Housing	450,000,000
6. Sanitation, prevention of soil erosion, prevention of stream pollution, sea-coast erosion, reforestation, forestation, rivers and harbors, and miscellaneous projects.....	350,000,000
7. Assistance for educational, professional and clerical persons	300,000,000
8. Rural electrification.....	100,000,000

Funds made available under the law may be used, in the President's discretion, for making loans to finance the purchase of farm lands and necessary equipment by farmers, farm tenants, croppers or farm laborers. In carrying out the provisions of the law, the President is empowered to acquire by purchase or by the power of eminent domain land and other real property.

In authorizing the President to make funds available for construction of public highways, elimination of grade crossings, and other related projects, the Act provides that "preference in the employment of labor shall be given (except in executive, administrative, supervisory and highly skilled positions) to persons receiving relief, where they are qualified," and further authorization is given to the President to prescribe for each state the hours of work and the rates of wages to be paid to skilled, intermediate and unskilled labor employed in such construction work.

Section 7 of the Act pertains to wages to be paid under the program. It provides:

The President shall require to be paid such rates of pay for all persons engaged upon any project financed in whole or in part, through loans or otherwise, by funds appropriated by this joint resolution, as will in the discretion of the President, accomplish the purposes of this joint resolution,

and not affect adversely or otherwise tend to decrease the going rates of wages paid for work of a similar nature.

The President may fix different rates of wages for various types of work on any project, which rates need not be uniform throughout the United States: *Provided, however,* That whenever permanent buildings for the use of any department of the Government of the United States, or the District of Columbia, are to be constructed by funds appropriated by this joint resolution, the provisions of the Act of March 3, 1931 (U. S. C., Supp. VII, title 40, sec. 276a), shall apply, but the rates of wages shall be determined in advance of any bidding thereon.

The language of Section 6 gives power to the President to prescribe rules and regulations necessary to carry out the law, and states that any wilful violation of any such rule or regulation is to be punishable by a fine of not more than \$1,000.

Under the new law, the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 is continued in force until June 30, 1936, while the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, established under Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act, is continued until June 30, 1937.

In accordance with the terms of the law, the projects to be financed by the four billion dollar appropriation have been distributed among several different agencies. A considerable portion of the work has been placed in the hands of permanent government departments or previously existing emergency agencies. The jurisdiction of these agencies has been distributed as follows:

1. The Corps of Engineers of the War Department is charged with carrying out all river and harbor projects.
2. The Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with the State Departments of Highways, is responsible for the elimination of grade-crossings, highways and other related projects.
3. The Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior has jurisdiction over all reclamation projects.
4. The Department of the Treasury has charge of all public building projects.
5. The Public Works Administration is responsible for all slum clearance and low-cost housing projects financed by the appropriation. It also has jurisdiction over all projects relating to loans or grants made to public agencies for non-federal projects.

In addition to these permanent agencies, the following emergency agencies have been created by executive order to carry out work-relief projects under the Act:

1. The Rural Electrification Administration initiates and sponsors projects designed to extend electrification to rural areas.
2. The Resettlement Administration administers projects involving: (a) resettlement in other localities of destitute or low-income families from rural or urban areas; (b) flood control, soil and sea-coast erosion, stream pollution, forestation and reforestation; (c) loans to finance the purchase of farm lands or equipment by farmers, farm tenants and laborers.
3. The National Youth Administration is an agency designed to offer educational, vocational, employment and recreation opportunities between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, who are no longer in full-time attendance at school and who are members of relief families. The National Youth Administration sponsors projects for vocational training and re-training for youths, and for college aid by obtaining part-time employment

for needy college students and a selected group of post-graduate students. It extends financial assistance to the maximum of six dollars a month to needy high school students. In addition the National Youth Administration attempts to secure suitable employment both in private industry and on work relief.

4. The Works Progress Administration is responsible for all projects under the act which are not sponsored by another agency. The WPA has supervision of small-scale works projects costing less than \$25,000; projects costing more than this are sponsored by the Public Works Administration.

The WPA also has charge of all projects designed to provide employment to teachers and to clerical and professional workers including artists, musicians, actors and writers who are on relief.

The WPA may also undertake projects for the direct benefit of the States or Municipalities, on the basis of outright grants to these bodies for prosecution of social projects. At least 25 per cent of WPA funds on such grants for non-federal projects must be spent for labor.

The primary objective of the Works Progress Administration in all these projects is to provide maximum continuous employment on small but socially useful projects and in this way remove from the relief rolls the greatest possible number of people in the shortest time.

The responsibility for the formulation and administration of policies of the WPA rests upon Harry L. Hopkins who, as Administrator of this agency, is directly responsible to the President for the development of the program. The execution of policies and enforcement of regulations laid down by the Administrator is placed in the hands of the State Works Progress Administrators, who also coordinate the state programs, plan and approve programs within their jurisdiction, and have general supervision over work relief in their respective states. In each state there are also District Works Progress Administrators who have direct supervision over projects in their district.

A proposed project, following the approval of the District Administrator, must be checked by the State Administrator who will see that it fits the general plan of the state-wide program. Proposed projects dealing with community sanitation, malaria control, or several special phases of mining and manufacturing, must receive additional approval of the state representative of the U. S. Public Health Service. Projects devoted to the construction of airports, or related to air transportation, must be passed upon by a representative of the Bureau of Air Commerce of the Commerce Department.

All proposed projects are submitted to the WPA in Washington where they are first reviewed by the Division of Applications and Information of the National Emergency Council. The applications are then transmitted to the Advisory Committee on Allotments which is composed of the heads of the various Departments and Emergency Agencies. When a proposed project is passed upon by this Committee the final approval rests within the discretion of the President, since he alone can allocate funds for any undertaking financed by the \$4,000,000,000 appropriation.

Labor Policy of the W. P. A.—When the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act was pending in Congress the question arose as to whether, under the program

of public projects involving the expenditure of \$4,000,000,000, wage rates prevailing in a given community were to be maintained, or whether lower wage rates were to be paid. The principle providing for the payment on such projects of wage rates which prevail in a community was embodied in an amendment to the bill advocated by Senator McCarran.

While the McCarran Amendment was approved by the Senate on February 21, a tremendous drive was made by special interests and a certain section of the press to eliminate the amendment from the bill. Under the pressure of the anti-labor forces, the McCarran Amendment was superseded by a compromise provision which was incorporated in the final draft of the Act. This provision has been quoted in full in the discussion of the Act in the foregoing paragraphs. Under its terms the fixing of rates of pay is left to the President with the proviso that the rates shall be such as will accomplish the purposes of the Act without affecting adversely or otherwise tending to decrease prevailing wages.

The policy established by the President in fixing the rates of pay followed the lines indicated in his annual message to Congress on January 4, 1935. This was to the effect that the wages on public projects should be in the form of monthly security payments, larger than the dole, "but at the same time not so large as to encourage the rejection of opportunities for private employment or the leaving of private employment to engage in government work."

The Executive Order issued on May 20 states that wages of workers on projects financed in whole or in part from funds appropriated under the Act were to be on a monthly basis, the amount differing according to regions, size of the community and classes of work prescribed. The order contains a schedule of monthly rates ranging from \$19.00 to \$94.00 in which the size of compensation was determined by classifying workers into unskilled, intermediate, skilled, professional and technical groups. In order to establish geographic differentials, the United States is divided into four regions with a different rate of pay to apply in each of these regions. This schedule of wages is given in Table X.

The Executive Order provides that monthly payments of wages cover time lost due to weather conditions or temporary interruptions in the project beyond the control of the worker. The same rates of pay are generally stipulated for work done in the same county, with the possibility of granting exemptions to meet special conditions. Except for such exemptions, the schedule of monthly payments applies to all work-relief projects under the Act. Specifically exempted from such schedule are: (a) Emergency conservation work, where existing rules and regulations are to continue; (b) PWA projects where prevailing wages are to be paid; (c) Highway and grade-crossing elimination work under the supervision of Bureau of Public Roads and the state highway departments, where prevailing wages are also to be maintained; and (d) Work on permanent buildings for the use of any executive department of the Federal Government, where prevailing wage is to be paid as before except that rates are to be determined in advance of competitive bidding.

Determination of the maximum hours of labor was first left to the discretion of the Works Progress Administration, but was subsequently delegated to the state administrators. The Executive Order specifies, however, that not more than

8 hours per day or 40 hours per week are to be worked by any one other than those in supervisory capacities. All PWA work and highway construction are placed under the maximum of 8 hours per day and 130 per month.

The order also provides that preference is to be given to those on relief rolls, but otherwise there should be no preference on any ground. To quote from the Executive Order:

Preference in the employment of workers shall be given to persons from the public relief rolls, and except with the specific authorization of the Works Progress Administration, at least 90 per cent of all persons working on a work project shall have been taken from the public relief rolls.

Only one member of a family group may be employed on the works program, except as specifically authorized by the Works Progress Administration.

Except as specifically provided [in the order] workers who are qualified by training and experience to be assigned to work projects shall not be discriminated against on any ground whatsoever.

In addition to being on relief rolls, eligible workers must also be registered at the local office of the United States Employment Service in order to receive employment. Unless a specific exemption is granted by the Works Progress Administrator, not more than 10 per cent of non-relief workers are permitted to work on the project.

The latter restriction made it impossible for many unemployed workers not on relief to benefit from the program. A large group of men and women who have succeeded in stretching out their savings over the long months of unemployment and who preferred deepest poverty to the dole are unjustly penalized by this provision.

Low-rent housing and slum-clearance projects on which extensive use of skilled labor is required were exempted from this restriction by the administrative order No. 6 issued on July 10. Another order, issued on August 15, provided that on projects prosecuted under contract, union labor is to be used when requested by the contractor. On such projects, first preference will be given to those members of unions who are on relief rolls and are the regular employees of the contractor. Second preference is to be given to other union members on relief rolls. When the supply of union workers on relief rolls is exhausted any other members of the union may be employed on the project.

The low wage rates paid on the Works Progress Administration projects have already given rise to a wave of strikes and unrest especially among the building trades workers. In several communities, private contractors have served notice upon the building trades workers that if they accepted the security wage on WPA projects, the contractors would demand that rates of pay in private construction should also be lowered. In view of this the Executive Council has urged President Roosevelt to adhere to the prevailing hourly rates of pay on all work done under the \$4,000,000,000 appropriation. The Council emphasized that the security monthly wage established by the President on WPA would not be disturbed by the prevailing wage rate plan. This plan, it was pointed out, provided that the number of hours worked per month by relief workers would

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

be fixed on such a basis that the worker would earn the monthly security wage at the hourly prevailing rate established in each community. Through such a plan, the Government could put into effect its monthly security wage rates and the workers would be permitted to maintain their hourly prevailing wage standards.

TABLE IX

Amounts allocated among the several agencies of federal government under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 as of August 1.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>Fund¹</i>
Department of Agriculture:	
Bureau of Animal Industry.....	\$1,654,000
Bureau of Entomology & Plant Quarantine.....	16,696,617
Forest Service.....	13,827,500
Bureau of Plant Industry.....	150,000
Bureau of Public Roads.....	391,000,000
Soil Conservation Service.....	25,000,000
Department of Commerce:	
Bureau of the Census.....	9,881,948
Bureau of Fisheries.....	230,996
Department of the Interior:	
Alaska Road Commission.....	446,500
Bureau of Reclamation.....	38,060,000
Navy Department:	
Bureau of Yards and Docks.....	15,885,900
Treasury Department:	
The Coast Guard.....	5,263,995
Procurement Division.....	530,784
Bureau of Public Health Service.....	3,450,000
Secretary's Office.....	5,113,126
War Department:	
Corps of Engineers.....	132,755,500
Quartermaster Corps.....	10,221,014
Civilian Conservation Corps ¹	610,853,250
Public Works Administration:	
Housing Division.....	205,132,000
Non-Federal.....	45,483,201
Resettlement Administration:	
Subsistence Homesteads.....	7,000,000
Rural Electrification Administration.....	1,119,012
Veterans' Administration.....	453,800
Works Progress Administration.....	173,414,040
Total Approved Works Projects.....	\$1,713,623,183

¹ Represents estimated expenditures during fiscal year 1936 obtained by multiplying estimated employment in connection with Civilian Conservation Corps camps by \$1.050 yearly cost per man. \$220,000,000 of these funds applicable to fiscal year 1936 have been approved to date.

TABLE X
Schedule of Monthly Earnings
Counties in which the 1930 population of the largest municipality was

Regions*		Over 100,000	50,000- 100,000	25,000- 50,000	5,000- 25,000	Under 5,000
Unskilled Work						
Region	I.....	\$55	\$52	\$48	\$44	\$40
	II.....	45	42	40	35	32
	III.....	35	33	29	24	21
	IV.....	30	27	25	22	19
Intermediate Work						
Region	I.....	\$65	\$60	\$55	\$50	\$45
	II.....	58	54	50	44	38
	III.....	52	48	43	36	30
	IV.....	49	43	38	32	27
Skilled Work						
Region	I.....	\$85	\$75	\$70	\$63	\$55
	II.....	72	66	60	52	44
	III.....	68	62	56	48	38
	IV.....	68	58	50	42	35
Professional and Technical Work						
Region	I.....	\$94	\$83	\$77	\$69	\$61
	II.....	79	73	66	57	48
	III.....	75	68	62	53	42
	IV.....	75	64	55	46	39

* Regions include the following States:

- I.—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont; Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin; Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.
- II.—Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota; Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, West Virginia.
- III.—Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia.
- IV.—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee.

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

The effects of world-wide depression upon the younger generations in all countries have been a matter of anxiety to all concerned with problems of statesmanship.

The problem was brought before the International Labor Conference in Geneva at its last meeting in June. The problem in this country was first formulated in a report made by the Department of Labor in response to a Senate Resolution by Senator Walsh requesting information and recommendations with reference to young people emerging from educational institutions and at present without permanent employment. The report by the Secretary of Labor showed approximately three and one-half million persons between the ages of 18 and 29 inclusive without gainful employment. This large group at a most impressionable period of their development, denied entrance to the normal activities of the nation, constitutes a serious problem.

This problem, Labor believes, can be solved permanently only by such changes in our national economy as will provide opportunities to earn a living to all those who need such opportunities.

Labor does not believe that the problem can be solved by an attempt to find jobs in private industries for this large group until our industries are operating at a higher level.

On June 26, 1935, the President created the National Youth Administration, because, as he said, we should do something for the Nation's unemployed youth since we can ill-afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women.

The Youth Administration is organized with an Executive Committee consisting of government officials and an executive director—Aubrey Williams, Assistant Administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

The major objectives of the National Youth Administration are: (1) To find employment in private industry for unemployed youths, (2) To provide employment for youths of certified relief families at work relief projects suited to their abilities and needs, (3) To provide vocational training or retraining for youths without specific skills, (4) To extend part-time employment to needy college students and small cash assistance to needy high school students.

All persons between the ages of 16 and 25, no longer in attendance upon full time school and not regularly engaged in remunerative employment come within the scope of its program. Youth relief employment will be open to the young members of relief families; aid will be extended to students desirous of finishing their college education and financially unable to do so. Financial aid will be available to high school students not to exceed \$6 per month—this aid to cover text books, food, clothing, car fare and similar essentials.

The program seeks to provide employment for approximately 150,000 youths; college aid to about 120,000 young men and women; high school aid to 100,000 and provisions for postgraduates in part-time employment to the amount of \$30 a month.

In addition to assisting needy high-school students, the National Youth Administration will give financial help to approximately 125,000 college and university students who would otherwise not be able to complete their college education, and to worthy students who are ready for college but who need financial assistance in order to obtain a higher education.

Twenty-eight million dollars has been allocated for student aid activities. Reports from relief rolls show that approximately 700,000 students were compelled to drop their schooling in 1934-5.

The Youth Administration is designating state directors to build up local participation in the program.

The National Youth Administration is under the Works Program Administration and is one of the chief administrative units of that program.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The Social Security Act was approved by the President on August 14, 1935. The enactment of this law marks the beginning of an effort to eliminate for the

wage-earners and their families the major economic hazards of unemployment and old age dependence, as well as to safeguard the welfare of children and to provide for maternal and child health. It is also a first step toward economic stability, and more equitable distribution of the national income, the absence of which added to the suffering of the masses of our people during the depression.

While other industrial countries have long enjoyed the benefits of social security legislation, the federal government in America has broken new ground in undertaking this program. The new Act does not solve the entire problem of social security but it does provide a foundation for more comprehensive and adequate security legislation in the future. The basic principles and the extent of such future program are well indicated in the Act making it possible for the Nation to set upon its task of effectively promoting the welfare of wage-earners under a sound plan, nation-wide in scope. In signing the Act, President Roosevelt said:

Today a hope of many years' standing is in large part fulfilled. The civilization of the past hundred years, with its startling industrial changes, has tended more and more to make life insecure. Young people have come to wonder what would be their lot when they came to old age. The man with a job has wondered how long the job would last.

This Social Security measure gives at least some protection to 30,000,000 of our citizens who will reap direct benefits through unemployment compensation, through old-age pensions and through increased services for the protection of children and the prevention of ill health.

We can never insure 100 per cent of the population against 100 per cent of the hazards and vicissitudes of life, but we have tried to frame a law which will give some measure of protection to the average citizen and to his family against the loss of a job and against poverty-ridden old age.

This law, too, represents a cornerstone in a structure which is being built but is by no means complete, a structure intended to lessen the force of possible future depressions, to act as a protection to future administrations of the government against the necessity of going deeply into debt to furnish relief to the needy, a law to flatten out the peaks and valleys of deflation and of inflation—in other words, a law that will take care of human needs and at the same time provide for the United States an economic structure of vastly greater soundness. . . .

If the Senate and the House of Representatives in their long and arduous session had done nothing more than pass this bill, the session would be regarded as historic for all time.

The Social Security Board—The entire program will be administered by a Social Security Board composed of three members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The members of the Board are appointed for a term of six years and not more than two of them are to belong to the same political party.

The President appointed the following to constitute the Social Security Board: John G. Winant, Chairman; Arthur J. Altmeyer; Vincent M. Miles.

The Board is constituted as an independent agency of the government and with it rests the final responsibility for the administration of the law. In addition, the Board has the responsibility of studying the various phases of security and making recommendations with regard to the most effective methods of bring-

ing about economic security through social insurance and with regard to legislative and administrative policy concerning old-age pensions, unemployment compensation, accident compensation and related subjects.

Title I—Old Age Assistance—The Act provides for federal grants to the States for old-age assistance. For this purpose, the appropriation of the initial sum of \$49,750,000 is authorized for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936. A sum sufficient to carry on this phase of the program is to be appropriated for each fiscal year thereafter. This money is to be used, first, for the payment to each state of an amount which shall be used exclusively for old-age assistance; and, second, not more than 5 per cent of such amount allocated to the states will be used to defray the cost of administering the state plan.

Old-age assistance is to be administered entirely by the state agency, although in order to receive Federal payments, each state must submit to the Social Security Board a state-wide plan for payment of old-age benefits. In order to receive the approval of the Board, the state plan must fulfill the following conditions:

- (1) Provide that it shall be in effect in all political subdivisions of the state, and, if administered by them, be mandatory upon them;
- (2) Provide for financial participation by the state;
- (3) Provide that it is administered and supervised by a single state agency;
- (4) Provide for granting to any individual, whose claim for old-age assistance is denied, an opportunity for a fair hearing before such state agency;
- (5) Provide for methods of administration prescribed by the Social Security Board to make sure that the plan is operated efficiently;
- (6) Provide for a uniform reporting system to the Board on the operation of the plan; and
- (7) Provide that if under the plan, a tax is collected by the state from the estate of any recipient of old-age assistance in connection with any assistance furnished him under the plan, one-half of the net amount so collected is to be promptly paid to the Federal Government and deposited in the Treasury to be used in the administration of the Act.

In addition to this, the Act provides that no state plan is to impose an age requirement for eligibility of more than 65 years except that an age requirement of as much as 70 years may be imposed until January 1, 1940. The state plan must not contain a residence requirement which would exclude any resident otherwise eligible who has resided in the state at least 5 years during the 9 years immediately preceding the application for assistance, and has continued to reside in the state for at least 1 year preceding such application. Finally, no state plan is to impose any requirement which would exclude any citizen of the United States otherwise eligible for the benefits.

These conditions for approval of the state plan are very broad and provide no requirement for minimum payment in each case. On the other hand, the Act establishes a maximum of \$30 which must not be exceeded in the payment of old-age assistance to any individual per month.

The Federal grant to each state is based on the amount expended in each quarter by the state agency for old-age assistance and is to equal one-half of the

total of the sum so expended under the state plan. The amount to be allotted for the federal grant to each state is to be computed prior to the beginning of each quarter on the basis of a report filed by the state.

This report must contain the estimate of the state agency of the total sum to be expended in the next quarter and a statement of the amount appropriated or made available by the state and its agencies for such expenditures. If the amount appropriated by the state is less than one-half of the total sum of the estimated expenditures, the source from which the difference is expected to be derived must be indicated in the report. The report must also show the number of aged individuals in the state to be covered by the plan. Before the grant is made, the report of the state may be supplemented by any other investigations the Board may find necessary.

On the basis of these reports, the Board will certify to the Secretary of the Treasury its final estimate of the amount of the grant to be paid to the state.

If after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing, the Social Security Board finds that any state plan for old-age assistance does not comply with any of the requirements of the law, the Board is to notify the state agency that further payment of federal funds will be suspended until full compliance is obtained.

Title II—Federal Old-Age Benefits—The Social Security law provides for straight federal benefits to qualified individuals of over 65 years of age, these benefits to be based on the amount of wages earned by such individuals before they had attained old age.

This provision of the Act creates a general "Old-Age Reserve Account" in the Treasury of the United States which is supplied not by direct taxes but by a Congressional appropriation for each fiscal year beginning with the year, 1936-37. The amount of appropriation is to be determined on a reserve basis in accordance with accepted actuarial principles based on mortality tables and a compound annual interest rate of 3 per cent. The Secretary of the Treasury is to submit annually to the Bureau of the Budget an estimate of the appropriations to be made for this account.

The amounts in the account not needed for current payments are to be invested by the Secretary of the Treasury. Such investments are to be made in the United States interest bearing obligations guaranteed both as to principal and interest by the United States. He may sell such obligations at any time and the interest and proceeds from their sale are to be credited to the Reserve Account.

The plan applies to qualified individuals who are at least 65 years of age and whose total amount of wages received in employment after December 31, 1936, and before the attainment of the age of 65 was not less than \$2,000. In order to be eligible, the individual must also have received wages with respect to employment on some 5 days after December 31, 1936, and before he attained the age of 65, each day being in a different calendar year.

The individual so qualified will receive monthly benefits beginning on the day he attains the age of 65 or on January 1, 1942, whichever is the later, and ending on the date of his death. The benefits are to be paid as nearly as practicable in

equal monthly installments at the rate of one-half of one per cent of the total wages paid after December 31, 1936, and before the age of 65 is attained. This rate applies to all individuals whose total wages for this period did not exceed \$3,000. If such total wages are more than \$3,000, the rate is to be one-half of one per cent of \$3,000, plus one-twelfth of one per cent of the amount by which such total wages exceeded \$3,000, and did not exceed \$45,000; plus one-twenty-fourth of one per cent of the amount by which such total wages exceeded \$45,000. In no case, however, the monthly rate so computed is to be more than \$85.

When the Board finds that a qualified individual is receiving wages in regular employment after he attained the age of 65, the old-age benefit payable to him shall be reduced for each calendar month in which such regular employment occurred by an amount equal to one month's benefit.

Death Benefits—If an individual dies before attaining the age of 65, an amount equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total wages determined by the Board to have been paid to him with respect to employment after December 31, 1936, will be paid to his estate. If in such a case, the Board finds that the correct amount of the old-age benefit payable to a qualified individual during his life was less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total wages by which such old-age benefit was measureable, then his estate will be paid a sum equal to the amount, if any, by which such $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent exceeds the amount paid to him during his life as old-age benefit. There is also a provision permitting adjustments and corrections in such payments to be made by the Board.

Payments to Aged Persons not Qualified for Benefits—Any individual who, upon attaining the age of 65, is not a qualified individual under the terms of the law, will be paid a lump sum equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of wages determined by the Board to have been paid to him with respect to employment after December 31, 1936, and before he attained the age of 65.

After the payment of such benefit in a lump sum the individual is not entitled to receive any other old-age benefits except that any portion of such lump sum payment remaining unpaid at the time of his death is to be paid to his estate.

All federal old-age benefits are payable, upon certification by the Social Security Board, through the Division of Disbursement of the Treasury Department directly to the individuals eligible to receive them.

Taxes—Title VIII provides for revenue from which old age benefits are to be paid. Every wage-earner shall pay an income tax on wages after December 31, 1936, equal to the following:

- (1) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1937, 1938, and 1939, the rate shall be 1 per centum.
- (2) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1940, 1941, and 1942, the rate shall be $1\frac{1}{2}$ per centum.
- (3) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1943, 1944, and 1945, the rate shall be 2 per centum.
- (4) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1946, 1947, and 1948, the rate shall be $2\frac{1}{2}$ per centum.
- (5) With respect to employment after December 31, 1948, the rate shall be 3 per centum.

The tax will be deducted from wages by employers as and when they pay them. The wage-earner may not deduct this tax in computing his income. Employers shall pay an excise on wages equal to the percentage which wage-earners pay.

The Internal Revenue Bureau shall collect these taxes and shall provide the Postmaster General with a suitable quantity of stamps, coupons, tickets or other devices prescribed for the payment of the taxes.

This tax on wages does not apply to agricultural labor, domestic servants, casual labor, individuals over 65, crews of vessels, enlisted or civil service, religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational work not for profit.

Titles III and IX—Unemployment Insurance—The second major emergency against which the Social Security Act seeks to provide income, is unemployment. The federal government is authorized to lay an excise tax on all those who employ eight or more persons, except those employees engaged in agricultural labor, domestic service, casual labor, the crews of vessels, service of the United States government or a state or political subdivision, service of corporations engaged in religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes. The excise tax for unemployment is to begin with the calendar year of 1936 with the following graduated schedule: for 1936 the rate shall be 1 per cent; for 1937, 2 per cent; for 1938 and thereafter, 3 per cent.

In order to stimulate states to include state unemployment insurance provisions, the Act provides that the employer may credit against the excise tax imposed, the amount of contributions which he may pay into a local unemployment fund under state law.

The Social Security Act authorizes for the purpose of assisting states in the administration of their compensation laws an appropriation of \$4,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, and for each fiscal year thereafter the sum of \$49,000,000. The Social Security Board shall allocate from these funds sums to the various states after giving due consideration to population, number of persons covered, cost of proper administration, and other relative factors. The Board will certify such allocations to the Treasury Department provided the law of the state contains the following provisions:

1. Such methods of administration (other than those relating to selection, tenure of office, and compensation of personnel) as are found by the Board to be reasonably calculated to insure full payment of unemployment compensation when due; and
2. Payment of unemployment compensation solely through public employment offices in the state or such other agencies as the Board may approve; and
3. Opportunity for a fair hearing, before an impartial tribunal, for all individuals whose claims for unemployment compensation are denied; and
4. The payment of all money received in the unemployment fund of such State, immediately upon such receipt, to the Secretary of the Treasury, to the credit of the Unemployment Trust Fund established by section 904; and
5. Expenditure of all money requisitioned by the state agency from the Unemployment Trust Fund, in the payment of unemployment compensation, exclusive of expenses of administration; and

6. The making of such reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Board may from time to time require, and compliance with such provisions as the Board may from time to time find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports; and

7. Making available upon request to any agency of the United States charged with the administration of public works or assistance through public employment, the name, address, ordinary occupation and employment status of each recipient of unemployment compensation, and a statement of such recipient's rights to further compensation under such law.

If the Board shall at any time find that the administration of the state law, in a substantial number of cases, does not comply with these standards, no further payment shall be made to the state until the condition shall have been remedied.

The Social Security Act directs the establishment in the Treasury of the United States of a trust fund, to be known as the Unemployment Trust Fund. The Secretary of the Treasury is directed to deposit in this fund all money forwarded by the states from their state unemployment funds. The Trust Fund shall account for the moneys from the various states in separate accounts although the Trust Fund itself may be invested as a unit. The Fund may be invested in United States government securities or such securities as the government may guarantee as to the payment of principal and interest. Payments from the Fund to the states will be in accord with certifications from the Social Security Board. Revenues accruing from the excise tax for unemployment shall be paid to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States by the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Every state may secure the benefit of federal assistance in providing unemployment compensation provided it enacts the necessary legislation complying with the standards fixed by Congress as the standards for approval by the Social Security Board. These standards are:

1. All compensation is to be paid through public employment offices in the state or such other agencies as the Board may approve;

2. No compensation shall be payable with respect to any day of unemployment occurring within two years after the first day of the first period with respect to which contributions are required;

3. All money received in the unemployment fund shall immediately upon such receipt be paid over to the Secretary of the Treasury to the credit of the Unemployment Trust Fund established by Section 904;

4. All money withdrawn from the Unemployment Trust Fund by the state agency shall be used solely in the payment of compensation, exclusive of expenses of administration;

5. Compensation shall not be denied in such state to any otherwise eligible individual for refusing to accept new work under any of the following conditions: (a) if the position offered is vacant due directly to a strike, lockout, or other labor dispute; (b) if the wages, hours, or other conditions of the work offered are substantially less favorable to the individual than those prevailing for similar work in the locality; (c) if as a condition of being employed the individual would be required to join a company union or to resign from or refrain from joining any bona fide labor organization;

6. All the rights, privileges, or immunities conferred by such law or by acts done pursuant thereto shall exist subject to the power of the legislature to amend or repeal such law at any time.

The Board must take action within thirty days after a law is submitted to it and if it approves the law shall notify the Governor of the State and on December 31 in each taxable year shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury a list of states whose laws have been approved.

It is obvious from this brief summary that the principle of federal contribution has been conditioned upon certain uniformities in standards. It is obvious that federal investment of state unemployment funds may also result in a national control of credit that may react beneficially on employment.

Other provisions that will also make for stabilization are permissive lower rates of contributions to a pooled fund based on the experience of not less than three years, and lower rates based upon a condition of guaranteed employment which has been fulfilled in the preceding calendar year.

The Social Security Act also provides for other emergencies for which regular provisions are needed at all times. These include mothers' and children's welfare, dependent children, crippled children, aids for the blind.

Title IV—Grants to States for Aid to Dependent Children—"The term 'dependent child' means a child under the age of sixteen who has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from the home, or physical or mental incapacity of a parent, and who is living with his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, stepsister, uncle or aunt in a place of residence maintained by one or more of such relatives as his or their own home."

The sum of \$24,750,000 is appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, and for each year thereafter a sum sufficient to carry out the purposes of the title which are, briefly, to enable each state to give financial assistance to needy dependent children. Payments to the states are conditional on state plans approved by the Board which must meet with certain minimum requirements set forth in the Act.

The amount of the payment to each state is to be one-third of the amount expended by each state under the plan, "not counting so much of such expenditure with respect to any dependent child for any month as exceeds \$18, or if there is more than one dependent child in the same home, as exceeds \$18 for any month with respect to one such dependent child and \$12 for such month with respect to each of the other dependent children." For violation of the requirements of a state plan, payments shall be terminated by the Board until the condition has been corrected.

Title V—Grants to States for Maternal and Child Welfare—Appropriations are authorized to assist the states to extend and improve "services for promoting the health of mothers and children, especially in rural areas and areas suffering from severe economic distress." The amount for each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, is \$3,800,000. Payments to states are conditioned on state plans approved by the Chief of the Children's Bureau.

Annual allotments to each state are to be \$20,000 outright; a proportionate share of \$1,800,000 determined by the Secretary of Labor on the basis of live

births; and a proportionate share of \$980,000 determined by the Secretary of Labor according to financial need in consideration of live births.

One of the requirements of a state plan is that there be provision for financial participation by the state, and the actual payment to the state is to be one-half of the total sum expended, by that state to be used "exclusively for carrying out the state plan." Any portion of the allotment to a state for a fiscal year which has not been paid at the end of such fiscal year shall be available for payment to such state until the end of the second succeeding fiscal year.

Failure on the part of any state to comply with the conditions of the plan shall be cause for termination of payments until there is no longer such failure.

In connection with services for crippled children, there is authorized for each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$2,850,000. Payments to the states are conditional on state plans approved by the chief of the Children's Bureau and on continued compliance with such plans. Payments to the states and financial participation by the states are to be on a fifty-fifty basis. Allotments are to be on the basis of \$20,000 to each state and a distribution of the balance as determined by the Secretary of Labor according to the need determined in consideration of number of crippled children and cost of furnishing such services to them.

"For the purpose of enabling the United States, through the Children's Bureau, to cooperate with state public-welfare agencies in establishing, extending, and strengthening, especially in predominantly rural areas, public-welfare services for the care of the homeless or crippled children, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$1,500,000. Such amount shall be allotted by the Secretary of Labor for use by cooperating state public-welfare agencies on the basis of plans developed jointly by the state agency and the Children's Bureau, to each state, \$10,000, and the remainder to each state on the basis of such plans, not to exceed such part of the remainder as the rural population of such state bears to the total rural population of the United States."

For vocational rehabilitation, \$841,000 is authorized for the years ending June 30, 1936, and June 30, 1937. Each fiscal year, thereafter, the sum shall be \$1,938,000. These funds are to be used in strengthening programs of vocational rehabilitation and to continue to carry out the provisions and purposes of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment," approved June 2, 1920, as amended (U.S.C. title 20, ch. 4; U.S.C. Supp. VII, title 20, secs. 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39, and 40). Of the sums appropriated for each fiscal year, \$5,000 is to be apportioned to the Territory of Hawaii and the balance is to be apportioned among the states as provided in the Act of June 2, 1920, as amended. The sum of \$2,850,000 is authorized to be appropriated. The Secretary of Labor shall allot from this appropriation \$20,000 to each state and shall divide the remainder in accord with the needs of the various states. In dividing the residue the Secretary shall follow recommendations from the Chief of the Children's Bureau.

Title VI—Public Health Work—One of the problems before the President's Advisory Group on Social Security was medical costs and health insurance. As a preliminary to this problem which must be met some time, the Act provides an appropriation of \$8,000,000 to be used in assisting states, counties, health districts and other local subdivisions of the state to establish and maintain adequate public health services, including the training of personnel. The amount allotted to each state by the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury will depend principally on population, health problems and financial needs.

In addition to the above, an appropriation of \$2,000,000 for each fiscal year is authorized for expenditure by the Public Health Service for investigation of disease and problems of sanitation.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report to Congress, is to give a full account of the administration of this title.

Title X—Grants to States for Aid to the Blind—To assist the states in furnishing financial assistance to needy individuals who are blind, the sum of \$3,000,000 is authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936. A sum sufficient to carry out the purposes of this title is authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year thereafter. Allotments to the states are conditional on state plans approved by the Social Security Board. Payments to the states are to equal one-half of the total sums expended, not counting so much of such expenditure with respect to any individual for any month as exceeds \$30.

When through additional legislation or faulty administration there is not substantial compliance with the requirements of the Act, payments shall be terminated until the situation has been corrected.

NEED FOR MEDICAL CARE AND ITS COSTS

Medical care is a necessity of life. It usually ushers us into the world, attends us at the end, and helps us through our physical crises. It is, in fact, a necessity but economic conditions make it a luxury. While medical skill is by no means perfected, inadequate medical care for the great majority of persons is due to their inability to pay rather than lack of medical competence. Yet we know that the quality of its medical care is an index of a civilization.

The most informing inquiry into medical care which has ever been made in this country was that of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care which made a five-year study of the subject. The committee found that in 1930 there were the following agencies for providing medical services: approximately 1,100,000 persons who gave their full time to medical work from which they derived a livelihood. There were 7,000 hospitals with slightly under 1,000,000 beds. The number of hospital beds under government control had been growing steadily. In 1928, 63 per cent was governmental and in 1931, 66 per cent, providing 73 per cent of all patient-days of hospitalization. There were 8,000 clinics and out-patient departments of hospitals; health departments in every state and large city and some of the smaller ones, and in a few rural areas.

The committee found that medical facilities were distributed according to the ability of the community to pay which meant that doctors were crowded in metropolitan areas where some earned good incomes and others were poorly paid. Medical services were very inadequately distributed in rural sections and in the low income states. Doctors and institutions for medical service had to look for support.

The committee's study of medical services needed and received showed that families with incomes under \$1,200 or \$2,000 received far less medical service than those with incomes of \$5,000, \$10,000 or more. However, in even the high income groups medical services were about 20 per cent below the adequate standard.

With progress in the technical side of medicine, the capital investment needed for medical practice has steadily increased. The result is increased cost of medical service. It is significant that the capital investment is increasingly under government control. With specialization in medical practice and increasing complexity in certain types of diagnosis, costs of sickness from certain causes is greatly increased. However, for common diseases there is little increased cost in diagnosis or treatment, but those have borne a share of the general increased costs.

The Committee on Costs of Medical Care, in its report, reaches this important conclusion:

No one single fact is more clearly demonstrated by the Committee's study than this: that the cost of medical care in any one year may fall unevenly upon different families in the same income population groups. The heart of the problem, therefore, is the equalizing of the financial impact of sickness.

The committee found that though on an average only one family in five, or one person in seventeen, received hospital care in the course of a year, illnesses which involved hospitalization were responsible for 50 per cent of the total charges for medical care. The committee also found that 80 per cent of the families under \$1,200 paid during the year less than \$60 for medical service. On the other hand, 1 per cent of this income group paid \$500 or more for medical service during the same year and 2.5 per cent paid between \$250 and \$500. Such extreme, even though occasional, medical costs were catastrophic to the family.

The committee also found that the reason for high medical costs was not the high incomes of doctors. In 1929 the incomes of one-third of the medical profession were less than \$2,500. For every professional income over \$10,000 they found there were two doctors receiving less than \$2,500, hence the committee found that it was no solution of the problem of medical costs to reduce the average professional income.

In analyzing the studies of the Committee on Costs of Medical Care, Dr. Michael M. Davis said:

They demonstrated that about one-sixth of all families in any given year have to bear over one-half of the total expenditure for the care of sickness for all families; that the amounts expended increase with the income of the family; and that the unevenness of the incidence of expenditure is somewhat greater among the upper income groups. Sickness bills running from a third to a half of the annual income fall every year upon a

small but significant percentage of middle-class families, and this fact alone is sufficient to account for an annual stream of complaint from individuals; and sickness costs less high but sufficiently large to be burdensome descend upon many middle-class families as well as upon the much larger group with smaller earnings.

When 21 per cent of all families have annual incomes of less than \$1,000; 42 per cent have less than \$1,500; and 71 per cent have less than \$2,500; it is easy to understand why these families have no, or inadequate, medical service. At present charges it is impossible for 99 per cent of families to set aside reserves for illness. When illness comes it demoralizes family finances and standards of living, and leads to hopeless indebtedness or dependency.

Such conditions have led to the suggestion of pooling the costs of medical care on the ground that the nation needs sound and efficient citizens and should make available the information and medical service necessary to that end. Health insurance would provide against income losses due to illness.

During the past year the President's Committee on Economic Security studied the problem of sickness insurance but made no specific recommendation.

From such studies and materials as are available, the following principles stand out:

1. Sickness incidents and the cost of medical care fall very unequally and without predictability so that there is practically no way for the individual or his family to provide against such emergencies. Particularly is this true with the mounting costs of medical care.
2. Development of preventive medical service is definitely impeded by costs.
3. Cumulative developments of care for organized groups show that adequate service can be given for relatively low family costs.
4. The medical profession needs to feel its responsibility for organization for low-cost and adequate medical service to groups and communities.
5. Public health services and departments should be greatly increased and developed as one phase of developing preventive medicine. In 1929 only 2-1.3 cents out of each medical dollar was spent for public health work.
6. Study of the problem of chronically ill persons should constitute a preliminary step in planning for adequate medical care for all and incomes for those disabled by occasional sickness.

It is obvious that the whole problem falls into two parts: providing incomes for those disabled by illness, and organization of the medical profession to give adequate service at reasonable costs.

The San Francisco Convention directed that studies be made of health insurance and medical services, but the Federation has neither the finances nor the facilities to carry out these instructions. We can better accomplish this purpose by urging the federal government to study these problems and by participating in such studies.

PROGRESS OF ORGANIZATION IN MASS PRODUCTION INDUSTRIES

The San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted and approved the following declaration relating to the character and form of

organization as well as policies to be inaugurated and pursued in its development among workers employed in specially named mass production industries:

In lieu of Resolutions Nos. 8, 13, 39, 56, 63, 75, 81, 94, 135, 156, 159, 166, 170 and 179 dealing with form of organization, the following is presented:

In connection with these Resolutions your committee has given extended and most profound consideration to one of the most important problems with which our American Trade Union Movement is confronted. These Resolutions deal with a question that affects the interest of many of the organizations affiliated with and holding charters issued by the American Federation of Labor. It is because of its importance and far-reaching effect that your committee has devoted so much time and consideration to the problem.

The evidence presented in the hearings before the committee conclusively indicates that to deal effectively with the question of organization and with the fundamental questions involved there should be a clear and definite policy outlined by this convention that will adequately meet the new and growing condition with which our American Labor Movement is confronted.

During recent years there have developed new methods. This has brought about a change in the nature of the work performed by millions of workers in industries in which it has been most difficult or impossible to organize craft unions. The systems of mass production are comparatively new and are under the control of great corporations and aggregations of capital which have resisted all efforts at organization. The provision of the National Industrial Recovery Act protecting the right of employees to organize and select representatives of their own choice without interference on the part of employers, or their agents, has had the effect of freeing the flood of organization sentiment existing in the breasts of millions of workers who have been prevented by employer opposition from satisfying their desire for organization.

The American Federation of Labor is desirous of meeting this demand. We consider it our duty to formulate policies which will fully protect the jurisdictional rights of all trade unions organized upon craft lines and afford every opportunity for development and accession of those workers engaged upon work over which these organizations exercise jurisdiction. Experience has shown that craft organization is most effective in protecting the welfare and advancing the interests of workers where the nature of the industry is such that the lines of demarcation between crafts are distinguishable.

However, it is also realized that in many of the industries in which thousands of workers are employed a new condition exists requiring organization upon a different basis to be most effective.

To meet this new condition the Executive Council is directed to issue charters for National or International Unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation.

That the Executive Council shall at the earliest practical date inaugurate, manage, promote and conduct a campaign of organization in the iron and steel industry.

That in order to protect and safe-guard the members of such National and International Unions as are chartered, the American Federation of Labor shall for a provisional period direct the policies, administer the business and designate the administrative and financial officers of such newly organized unions.

A campaign of organization has been constantly carried on in industries where little or no organization existed heretofore. Wherever and whenever unorganized workers manifested the slightest disposition to organize, the assistance of organizers has been supplied and local federal labor unions have been established.

The right of the worker to organize free from intimidation and coercion on the part of an employer as provided for in Section 7-A which was incorporated in all industrial codes of fair practice, and which has been re-stated in the Wagner Disputes Act, has been explained and presented to both organized and unorganized workers through official communications and organizers sent out and supplied by the American Federation of Labor.

One thousand eight hundred and four federal labor unions were organized during the past two years. The following number of federal labor unions were established in the mass production industries named:

Automobile	183
Rubber	69
Aluminum	17
Radio	12
Cement	27
Gasoline Station	66
Gas and by-product Coke	31
Lumbermen, Loggers, Sawmill and Timber	133
Miscellaneous	1266

Organizing work was also carried on in a most diligent way by national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council gave special consideration to the organization of international unions of automobile, cement, aluminum and other mass production and miscellaneous industries at the several meetings which it held during the past year.

A careful survey of the organizing success which has been achieved in the automobile industry influenced the Council to decide that an international union of automobile workers be established with its jurisdiction defined as follows:

The President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the Executive Council as follows:

1. That a charter for a national or international union of automobile workers be issued at once to embrace all employees directly engaged in the manufacture of parts (not including tools, dies and machinery) and assembling of those parts into completed automobiles but not including job or contract shops manufacturing parts or any other employee engaged in said automobile production plants.

2. That for a temporary period determined by the Executive Council the officers to function under the charter thus issued be designated by the president of the American Federation of Labor.

3. That an active organizing campaign be inaugurated by this international union in the automobile industry under the direction of the president of the American Federation of Labor.

4. That facilities be provided the new union for necessary publicity and even the publication of a paper if it is deemed desirable.

5. That organizing assistance and finances within the proper limitations of the American Federation of Labor be provided.

6. That every effort be made to expedite the complete organization of the automobile industry at the earliest date possible.

7. That all questions of over-lapping jurisdiction on the automobile parts and special crafts organizations encountered in the administration of this policy be referred to the Executive Council for consideration at such time as the Council may elect to give these questions consideration.

Pursuant to these instructions of the Executive Council the President called a convention of automobile workers to meet in the city of Detroit on August 26th for the purpose of forming an international union of automobile workers. Said international union named the International Union United Automobile Workers of America was organized, a charter granted, a constitution adopted, and officers designated. An official welcome was extended to the members and officers of the new international union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

In like manner a convention of the representatives of federal labor unions established in the rubber manufacturing industry was held at Akron, Ohio, for the purpose of establishing a Rubber Workers International Union. This convention was convened on September 12th. By direction of the Executive Council the jurisdiction of this international union was defined as follows:

A charter to rubber workers be issued upon proper application to cover all those in that industry who are engaged in the mass production of rubber products, same not to cover or include such workers who construct buildings, manufacturing or installing of machinery, or engage in maintenance work or in work outside of the plants or factories.

The new international union of rubber workers named United Rubber Workers of America was organized at the convention, a charter was granted, a constitution adopted and officers elected and installed. A hearty and cordial welcome was also extended to the officers and members of this new organization into the sisterhood of organizations chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

It is the hope of the Executive Council that these new international unions organized under auspicious circumstances will prove to be founded upon a sound basis and to be self-sustaining.

A survey made of the strength of organizations established in the cement, aluminum, gas, coke and by-products and radio convinced the Executive Council that the time had not yet arrived when international unions could be established in these named industries with any reasonable hope that they would prove to be well-founded and self-sustaining. It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the time has not yet arrived for the establishment of organizations in these industries. The Executive Council, however, has taken preliminary steps to the organization of international unions in these respective industries.

National Councils which merged into a consolidated and cooperative organization of federal labor unions established in the automobile, radio, gas, coke and by-products, gasoline filling station employees have been formed. These Councils with an executive head are functioning under the direction and authority of the American Federation of Labor.

At no time during the past year has it seemed opportune for the Executive Council to inaugurate, manage, promote and conduct a campaign in the iron and

steel industry. Because of the internal strife which created a breach in the membership of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the organization chartered by the American Federation of Labor with jurisdiction over the organization of iron, steel and tin workers, it was impossible for a united and systematic campaign of organization to be launched and carried forward. Under the conditions which existed in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers it was impossible to secure full and complete cooperation of its officers and members. The President of the American Federation of Labor exercised his official influence in an effort to heal the breach, to unite the local organizations of iron, steel and tin workers, to restore harmony and to promote cooperation.

At an official meeting of the Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers held on July 25th, 1935, the local organizations which had been expelled from membership in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers were reinstated. The officers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers advised the President of the American Federation of Labor in an official communication dated August 2, 1935, that such action had been taken and that affiliation of all suspended locals had been brought about. This means that plans can now be formulated and organizing policies adopted so that an effective organizing campaign can be launched among the workers employed in the steel industries of the nation at the earliest possible date. The Executive Council is thoroughly alive to the situation. It is its purpose and determination to carry out the instructions of the San Francisco Convention to launch and conduct an organizing campaign in the iron and steel industry. It will endeavor to lay the basis for such an organizing campaign through the establishment of unity and agreement on the part of the iron and steel workers already organized and affiliated with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

The American Federation of Labor is made up at the present time of 109 national and international unions. Through this organized instrumentality millions of workers have become organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Financial contributions have been made by these international unions toward organizing work and for the assistance of the officers and members of sister organizations involved in strikes and lockouts. The economic, industrial, legislative, political and organization policies of the American Federation of Labor are inaugurated, formulated and adopted by representatives of these international unions together with the representatives of federal labor unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies in conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

It has been found from experience that there are ample room and opportunity under the laws, principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, to permit the organization of all workers who clearly come under the jurisdiction of international unions and at the same time pursue a liberal, broad and flexible policy providing for the organization of the unorganized workers employed in mass production industries who hitherto have not been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In the organization of the Automobile and Rubber Workers

International Unions the Executive Council adhered to and conformed to the action of the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council recommends that this policy be continued and that the definition of the jurisdiction of national and international unions in mass production industries be treated and acted upon in accordance with the circumstances and the requirements of each individual case.

In making this recommendation the Executive Council is fully conscious of the fact that differences of opinion exist regarding the form and character which organizations established in mass production industries should take. In true democratic fashion, however, a tradition which has been followed and adhered to by the American Federation of Labor, a majority of the delegates at a convention of the American Federation of Labor must decide the organization policies of the American Federation of Labor. No man can expect to impose his own will upon the majority against their judgment and matured opinion. Majority rule and majority decision in conventions of the American Federation of Labor is the fundamental rule and democratic principle which has been religiously adhered to from the inception and establishment of the American Federation of Labor. It is the opinion of the Executive Council that only through calm, intelligent, dispassionate discussion, education and the pursuit of progressive policies will the economic, social, industrial and organizing policy of the American Federation of Labor be soundly and correctly solved.

ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN

Clearly, the United States, like all other industrial nations, is passing through a period of fundamental changes in economic institutions and practices. Wage earners must be alert and prepared to take advantage of this change to secure recognition of their rights and increasingly adequate acceptance of them in the habits and practices of business. There is just one way by which wage earners can do this—organization in unions. Organized workers have new power and a medium through which they can undertake the promotion of their own best interests. Every other element in business is organized to take care of itself, and unless workers follow the same policy what they have is taken from them and what they ought to have goes unnoticed. Wage earners must be organized to have rights and promote their own welfare whether the method is collective bargaining with employers or the administration of law. With organization Labor is all-powerful; without organization it does not have power, authority or rights.

Upon those who believe in organization devolves the responsibility of extending organization and helping others to understand the spirit of unionism and the practice of collective bargaining. Your Executive Council urges every central labor union to plan and initiate, not later than December 1, a labor-forward program for the purpose of extending unionism to all the wage earners of its vicinity.

We urge that this be your major activity during the coming winter and that you plan for a sustained undertaking. The officers of the American Federation of Labor will be charged with the responsibility for coordinating this nationwide campaign and for helping in every way possible.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

The two changes of specific mention in trade union benefits for 1934 over 1933 are the decline of eleven millions in the total amount paid and the 50 per cent increase in the number of persons working the five-day week. The decline in total benefits paid—from \$40,692,112.72 to \$28,840,644.65—marks a decline in all benefits except death—where there is an increase of \$230,000.00; and miscellaneous benefits where there is an increase of \$463,000.00. After five years of depression these figures show definitely and clearly the problems that have confronted unions as well as the Government. Continued unemployment in a number of industries has contributed to relief problems of unions. These figures clearly show the extraordinary stability of trade unions and the manner in which they have met some of the problems of this era. Of particular note is the total of four and one-half million dollars expended for unemployment benefits during the year.

In addition to the figures enumerated on the chart, benefits were paid by many local unions, the figures of which were not available to be entered in this compilation.

International Unions the Executive Council adhered to and conformed to the action of the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council recommends that this policy be continued and that the definition of the jurisdiction of national and international unions in mass production industries be treated and acted upon in accordance with the circumstances and the requirements of each individual case.

In making this recommendation the Executive Council is fully conscious of the fact that differences of opinion exist regarding the form and character which organizations established in mass production industries should take. In true democratic fashion, however, a tradition which has been followed and adhered to by the American Federation of Labor, a majority of the delegates at a convention of the American Federation of Labor must decide the organization policies of the American Federation of Labor. No man can expect to impose his own will upon the majority against their judgment and matured opinion. Majority rule and majority decision in conventions of the American Federation of Labor is the fundamental rule and democratic principle which has been religiously adhered to from the inception and establishment of the American Federation of Labor. It is the opinion of the Executive Council that only through calm, intelligent, dispassionate discussion, education and the pursuit of progressive policies will the economic, social, industrial and organizing policy of the American Federation of Labor be soundly and correctly solved.

ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN

Clearly, the United States, like all other industrial nations, is passing through a period of fundamental changes in economic institutions and practices. Wage earners must be alert and prepared to take advantage of this change to secure recognition of their rights and increasingly adequate acceptance of them in the habits and practices of business. There is just one way by which wage earners can do this—organization in unions. Organized workers have new power and a medium through which they can undertake the promotion of their own best interests. Every other element in business is organized to take care of itself, and unless workers follow the same policy what they have is taken from them and what they ought to have goes unnoticed. Wage earners must be organized to have rights and promote their own welfare whether the method is collective bargaining with employers or the administration of law. With organization Labor is all-powerful; without organization it does not have power, authority or rights.

Upon those who believe in organization devolves the responsibility of extending organization and helping others to understand the spirit of unionism and the practice of collective bargaining. Your Executive Council urges every central labor union to plan and initiate, not later than December 1, a labor-forward program for the purpose of extending unionism to all the wage earners of its vicinity.

We urge that this be your major activity during the coming winter and that you plan for a sustained undertaking. The officers of the American Federation of Labor will be charged with the responsibility for coordinating this nationwide campaign and for helping in every way possible.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

The two changes of specific mention in trade union benefits for 1934 over 1933 are the decline of eleven millions in the total amount paid and the 50 per cent increase in the number of persons working the five-day week. The decline in total benefits paid—from \$40,692,112.72 to \$28,840,644.65—marks a decline in all benefits except death—where there is an increase of \$230,000.00; and miscellaneous benefits where there is an increase of \$463,000.00. After five years of depression these figures show definitely and clearly the problems that have confronted unions as well as the Government. Continued unemployment in a number of industries has contributed to relief problems of unions. These figures clearly show the extraordinary stability of trade unions and the manner in which they have met some of the problems of this era. Of particular note is the total of four and one-half million dollars expended for unemployment benefits during the year.

In addition to the figures enumerated on the chart, benefits were paid by many local unions, the figures of which were not available to be entered in this compilation.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1934—Continued

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Clerts, Nat. Fed. of Post Office, Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway, Clerks Int. Protective Ass., Retail.	47,500.00 250,125.00 3,350.00	15,918.80			2,809.99		66,224.79 250,125.00 3,350.00	2,000 annually 14,000 for women weekly 25.00 for men weekly	8 hours 46 hrs., 6 days.		32,000
Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated.			506,000.00				506,000.00		7 hours	36 hrs., 5 days.	100,000
Conductors, Or. of Sleeping Car, Coopers Int. Un. of N. Am., Division of Workers Protective	9,000.00 3,125.00 750.00				3,500.00		12,500.00 4,372.00 750.00	188.65 mo. 50 per hour 55.00 per week	8 hours 5 hours 7 hours	56 hrs., 7 days. 49 hrs., 5 days. 35 hrs., 3 days.	2,000 50
Defiance's Un. Int. Fed. of Tech. Eng., Arch. and Elec. Workers of Am. Int.	NO	INTERN	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			2,000 annually		39 hours	2,000
Brotherhood of Elevator Constr., Int. Un. of Engineers, Int. Un. of Operating Engineers, Int. Union of Metal Engravers, Int. Un. of N. Am., International Photo	384,050.00 14,000.00 31,775.00 1,370,917.82			206,379.90	12,000.00		590,429.90 90,000.00 33,056.50 1,301,794.34	1.00 per hr. 12.00 day 1.25 per hr. 62.00 weekly	8 hours 8 hours 8 hours 40 hrs., 5 days.	5 days, 40 hrs. 40 hrs., 5 days. 42 hrs., 5 days. 40 hrs., 5 days.	104,000 10,000 25,000 8,000
Fire Fighters Int. Assn. of Firemen and Oilers, Inter. Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, Inter. Brotherhood of Fur Workers' Un. of U. S. and Canada, International Garment Workers of America, United.	21,937.71 22,275.00 400.00 1,420.00 22,950.00				PAID		26,437.71 22,275.00 4,500.00 2,734.00 22,950.00	1,800 annually .90 per hour 4.50 per hr. 32.00-51.60 wk Cutters 32.50 to 40.00 per wk. Operators 15.00 to 25.00 per wk. 32.50 cloak mkt. 30.00 dress mkt. 30.00 operators 32.50 to 40.00 12.00 per day Unskilled 3.00 to 4.50 per day	12 hours 8 hours 8 hours 8 hours 7 hours	84 hrs., 7 days. 40 hrs., 5 day wk. 40 hr., 5 days. 35 hours 36 hrs., 5 days.	350 7,500 2,500 10,000 37,043
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, U. S. and Canada	4,000.00 40,700.00	75,000.00	8,500.00	7,800.00			95,300.00 40,700.00		7 hours 6 hours	35 hrs., 5 days. 30 to 36	200,000 2,500
Glass Cutters' League of Am., Window Glass Workers' Un. of Am. Flint Glass Workers of America, Federation of Flat	5,500.00 21,900.00 NO		ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID		6,900.00 61,223.09	24.38 wkly Plate Glass Workers .75 Window Glass Workers .60 per hr. 20.00 per week 1,440.00 ann.	8 hours 6 hours	40 hrs., 5 days.	1,100 4,500 4,000
Glove Worker's Un. of Am., Int. Gov. Employees, Am. Fed. of	NO	INTERN 1,969.00	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID		1,969.00		8 hours	40 hours	3,600 4,500

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1934—Continued

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Granite Cutters' Int. Assn. of America, The Hatters, Cap and Mill Workers, Int. Union, United	41,964.00	3,750.00					45,714.00	1.00 per hour	8 hours	4 hrs., 5 days...	30,000
	7,435.00		7,531.21			26,993.00	41,959.21	Cap Makers wom. \$20.00 wk., men 30.00 wk. Millinery workers 1 Trimmers 38.00 wk. Operators 55.00 wk. Cutters 55.00 wk. Blockers 25.00 wk. Men's hat- men 40.00 wk. women 30.00 wk.	Cap & men's hat trade-8 hours Millinery trade 33 hrs., 5 days		
Hod Carriers', Bldg. and Com. Laborers' Un. of Am., Int.	30,500.00						30,500.00	Com. Laborer .50 to .75 hr. Semi-skilled .62½-1.00 hr. Compressed air 1.00 to 1.65 hr.			45,000
Home Shoppers of U. S. & Canada, Union of Hotel & Restaurant Employees' Hotel & Restaurant Employees' Int. Alliance and Bartenders' Int. League of America, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Jewelry Workers' Union, Int. Leathers, Int. Union of Wood, Wire and Metal, Leather Workers' Int. Union, Leather Workers' United, Int. Un. Letter Carriers, Nat. Assn. of Letter Car., Nat. Fed. of Rural Lithographers, Int. Pro. & Ben. Assn. of U. S. and Canada, Longshoremen's Int. Assn. of Machinists, Int. Assn. of Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of	NO 68,221.72	REPORT 38,759.67	RECEIVED			60,907.29	167,888.68	Men working by tonnage 1.19 hour	8-9 hrs.	48-54 hrs.	
	29,650.00	INTERN	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID		29,650.00		8 hours	40 hours	
	8,941.00	REPORT	RECEIVED	BENEFITS	PAID		8,941.00		7.68 hours	38.4 hrs., 5 days	8,100
	NO	INTERN	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID		290,235.70	2,089.52 ann.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	50,000
	178,690.80	111,544.90	100,000.00	BENEFITS	PAID		150,381.25	1,900.00 ann. 45.00 wk.	7 hours	42 hrs., 6 days	6,500
	42,781.25	8,100.00	285,752.00	BENEFITS	PAID		625,248.06	90 per hr. 312.57 per hr. Foreman 117.00 148.00 per mo. 6.20 per day...	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days 43 hrs. week	55,000
	273,789.13	15,226.93	13,691.00			50.00	23,801.00		8 hours	40 hrs.	5,500
	239,000.00										
	9,910.00	150.00									

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1934—Continued

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Masters, Males and Pilots of America, Nat. Organization	100.00	50.00	RECEIVED			700.00	850.00	165.00 mo.	10 hours	80 hrs., 6 days	
Master Mechanics & Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Nat. Asso. of	21,750.00					30,000.00	51,750.00	35.00 retail tr.	8 hrs. retail trade	retail trade 48 hr.	1,000
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	44,000.00					3,000.00	47,000.00	28.50 slaughter house	5 hrs. slaughter house	slaughter house 30 hrs.	
Metal Workers, Nat. Asso. Sheet Metal Workers, Int. Union of	2,400.00	2,850.50	105.00			3,966.45	9,321.95	4.50 per day	8 hours	42 hrs.	15,000
Mine Workers of Am., United	1,000,000.00						1,000,000.00	5.00 day-north 4.60 day-south	7 hours	32 hrs., 5 days	450,000
Molders' Un. of N. Am., Int. Musicians, Am. Fed. of	213,287.33	75,021.35	41,507.40	BENEFITS	PAID	94,370.64	424,166.72	.85 per hour	8 hours	N. of more than 40 hrs. more than 2 wks.	
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America	6,580.00	INTERN	ATIONAL			718.64	7,298.64	.50 per hour		Not more than 72 hrs.	
Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers of Am., Brotherhood of	120,001.76				3,225.00		123,226.76	1.03 3/4 hr.	7 hours 57 min.	39 hr. 35 min.	58,680
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	5,941.30					8,500.00	14,441.30	1.00 per hr.	7 hours	40 hrs., 6 days	1,250
Pattern Mfrs. League of N. Am.	7,000.00	4,944.48				2,706.64	14,651.12	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	44 hrs., 5 1/2 days	1,500
Favers, Hammermen, Flag Laying, Bridge and Sheet Metal Workers, Int. Union of	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			11.50 per day	8 hours	40 hours	1,500
Pavers, Int. Union of	4,050.00					587.29	4,637.29	Piece work	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	2,200
Paving Cutters' Union of the U. S. of Am. and Canada	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			.40 per hour	8 hours	4 days	
Piano and Organ Workers Int. Union of America	46,850.00				5,200.00		52,050.00	11.00 per day	8 hours	5 days	16,155
Plasterers' Int. Asso. of the U. S. and Canada, Plasterers' Int. Union of the U. S. and Canada, United Association of	137,675.50	86,515.00	4,750,000.00			1,680.00	975,870.50	9.00 per day	8 hrs. per day	40 hrs. week 5 days per wk.	33,000
Polishers, Metal, Int. Union of	3,200.00					6,560.00	9,760.00	.85 per hr.	8 hours	44 hrs.	1,700
Potters, Nat. Brotherhood of	14,970.00	4,504.00					19,474.00	Piece work			
Operative Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United	220.00						220.00		8 hours		24
Printers, Int. Union of N. Am., International Printers' Union of N. Am.	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			40.00 week	8 hours	35 hours	650
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of N. Am., Int. Pub. Sculpit and Paper Mill Workers of the U. S. and Can., Int. Brotherhood of	261,221.78	41,344.00	451,141.09	130,352.35			854,059.22	40.00 per wk.	7 1/2 hours	40 hours	32,000
			5,000.00			1,000.00	6,000.00	.50 per hour	8 hours	40 hours	6,000

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1934—Continued

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week
Quarry Workers, Int. Union of North America.	2,775.00			1,250.00		4 1,091.59	5,116.59	.55 per hour.	7 hours	35 hours, 5 days.	1,700
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Asso. of Street and Electric	836,305.84	64,389.78		162,000.00	10,725.00	8,798.50	1,082,219.12		8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days.	12,000
Railway Mail Association	64,500.00				128,161.00		192,661.00	2,365.40 ann.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days.	19,750
Road, Dump and Waterproof Workers Asso., United State, Third Edition	6,400.00						6,400.00	1.25 per hr.			3,500
Seamen's Union of Am., Int.	NO	INTERN	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID		6,605.00	3.50 per day.	9 hours	54 hrs., 5 days.	
Sheep Shearers' Union of N. Am.	1,625.00	70.00	RECEIVED	2,410.00							
Siderographers, Int. Asso. of	NO	REPORT	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID						
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the U. S. and Canada, Int.	NO	INTERN									
Alliance of Electrical and Electromechanical Workers, Int. Union of N. Am., Int.	98,375.70	9,930.90	4 390,772.88	4 4,771.20	4 4,838.81	4 12,639.02	521,228.01		8 hours		2,709
Stonemasons' Asso. of N. Am., Journeymen	12,550.00						12,550.00	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hours	270
Stove Mounters' Int. Union	7,775.00							5.93 day	8 hrs., 4 days.		1,600
Switchmen's Union of N. Am.	154,875.00				36,400.00	13,738.75	21,513.75	6.62 per day.	8 hours	6 days	
Tailors U. of Am., Journeymen	3,836.00	3,048.00					191,275.00		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days.	
Teachers, Conf. of, Stable Men, and Helpers of Am., Int. Brotherhood of	NO	INTERN	ATONAL	BENEFITS	PAID		6,874.00	1,532.75 ann.	5.5 hours	26 hours	12,000
Telegraphers, Order of R.R.	318,670.93				3,995.00	958.60	323,624.53	.6240 per hr.	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days.	
Telegraphers' Un. of N. Am., The Commercial	1,049.75						1,049.75				
Textile Workers of Am., United	7,800.00					125,000.00	132,800.00	18.00 week	8 hours	8 hrs., 5 days.	90,000
Tobacco Workers' Int. Union	10,696.00						11,546.00	32.70 per hr.	7.5 hours	40 hrs., 5 days.	40,000
Typographical Union, Int.	653,938.84	63,911.51	468,697.23	2,180,067.03		39,255.20	3,405,280.81	44.96 per wk.	7½ to 8 hrs	37½ to 40 hours, 5 days	
Upholsterers' Int. Un. of N. Am.						25,000.00	25,000.00	9.00 per day.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days.	10,000
Wall Paper Crafts of N. Am., United	4,800.00	356.00	1,805.00		1,465.25		9,426.25	43.00 per week.	8 hours	40 hours.	309
Walters Pro. Asso. Am. Wire	500.00					5,000.00	5,000.00	Piece work.	6 hours	6 hrs., 5 days.	200
Brotherhood Locomotive Eng.	1,572,381.38	1 400.00	61,421.45	67,405.31	160,323.86	5,000.00	1,863,531.00				
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers	1,097,991.58	895,396.37	137,712.38	287,883.00	103,275.00	2,586,763.86	2,586,763.86				
Brotherhood of R.R. Trainmen	3,836,574.07	235,183.71		682,041.46	1,598,196.83	44,675.16	6,386,671.23		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days.	
Order of Ry. Conductors of Am.	1,019,563.12				168,232.51	87,463.50	1,275,279.13		8 hours	40 hours.	
Total	\$15,011,044.05	\$1,023,314.47	\$4,467,802.23	\$3,912,939.89	\$3,176,013.62	\$1,400,530.39	\$28,840,544.65				1,848,800

* Includes disability benefits.

* Includes old age pensions.

* Includes local union benefits.

* Paid by local unions.

* Includes Sick Benefits.

* Includes unemployment benefits.

Recapitulation:

Death Benefits..... \$15,011,044.05

Sick Benefits..... 1,023,314.47

Unemployment Benefits..... 4,467,802.23

Old Age Benefits..... 3,912,939.89

Disability Benefits..... 3,176,013.62

Miscellaneous..... 1,400,530.39

Total..... \$28,840,544.65

DEATH OF TREASURER MARTIN FRANCIS RYAN

On January 17, 1935, Martin Francis Ryan, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, was stricken by death. We herewith officially record the deep sense of loss which the organized labor movement and we as an Executive Council have sustained through the death of an efficient, loyal trade unionist and faithful friend, Martin Francis Ryan.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The Executive Council filled the vacancy in the office of treasurer caused by the death of Martin Francis Ryan by appointing Frank Morrison to the position. The official action of the Executive Council is as follows:

That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be made the Treasurer pro tem or acting Treasurer of this Federation until the next convention with the understanding that the Council in making its report to the next convention recommend to the convention that the constitution be changed, making the Secretary, Secretary-Treasurer.

In the administrative work of the American Federation of Labor it is required during each month that sufficient funds remain liquid and available in the accounts of the Secretary so that with the approval of the President immediate necessary expenses may be met and reimbursements made. For practical reasons the Treasurer has served merely as the custodian of the moneys and securities belonging to the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council believes that the time has arrived when a change should be made profitable to the American Federation of Labor by combining the office of Secretary and Treasurer. Such change would not interfere in any way whatever with the safeguards provided by the constitution of the American Federation of Labor designed to protect the funds and securities of the American Federation of Labor. In order to comply with the foregoing the Executive Council recommends the adoption of the following amendments to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor:

Amend Article IV, Section 4, by inserting the word "Treasurer" immediately following the word "Secretary" in the first line.

Amend Article V, Section 1, to read as follows:

The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the Convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Amend Article V, Section 2, by inserting the word "Treasurer" immediately following the word "Secretary" in the first line.

Amend Article V, Section 5, by inserting the word "Treasurer" immediately following the word "Secretary" in the first line.

Amend Article VI, Section 2, by inserting the word "Treasurer" immediately following the word "Secretary" in the second line.

Amend Article VI, Section 5, by inserting the word "Treasurer" immediately following the word "Secretary" in the third and fifth lines.

Amend Article VII to read as follows:

DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

Section 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

Section 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Section 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest-period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested in interest-bearing securities and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Section 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution and none others.

Section 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Section 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

Section 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Section 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

Strike out all of Article VIII—"Duties of Treasurer" and substitute therefor the following:

ARTICLE VIII—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

Section 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee, with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

Section 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Executive Council has diligently endeavored to carry out the instructions of the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor relating to the controversy which arose during the past year between the building trades organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

As a matter of information and for the purpose of presenting the facts connected with the internal strife existing among building trades organizations and in order to present clearly the origin of the controversy which developed out of action taken at the Building Trades Convention held in San Francisco on September 26, 1934, an historical review is herewith presented:

Experience has shown that periodically during the existence of the Building Trades Department some building trades organizations withdrew from affiliation with the Building Trades Department. Notwithstanding the fact that some building trades organizations remained out of affiliation with the Building Trades Department, it was the steadfast purpose and policy of the American Federation of Labor to unite all building trades organizations within the Building Trades Department created and chartered by the American Federation of Labor. Such an achievement seemed necessary in order to promote cooperation, standardization and decent wages and working conditions for building trades workers.

The enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act which became a law on June 16, 1933, made it increasingly necessary that a unified Building Trades Department composed of all building trades organizations be established. The origination and development of industrial codes of fair competition applicable to the construction and building construction industries, created a new need for the organization of a united Building Trades Department.

Appreciating this fact, the officers of the Building Trades Department appealed to the President of the American Federation of Labor to use his official and personal influence in an effort to persuade building trades organizations outside the Building Trades Department to become affiliated with the Department and to cooperate with it both in the development and administration of industrial codes of fair competition.

In response to these urgent requests and in conformity with the well-established rule of the American Federation of Labor to develop solid, unified departments, the President of the American Federation of Labor on June 14, 1934, addressed a communication to the officers of the international unions not affiliated with the Building Trades Department, which reads as follows:

The development of solidarity and cooperation among building trades organizations is to me a matter of supreme concern. I am positively certain that the highest and best interests of the officers and members of building trades organizations will be promoted through the affiliation of each eligible organization with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

It is a matter of personal conviction that at this important moment, following the adoption of industrial codes applicable to the building industry, that the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers should become affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

In conformity, therefore, with these expressed opinions and because of my deep personal interest, I am requesting your organizations to make application for affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

In making this request I wish to state that the affiliation of your international union with the Building Trades Department would mean that your organization would be entitled to all the rights and privileges of an affiliated organization with the Building Trades Department and entitled to representation with all its rights and privileges in conventions of the Building Trades Department.

I respectfully urge that you respond to this request that you apply for affiliation with the Building Trades Department with the understanding that your organization will be admitted as an affiliated unit with the Building Trades Department without reservations, stipulations or requirements of any character other than those set forth in the constitution of the Building Trades Department.

I will be very happy, indeed, if you will respond favorably to the request I have herein made, and I assure you that I will be glad to submit your application to the President of the Building Trades Department, and as President of the American Federation of Labor not only urge, but insist, that your application be accepted and your organization admitted

into affiliation with the Building Trades Department promptly and without a moment's delay.

The response to this appeal was immediate and direct as shown by the following communication which was received immediately:

Washington, D. C., June 14, 1934.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

In response to your communication of this date, we, in behalf of our separate international organizations, do hereby present to you, to be presented to the Building Trades Department, the application of affiliation of our respective organizations with that body.

(Signed) WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

(Signed) D. W. TRACY,
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

(Signed) HARRY C. BATES,
*Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers
International Union of America.*

Following the receipt of this communication the President of the American Federation of Labor secured and submitted to the executive officers of the Building Trades Department the application of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers for affiliation with the Department. The President of the American Federation of Labor presented the application of these three international building trades organizations to the executive officers of this Department for affiliation with the Building Trades Department on June 14, 1934. These applications were favorably acted upon, initiation fees were paid and accepted and all per capita tax required by the laws of the Building Trades Department was paid.

The officers of the three international unions were notified of the acceptance of said international unions into affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. All the laws of the Building Trades Department and of the American Federation of Labor and all legal requirements relating to affiliation were fully met. As evidence of the fact that the reaffiliation of the three organizations named with the Building Trades Department was completed without question, the following communication was addressed to the members of the Executive Council on June 15, 1934:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

COLLEAGUES:

I am happy to advise you that the three building trades organizations, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, the United

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, have become re-affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

You will find enclosed herein copy of the letter which I addressed to each of the Presidents of the three building trades organizations named, and also copies of their replies thereto.

Immediately upon receipt of the application for re-affiliation with the Building Trades Department, I presented the same to the officers of the Building Trades Department. It was unanimously approved.

The re-affiliation of these organizations with the Building Trades Department is now completed.

All building trades organizations eligible to affiliation are now a part of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

I know you share with me my feelings of satisfaction over the confirmation of our common desire and common purpose to bring back the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union into re-affiliation with the Building Trades Department.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

It will be noted from the facts herein set forth that the affiliation of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor became effective on June 14, 1934.

The convention of the Building Trades Department was called to meet in San Francisco as provided for by the laws of the American Federation of Labor on September 26, 1934. The call for the convention together with credentials for delegates, was sent to the officers of all building trades organizations including the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America. Delegates were elected. They presented their credentials to the convention of the Building Trades Department. The credentials were rejected and the delegates from the three international unions named were denied representation in the convention.

Upon receipt of information that the Building Trades Convention had rejected the credentials of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, the President of the American Federation of Labor, en route to the San Francisco Convention, sent the following telegram to President McDonough of the Building Trades Department:

When Bricklayers, Electrical Workers and Carpenters' International Unions became re-affiliated with the Building Trades Department, it was positively and distinctly understood that these organizations would be accorded all the rights and privileges to which organizations affiliated with Building Trades Department are entitled. Executive Board, Building Trades

Department, unanimously agreed to this. This means these organizations are entitled without question to representation in convention, Building Trades Department now in session in San Francisco. Because of this interpretation I place upon the agreement Executive Board Building Trades Department made with me when these organizations herein named became re-affiliated Building Trades Department, I must direct that the representatives of these organizations be seated in Building Trades Convention immediately.

The request submitted in this telegram was supplemented by a personal appeal to the officers and delegates in attendance at the Building Trades Convention by the President of the American Federation of Labor, to accept credentials of the delegates from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, and to accord the organizations representation in the convention. In this appeal, the President of the American Federation of Labor made the following statement:

You have made a grave mistake. Your action is wrong—I was going to say indefensible. I know it is illegal, it is not in accord with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor. I feel I have to tell you that, if it is the last word I speak as an officer of this organized labor movement, I feel that these organizations were in your Department from June 14th—that is the date when they became affiliated—and they were a part of this Department from then until now. I regard them as a part of this Department, because they have met every requirement. They paid their tax, they paid their initiation fee; there is no law they have violated, and, furthermore, I made the agreement, I pledged the honor and the good name of the American Federation of Labor in support of that agreement. We cannot have it stained or blurred, it must stand.

The appeal, as well as the instructions of the President of the American Federation of Labor, was rejected and the convention of the Building Trades Department approved the following reasons only for excluding the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, from representation in the convention:

The members of your committee, being active building tradesmen, read with much joy of the application for reaffiliation of these three trades.

We read President Green's letter in which he mentioned development, solidarity and cooperation among the building trades organizations. We agree with President Green as to the development of solidarity and cooperation being necessary to our success, but such hopes as we held were soon shattered on our arrival in San Francisco to attend this convention. We found a different feeling than solidarity and cooperation prevailing.

We need not tell the delegates to this convention of what was foremost in the minds of the delegates, we need not tell the delegates to this convention what was the subject of every little group, we need not tell the delegates that good legislation was not the subject of conversation among the delegates, we leave these inferences with the delegates in attendance here.

Your committee fully realizes that the Building Trades Department has weathered the depression of the last several years through the solidarity of those trades now in affiliation with the Building Trades Department, and

fearful that this solidarity will be disrupted by the three aforementioned crafts now seeking affiliation, who by their palpable destructive activities which is so evident to all, we, your committee, do not concur in the action of the Executive Council in accepting the applications of these organizations in the interim and therefore recommend that such moneys that they have paid to this Department be returned and their affiliation be denied.

The representatives of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, then appealed from the action of the Building Trades Convention, which denied them representation, to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. That appeal reads as follows.

APPEAL

September 28, 1934.

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, San Francisco, California.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America desire to present to you a statement relative to our affiliation with the Building Trades Department, and to the action of the convention of the Building Trades Department which has been in session in this city since Wednesday, September 26, 1934.

When we decided, on the request of the President of the American Federation of Labor, to consider reaffiliation with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, it was with the distinct understanding that we would obtain and enjoy all the rights and privileges of all regularly affiliated organizations in the Department.

We were guaranteed these rights by President Green of the American Federation of Labor, and in compliance with that part of the constitution of the Building Trades Department governing affiliation, we carried out our part of the agreement to the letter; were admitted to membership and given certificates of affiliation on June 14, 1934.

In due time we were notified that the convention of the Building Trades Department would be held in San Francisco beginning September 26, 1934, and we received credentials from the Building Trades Department, after which we elected our delegates to the Department and brought them to San Francisco, California, at considerable expense, with the full belief that there would be no question about their being seated in accordance with the constitution of the Building Trades Department, and our agreement and understanding with President Green at the time of our application for reaffiliation.

We did everything that was required of us in accordance with the request of President Green, and in accordance with the laws of the Building Trades Department.

When we appeared before the convention, representing our International Unions, the convention refused to seat our delegates.

We now appear before you and demand fulfillment of the agreement that was entered into between our respective organizations, the Building Trades Department and the President of the American Federation of Labor.

We ask that this Executive Council insist that the agreement with us, made through President Green, be carried out in full.

We demand that this Executive Council notify the officers of the Building Trades Department that the refusal of the delegates to the convention

of the Building Trades Department to seat the delegates from our respective organizations was a violation of the agreement, and of the laws of the Building Trades Department, and that their procedure, as a convention, was illegal.

We insist that you notify them, through this Council, that it is the order of this Council that the convention of the Building Trades Department be reconvened immediately, and that all acts of the recent convention of the Building Trades Department be rescinded. That the convention, as one of its acts, seat the delegates from our respective organizations, and that we proceed with the work of the convention in accordance with the understanding that was entered into when we became affiliated with the Building Trades Department.

Said understanding, or agreement, we repeat, was guaranteed by President Green representing the American Federation of Labor.

We desire to also request of this Executive Council to inform the Building Trades Department officials that unless arrangements are made within twenty-four hours for reconvening of the convention, and our delegates seated, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall deem it necessary, and will, in the interest of the preservation of this solemn and binding agreement, recommend to the American Federation of Labor Convention that the charter of the Building Trades Department be revoked.

WM. L. HUTCHESON,

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

HARRY C. BATES,

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.

D. W. TRACY,

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America.

The Executive Council sustained the appeal of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, from the decision of the Building Trades Convention. The decision of the Executive Council was set forth in a supplementary report submitted to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was then in session in San Francisco, on October 5, 1934. This supplementary report of the Executive Council reads as follows:

San Francisco, California,

October 5, 1934.

The Executive Council herewith transmits a supplementary report dealing with the serious internal controversy which has arisen in the Building Trades Department and which so seriously affects the relationship of building trades organizations.

It has ever been the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to unite all building trades organizations eligible to affiliation, into a strong, united, effective Building Trades Department. The economic and industrial welfare of building trades' workers calls for the establishment of solidarity, cooperation, and united effort on the part of building trades organizations.

The laws of the American Federation of Labor provide for the establishment of a Building Trades Department and for the eligibility of building trades organizations to become affiliated with the Department. There is nothing, however, in the law which compels building trades organizations to accept affiliation. It all rests upon voluntary action on the part of building trades organizations.

In order to achieve solidarity and to establish strength and unity in the Building Trades Department, efforts were put forth by the Executive Council to bring about the affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America. These organizations had withdrawn from affiliation with the Department. Recently it became quite apparent, particularly because of the development of an industrial code of fair practice for the construction industry, that there was a most emphatic need for the return of these organizations into affiliation with the Building Trades Department.

On June 14, 1934, an agreement was reached providing for the reaffiliation of these organizations with the Building Trades Department. The President of the American Federation of Labor appealed to the representatives of the three organizations named to unite with the Building Trades Department. The appeal was accepted. The President of the American Federation of Labor submitted the application of the three organizations for affiliation, and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department unanimously agreed to approve the application of the three organizations named for reaffiliation with the Building Trades Department. The entrance fees required by the law for affiliation of organizations with the Department were promptly paid and accepted. It was understood and agreed that these organizations in becoming affiliated with the Department would be entitled to exercise and enjoy all the rights and privileges of organizations affiliated with the Department as provided for in the laws and constitution of the Building Trades Department. The record clearly shows that every requirement of the constitution of the Building Trades Department necessary to secure affiliation was met by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America when they became affiliated with the Department.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that these three organizations were an integral part of the Department, were affiliated with it, and entitled to representation in the convention of the Building Trades Department as affiliated organizations when it convened in this city on September 26, 1934.

To the amazement and surprise of the Executive Council, the convention rejected the credentials of the delegates duly elected by these three organizations, denied them seats, and the organizations representation in the convention.

An appeal was made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the three organizations named from the action of the Building Trades Department convention in denying them representation in the convention. The Executive Council heard and considered this appeal as well as the answer made by the representatives of the Building Trades Department. The Executive Council has weighed carefully all the facts and all the information available. It holds that the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department is clothed with authority by the laws, procedure and customs of the American Federation of Labor to direct and conduct the business of the Building Trades Department in the interim between conventions.

The Executive Council also exercised its mediation influence in an effort to compose the differences and to bring about a settlement through agreement with the representatives of the Building Trades Department and of the three organizations affected.

Inasmuch as no settlement could be reached, and in accordance with the authority conferred upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the following decision is reached and recommendations transmitted:

It is the decision of the Executive Council that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America were legally affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor when the Building Trades Department convention convened in this city on September 26, 1934. For this reason, these organizations could not be legally denied the right of representation in the convention of the Building Trades Department. The reasons assigned in the records of the Building Trades Department convention for the rejection of the credentials of the duly elected delegates of the three affiliated organizations were not valid, legal or justifiable. As evidence of this fact, the following quotation is submitted as the reasons why the convention rejected the credentials of the delegates of these three organizations and denied them representation in the convention:

The members of your committee, being active building tradesmen, read with much joy of the application for reaffiliation of these three trades.

We read President Green's letter in which he mentioned development, solidarity and cooperation among the building trades organizations. We agree with President Green as to the development of solidarity and cooperation being necessary to our success, but such hopes as we held were soon shattered on our arrival in San Francisco to attend this convention. We found a different feeling than solidarity and cooperation prevailing.

We need not tell the delegates to this convention of what was foremost in the minds of the delegates, we need not tell the delegates to this convention what was the subject of every little group, we need not tell the delegates that good legislation was not the subject of conversation among the delegates; we leave these inferences with the delegates in attendance here.

Your committee fully realizes that the Building Trades Department has weathered the depression of the last several years through the solidarity of those trades now in affiliation with the Building Trades Department, and fearful that this solidarity will be disrupted by the three aforementioned crafts now seeking affiliation, who by their palpable destructive activities which are so evident to all, we, your committee, do not concur in the action of the Executive Council in accepting the applications of these organizations in the interim and therefore recommend that such moneys that they have paid to this Department be returned and their affiliation be denied.

(Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report, from printed proceedings of the Building Trades Department Convention.)

There is nothing in the reasons assigned charging violation of any law of the Department or any failure on the part of the three organizations named to comply with the constitution of the Building Trades Department, or with its laws, which prescribe the requirements which building trades organizations must meet in order to become affiliated with the Building Trades Department.

The Executive Council holds that the Building Trades Department, created and chartered by the American Federation of Labor and subject to its laws, can not arbitrarily and without valid, legal reason exclude a building trades organization from affiliation with the Department or deny an affiliated organization representation in conventions of the Building Trades Department.

The Executive Council holds that because the Building Trades Department convention excluded legally affiliated organizations from repre-

sentation in the convention and denied the right of the legally chosen delegates of organizations seats in the convention, that all action taken by the convention is illegal and can not be recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council will continue its efforts to compose the differences existing between the Building Trades Department and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, and to reach a settlement of the differences which exist. In the event a settlement is brought about and an agreement reached satisfactory to the executive officers of the Building Trades Department and the three organizations named, it shall be approved and accepted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

In the event, however, that no such agreement is reached a convention of the Building Trades Department shall be called to meet at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor in the City of Washington within forty-five days from the adjournment of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of transacting the business of the Building Trades Department in a legal manner and in accordance with the laws, principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor; the call for this convention to be issued by the President of the American Federation of Labor to all organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department as determined by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; the President of the American Federation of Labor to preside at said convention, and the action taken at said convention to be regarded and accepted as the legal action of the 1934 convention of the Building Trades Department. The business transacted at this convention in accordance with the laws of the Building Trades Department shall be regarded as legal and binding by the American Federation of Labor upon all affiliated organizations, and the officers elected by the convention shall be recognized as the legally elected officers of the Building Trades Department.

By Direction of the Executive Council of
the American Federation of Labor.

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

President McDonough and Secretary O'Neill of the Building Trades Department appealed from the decision of the Executive Council to the American Federation of Labor Convention. This appeal reads as follows:

San Francisco, California,
September 30, 1934.

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor,
Mr. William Green, President,
Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary.

DEAR SIRs AND BROTHERS:

We are in receipt of your communication of September 28 containing copy of charges presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union and the Inter-

national Brotherhood of Electrical Workers concerning the action taken at the recent convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. We herewith quote the action taken by the Building Trades Department convention dealing with this particular subject:

Affiliation With the Building Trades Department of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The members of your committee, being active building tradesmen, read with much joy of the application for reaffiliation of these three trades.

We read President Green's letter in which he mentioned development, solidarity and co-operation among the building trades organizations. We agree with President Green as to the development of solidarity and co-operation being necessary to our success, but such hopes as we held were soon shattered on our arrival in San Francisco to attend this convention. We found a different feeling than solidarity and co-operation prevailing.

We need not tell the delegates to this convention of what was foremost in the minds of the delegates, we need not tell the delegates to this convention what was the subject of every little group, we need not tell the delegates that good legislation was not the subject of conversations among the delegates, we leave these inferences with the delegates in attendance here.

Your committee fully realizes that the Building Trades Department has weathered the depression of the last several years through the solidarity of those trades now in affiliation with the Building Trades Department, and fearful that this solidarity will be disrupted by the three aforementioned crafts now seeking affiliation, who by their palpably destructive activities which are so evident to all, we, your committee, do not concur in the action of the Executive Council in accepting the applications of these organizations in the interim and therefore recommend that such moneys that they have paid to this Department be returned and their affiliation denied.

Answering the charges made by these three organizations, we question the right of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to hear an appeal from organizations which are not in affiliation with the Building Trades Department and which have been denied affiliation with the Building Trades Department by an action of the convention of the Building Trades Department.

These three International Unions agreed to conform to all of the rules and laws of the Department. Since the applications were received, the attitude of these three organizations has been such that at no time did they show any desire to carry out that which was agreed to with President Green. The following communication dated June 25, 1934, over the signature of William L. Hutcheson, President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, was sent out to all of their Local Unions:

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners
Information to Members of Our Brotherhood

To All Local Unions and District Councils:

For several years our Brotherhood has not been affiliated with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Recently, upon the solicitation of Wm. Green, President of the

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

American Federation of Labor, the Electrical Workers' organization, the Bricklayers' International Union and our Brotherhood, decided to again affiliate with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and on June 14 were admitted to the Department.

In doing so, however, it was agreed by the three organizations that the Tri-Party Agreement existing between the Electricians, Bricklayers and our Brotherhood would continue in existence.

While we are now again affiliated with the Department, our membership, if desiring to affiliate with local Building Trades Councils, should keep in mind that they should affiliate through their District Council, where a District Council exists.

They should also bear in mind that the laws of the Building Trades Department provide that no strike of a Building Trades Council shall be called because of a jurisdictional dispute. In other words if a jurisdictional dispute arises between two trades the Building Trades Council is to remain neutral and not enter into the controversy by taking sides with either one or the other of the organizations.

Our members should also keep in mind that if they affiliate with a Building Trades Council it does not in any way change our jurisdictional claims, nor do we, nor can we, permit a local Building Trades Council to determine what our jurisdiction shall be.

Fraternally yours,

WM. L. HUTCHESON,
General President.

June 25, 1934.

The above communication without question demonstrates that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners did not have any intention of developing solidarity and co-operation among the Building Trades organizations.

We desire to call your attention to the fact that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners violated Section 5 of the rules governing Departments. The section provides that the organizations should pay to the Department per capita tax on their full membership. The records of the American Federation of Labor disclose that they have paid on 200,000 members to that body and have paid on 150,000 members to the Building Trades Department.

Again, we call your attention to the violation of Section 26 of the constitution of the Building Trades Department, as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has refused to submit a copy of their jurisdiction claim to the Building Trades Department.

We again call your attention to the repeated refusals of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to comply with Section 37 of the constitution and by-laws of the Building Trades Department, they having refused to assign a representative to meet with representatives of other organizations to adjust jurisdictional disputes.

Again, we call your attention to the violation of Section 6 of the constitution of the Building Trades Department, as the credentials of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners were not submitted until September 25, 1934.

It might be of interest at this time to relate the past relationship of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners with this Department.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners affiliated with this Department in 1908. Refusing to comply with a decision rendered by the Building Trades Department convention held in Tampa in 1909, the United

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners were suspended at the convention held in St. Louis, Mo., in 1910, after every effort had been made by the officials of the Department to have this organization comply with the decision. They reaffiliated in May, 1912, on a two-thirds vote of their membership, and withdrew after the convention held in Seattle, Washington in 1913, again refusing to comply with the convention decisions of 1909 awarding hollow metal trim to the sheet metal workers. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners reaffiliated with the Building Trades Department in 1915, after the American Federation of Labor convention and decided by a yea and nay vote that the manufacture and erection of hollow metal doors and trim was the work of the sheet metal worker. The Carpenters rejoined the Building Trades Department in 1915, as stated, and at that convention the Machinists and Boiler Makers were put out of the Building Trades Department. A motion by President Hutcheson prevailed in the Department convention, abrogating the Tampa decision awarding the erection of hollow metal doors and trim to the sheet metal workers. In 1921, refusing to abide by decisions made by the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners seceded from this Department. They reaffiliated with the Building Trades Department at the Los Angeles Convention in 1927. At the 1929 Convention held in Toronto, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners advocated a reduction in the per capita tax. The Executive Council of the Building Trades Department unanimously recommended that there be a reduction in the per capita tax. The convention repudiated the report of the Executive Council. Again, the Carpenters seceded from the Building Trades Department.

We also desire to call to the attention of the Executive Council that the Building Trades Department has a signed contract with the National Association of Building Trades Employers which obligates the affiliated organizations of the Department to carry out all decisions of the National Board of Trade Claims. This contract is in effect at the present time and will be until December 31, 1934. The Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have most emphatically refused to be governed by the decisions of the National Board of Trade Claims.

Aside from these definite and specific reasons, it was common knowledge among the delegates to the convention of the Building Trades Department that since June 14, 1934, there has been a campaign of barter and intimidation carried on by these three trades to bring about the disruption of the Building Trades Department.

With reference to the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, this organization affiliated with the Building Trades Department in 1916 and, refusing to comply with the decisions rendered by the Building Trades Department, seceded from the Department in 1927.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers joined the Department in 1908. The President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers participated in the drawing up of the agreement for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes between the Building Trades Department and the National Association of Building Trades Employers in 1930. When the Boston convention of the Building Trades Department, held in 1930, approved this agreement, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers seceded from the Building Trades Department.

These are some of the reasons why the delegates to the twenty-eighth annual convention of the Building Trades Department refused to accept the applications of these organizations for affiliation.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Referring to the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the matter of the Building Trades Department—Boiler Makers and Machinists—on page 282, proceedings of the 1916 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Gompers ruled as follows:

... that, Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be a part of their respective Departments and should comply with their actions and decisions. He emphasized the fact that the section provides that organizations **SHOULD** be a part of their respective Departments and **SHOULD** comply with their actions and decisions. He stated that if it is voluntary for an organization to become affiliated with a Department it cannot be made compulsory for a Department to accept an organization; that it is either mutually compulsory or it is mutually arbitrary.

The delegate from the Building Trades Department to the American Federation of Labor convention in 1931 submitted a resolution to amend Section 5 of the General Rules Governing Departments, as follows:

Strike out all the words beginning with the word 'should' in the sixth line and including and ending with the word 'subject' in the eighth line, and insert in lieu thereof the following: 'shall be required to be part of such respective Departments and should comply with their actions and decisions or be subject to forfeiture of their charters in the American Federation of Labor, all being subject however ...'

This resolution was not concurred in.

In checking the records of the American Federation of Labor in regard to the membership paid on by the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union to the American Federation of Labor, from October, 1933, until March, 1934, this organization paid on a membership of 35,000; in April, 1934, 45,000; in May, 1934, 45,000, and in June, 1934, 65,000.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers paid on a membership of 92,000 in July, August and September, 1933; 110,000 from October, 1933 to May, 1934, and in June, 1934, they paid on 130,000 members. Notwithstanding this, at a conference held in March between the officials of the three outside organizations and representatives of the Building Trades Department, the Carpenters' representatives stated that they would pay per capita tax on 200,000 members; the Electrical Workers on 110,000, and the Bricklayers on 45,000.

In the face of the terribly depressed conditions in the building industry and which is universally recognized, this increase in membership we believe is fictitious, and it is quite obvious that it was created for some ulterior motive—to control the affairs of the Building Trades Department to suit their own selfish ends, and especially when we take into consideration the past history of at least two of these organizations that have never in their history given true co-operation in any way to the building up of a solid, sound Building Trades Department.

We contend, along with the foregoing, that in accordance with the constitution of the Building Trades Department, and which is a general rule with all similar bodies, the delegates to a convention have full and complete power to not only decide who shall be accepted to membership as affiliated organizations, but on all other questions affecting the administration of the Building Trades Department. In other words, they are recognized as the

supreme power and the supreme body whose actions are conclusive and from which there can be no appeal.

We want to assure you that it is now and always has been our ardent desire to have every building trade affiliated with the Building Trades Department. Our actions in the past have proven this by maintaining the Building Trades Department in all the years, and especially in later years, through sacrifice, adversity, and suffering, and without the aid of those that are now seeking admission. While it is our supreme thought at all times and especially in the present controversy that the three organizations herein named will become affiliated with the Building Trades Department, they must become affiliated in accordance with the Constitution and the customs governing the administration of the Building Trades Department, in which they are well versed, and with a sincere and honest intention that they claim is theirs to build up a strong and substantial Building Trades Department wherein progress and advancement for the building trades and the labor movement generally that we all desire and have spent the best part of our lives to achieve. On these enlightened principles of co-operation, we would welcome them as members and affiliates of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) M. J. McDONOUGH,
President.

WM. C. O'NEILL,
Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades Department.

The Committee on Adjustment which considered the report of the Executive Council and the appeal of the officers of the Building Trades Department therefrom, made the following report which was adopted by the convention:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE

Your committee to which this matter was referred after hearing President McDonough of the Building Trades Department and others interested in making this appeal, as well as the other organizations, parties to this dispute, going over the constitution of the Building Trades Department, as well as the proceedings of that convention and the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, is of the opinion that the decision of the Executive Council clearly and correctly sets forth all of the facts, which indicate first, that through President Green application for affiliation to the Building Trades Department was made by these three organizations, accompanied with the usual entrance fee. The same was presented to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, accepted, and the three organizations notified of the Department's action. They were advised that they were an integral part of the Department, per capita tax accepted and credentials sent to them for their delegates to the convention.

Nothing in the records of the Building Trades Department convention indicates that they violated the law or did not comply with the laws of the Department or of the Federation. Nevertheless, they were denied seats and the convention directed the return of their application fees and per capita tax. This action is regrettable. It was hoped that with the rejoining of the three organizations, the Building Trades Department and the Building Trades as a reunited family would thereafter function harmoniously to the benefit of the workers in that industry.

The laws of the American Federation of Labor do not make affiliation with Departments mandatory, but clearly indicate that when organizations are eligible they should belong to that Department. In this case these three

organizations became affiliated to the Building Trades Department through an agreement consummated by the President of the American Federation of Labor with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, which in the interim between conventions is the executive power and authority of that Department and clearly has the right to grant charters of affiliation.

Whether every minute detail was followed is not a matter of importance, the agreement having been made, entrance fee and per capita tax accepted, credentials issued with the understanding provided for in the agreement that these organizations were to be accorded all rights and privileges under the laws of the Department, your committee believes that the agreement was binding on all and that refusal to seat them was irregular and illegal. Inasmuch as the convention of the Building Trades Department has adjourned and will not again convene in a regular way until next year and these organizations having been deprived of representation at this convention, your committee is of the opinion that the Council's recommendation is the only hope of adjusting these differences, and therefore your committee concurs in the decision of the Executive Council. We would urge, however, that the Executive Council use its best efforts to try to compose the existing differences between both groups in the hope that a friendly settlement may be reached and thus avoid the necessity for calling a convention, believing in that way the interests of all will be best served.

Following the action of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, efforts were put forth by the President of the American Federation of Labor to compose the differences existing between the different building trades organizations and to bring about a settlement upon a fair and just basis. Conferences were held, appeals were made, and recommendations were offered. All proposals were rejected. As a result and in conformity with instructions given by the convention of the American Federation of Labor, a building trades convention was called to meet at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on November 26, 1934.

The following building trades organizations were represented in the convention:

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America
 United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
 International Union of Operating Engineers
 International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America
 International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazo Helpers
 International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America

The following named building trades organizations did not send delegates to the convention:

International Union of Elevator Constructors
 United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association

International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers
International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers International Association
The Granite Cutters' International Association of America
International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers
Sheet Metal Workers' International Association
Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America
Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada
United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada
Journeyman Stonecutters' Association of North America

This convention elected the following officers:

J. W. Williams, President
John Possehl, First Vice-President
Richard J. Gray, Second Vice-President
D. W. Tracy, Third Vice-President
William McCarthy, Fourth Vice-President
Thomas L. Hughes, Fifth Vice-President
Joseph V. Moreschi, Sixth Vice-President
Herbert Rivers, Secretary-Treasurer

A constitution was adopted and the business of the Building Trades Department transacted.

Following the adjournment of the convention on November 23, the officers of the Building Trades Department elected at this convention instituted legal proceedings in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, seeking to recover the books, papers and records of the Building Trades Department. Neither the American Federation of Labor, its executive officers, nor the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor were parties to the legal proceedings instituted. The case was heard by Supreme Court Justice Adkins. He decided:

1. An appeal lay to the American Federation of Labor from the action of the September convention of the Building Trades Department set forth in Finding 3.
2. The decision of the convention of the American Federation of Labor that the action of the September convention of the Building Trades Department was illegal and void was within the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor.
3. That portion of said last mentioned decision which directed the president of the American Federation of Labor to preside at a convention of the Building Trades Department was in violation of the constitution of that Department and therefore void.
4. Plaintiffs are not the duly elected officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.
5. The terms of office of the defendants expired on January 1, 1935, and they then ceased to be the legal officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.
6. The original bill and cross bill will be dismissed.

The court decided two important points:

1. That the constitution of the Building Trades Department provided that only the President of the Building Trades Department was clothed with authority to call a convention of the Building Trades Department during his term of office. Inasmuch as the official term of officers of the Building Trades Department did not expire until January 1, 1935, no one other than the President of the Building Trades Department could legally call a building trades convention during his official term. The Court expressed its opinion upon this particular point in the following language:

That portion of said last mentioned decision which directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to preside at a convention of the Building Trades Department was in violation of the constitution of that Department and therefore void.

2. The court decided that "the decision of the convention of the American Federation of Labor that the action of the September convention of the Building Trades Department was illegal and void, was within the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor" and that the officers that were elected at the September convention of the Building Trades Department held at San Francisco, were not the duly elected officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, but that the term of office of these officers of the Building Trades Department expired on January 1, 1935, and that they then ceased to be the legal officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

The court made it clear that there were no duly elected officers of the Building Trades Department because their terms of office expired on January 1, 1935.

Because the court held that all action taken at the Building Trades Department Convention, held in San Francisco, September 26-28, 1934, was illegal and void, and that the building trades convention called to meet at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on November 26, 1934, was unconstitutional and therefore void, it logically followed that there were no officers of the Building Trades Department who could legally function.

When these facts together with the decision of Justice Adkins were presented to the Executive Council at a meeting held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on June 6-7, 1935, the Council directed:

That the President be authorized to call a convention of the Building Trades Department extending an invitation to all Building Trades organizations eligible to representation in the San Francisco convention to participate in the convention and that in the meantime pending the holding of this convention a committee of three members of the Executive Council be appointed to mediate and endeavor to bring about a settlement of the differences between the two contending building trades organizations groups.

Pursuant to this decision, Vice-Presidents Rickert, Harrison and Berry, were appointed to meet with the representatives of the two contending building trades groups for the purpose of trying to bring about a settlement.

Following the conclusion of conferences in which the representatives of both contending groups participated at which time efforts were put forth to compose differences existing among building trades organizations, Vice-President Rickert, chairman of the committee, reported that the conferences resulted in failure, that no agreement could be reached, and that he and his associate members of the committee had found it impossible to compose the differences. The President of the American Federation of Labor then proceeded to call a convention of the building trades organizations, to be held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on August 1, 1935. An invitation was extended to the officers of all building trades unions to attend the convention and to participate in its deliberations.

The following building trades organizations responded to the call and were represented in the convention:

- Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America
- United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America
- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
- International Union of Operating Engineers
- International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America
- International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers, Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters, Helpers and Terrazo Helpers
- International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers of America

The following building trades organizations refused to send delegates:

- International Union of Elevator Constructors
- United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association
- International Association Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers
- International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers International Association
- The Granite Cutters' International Association of America
- International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers
- Sheet Metal Workers' International Association
- Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America
- Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada
- United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada
- Journeyman Stonecutters' Association of North America

This building trades convention transacted the business of the Building Trades Department. The following officers were elected for the official term ending January 1, 1936:

- J. W. Williams, President
- John Possehl, First Vice-President
- Richard J. Gray, Second Vice-President
- D. W. Tracy, Third Vice-President
- William McCarthy, Fourth Vice-President
- Thos. L. Hughes, Fifth Vice-President
- Joseph V. Moreschi, Sixth Vice-President
- Herbert Rivers, Secretary-Treasurer

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor recognizes the action taken at the Building Trades Convention held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on August 1-2, 1935, as legal and binding and as the official action of the legally constituted and officially recognized Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. The officers elected at this convention are recognized as the official representatives of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council is fully aware of the fact that continued division among building trades organizations will operate to the great disadvantage of building trades mechanics and will cause the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor grave concern. For this reason it is the opinion of the Executive Council that diligent, continuous efforts should be put forth to compose the differences, to promote a settlement, and to unite all building trades organizations into a strong, solid, Building Trades Department. It is the purpose of the Executive Council to mediate, to confer with representatives of the divided building trades organizations, to recommend a basis of settlement when opportunity presents itself, and to appeal to all interested and all concerned to settle their differences, to come together, and to re-establish a unified Building Trades Department.

The Executive Council deems it advisable to emphasize and restate for approval by the convention of the American Federation of Labor the relationship of departments to the American Federation of Labor and the fundamental principles which must without evasion or modification be observed and respected by the officers and members of all departments of the American Federation of Labor.

1. The Building Trades Department, as well as all other departments created by the American Federation of Labor, is subject to decisions and control of the Executive Council and conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

2. While no organization eligible to affiliation with departments of the American Federation of Labor may be compelled to accept membership, the officers and members of departments are required to admit organizations in affiliation with the departments who are eligible to membership, providing said organization seeks affiliation and complies with the laws and constitution of the departments relating to affiliation.

3. No organization or organizations having become affiliated with a department during the interim between department conventions and which have conformed to the constitution of the departments relating to the payment of initiation fee, per capita tax, and time requirements set up in the laws and constitution of the department, shall be denied representation in departmental conventions; provided, however, that the right of an organization to be represented in a convention may be challenged by the officers of a department or an organization affiliated with it because of infraction of rules, violation of the laws and constitution of a department and the American Federation of Labor. When such challenge is made charges must be filed and a hearing promptly held by the department. The decision of the department must be rendered promptly but said decision is

subject to appeal to the Executive Council and a convention of the American Federation of Labor whose decision shall be final and binding.

LOGGERS, LUMBERMEN, SAWMILL WORKERS

It has ever been a difficult matter to organize the men stationed in the lumber camps working as loggers, lumbermen, shingle weavers and sawmill workers owing to their scattered groups throughout the great lumber centers of the country; their isolation from industrial centers and their lack of opportunity for education and understanding of the principles, purposes, aims and objects of the organized labor movement—all these factors mitigate against organization. However, just prior to and during the World War the increasing demand for lumber and lumber products, the large increase in the number of men so employed, practically developed a need and want on the part of the lumber workers for organization and contact with their fellow workers in other lines of industry. Friction between employers and employees developed. Sporadic strikes followed. The IWW was active during the war period in this essential basic industry.

A representative of the War Department conceived the idea of and formed the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen. That eventually developed into a company union.

The American Federation of Labor inaugurated and carried on an active organizing campaign among the workers in the lumber industry.

Following the enactment of the NRA and during code hearings in the lumber industry, representatives of this company union came to Washington and attempted to speak for the workers. We challenged their right and presented a brief for our local unions. We finally succeeded in organizing over one hundred local unions in the lumber centers of the northwest, West Virginia and other sections.

In the course of the years methods of work in the lumber industry have greatly changed. The logs taken into a lumber mill come out in the shape of flooring and finished products ready for assembly in building. Much of the work formerly done by the carpenter on the construction site is now done in the mill.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America already having jurisdiction over lumber workers requested federal labor unions of lumber workers be turned over to them. The Executive Council at its January meeting gave this request careful thought and consideration. It decided to grant the request. Local unions of loggers, lumbermen, timber workers, shingle weavers and sawmill workers were officially notified and were officially turned over to the Brotherhood on April 1, 1935.

FLINT GLASS WORKERS—GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS

Jurisdiction over the workers employed in the neon glass sign industry has caused friction between these two organizations. After repeated efforts to arrange

a conference for the adjudication of the claims of each side, the conference was finally held at headquarters August 23. Secretary Morrison represented the Federation, when it was agreed that further conference will be held in Atlantic City during the convention period between these two organizations and other organizations that claim jurisdiction, in part or in full, over neon glass workers.

FOUNDRY EMPLOYEES—MOLDERS

The International Molders' Union of North America was chartered by the American Federation of Labor December 14, 1887.

The International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees became affiliated March 26, 1904.

The relations between these two organizations were friendly, cooperative and helpful until the early part of 1934. Jurisdiction friction developed. Amalgamation was proposed. Conference between the representatives of the two organizations was finally arranged and held April 16, 1935, a representative of the American Federation of Labor participating therein.

The following agreement was entered into:

Agreement entered into April 16, 1935, between the International Molders' Union of North America and International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

1. The representatives of the two organizations mentioned in the title of this agreement, agree that, in the interest of those employed within the jurisdiction of both organizations, that the interests of all the workers will be best served by an amalgamation of the two organizations. In bringing about the amalgamation of the two organizations we agree:

2. That all present membership of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees shall become members of the International Molders' Union of North America.

It shall be the purpose of the International Molders' Union of North America to continue the work of organizing under the present jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees granted by the American Federation of Labor.

3. It is understood, when a vacancy occurs on the Executive Board of the International Molders' Union of North America, that the vacancy shall be filled by a non-journeyman member from the group of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, now a part of this amalgamation.

4. The President of the International Molders' Union of North America shall appoint not less than two organizers from the non-journeyman members from the group of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, now part of this amalgamation, for the purpose of carrying out the organizing provision of paragraph 2 of this agreement.

5. The details as to the date of amalgamation, the combining of the membership, and the assets of the two organizations shall be decided by the officers of the two organizations, but the date shall in no case be later than July 1, 1935.

6. The American Federation of Labor will appoint a representative to see that the provisions of this agreement are carried out to the full extent, and he shall decide any difference that may arise.

7. The signers of this agreement for the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees are recommending this agreement to their Membership for their approval.

INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS' UNION
OF NORTH AMERICA

By

- (S) LAWRENCE O'KEEFE,
President.
A. J. PRENDERGAST,
First Vice-President.
HENRY F. STERNAN,
Fourth Vice-President.
N. D. SMITH,
Secretary.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF
FOUNDRY EMPLOYEES

By

- (S) JOHN F. GREEN,
General President.
JERRY MAHONEY,
Vice-President.
SILAS C. NUERNBERGER,
Executive Board.
LEONARD ANHATT,
Executive Board Member.
HAROLD H. HILEY,
Executive Board Member.
H. D. DANNENBERG,
Secretary.

For the American Federation of Labor

(S) JAMES A. WILSON.

When this agreement was submitted to a referendum vote of the Foundry Employees it was decided by a vote of 4,334 against and 135 in favor. Thereupon, the officers of the Brotherhood of Foundry Employees formally appealed to the American Federation of Labor to uphold the jurisdiction granted to this organization when charter was issued and that the International Molders' Union be instructed to surrender all members coming under the jurisdiction of the Foundry Employees.

Your Executive Council gave full and ample opportunity to the representatives of both organizations to submit data and arguments in support of their respective claims. We exerted every possible effort to bring the two organizations together. We regret that the agreement reached was not accepted by the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS—SEAMEN

We have endeavored to carry out the instructions of the San Francisco convention on Resolution No. 160, to bring into conference the representatives of the Masters, Mates and Pilots and the representatives of the International Seamen's Union, but without success. It is the purpose of the Executive Council to arrange a conference of all parties interested some time during the deliberations of this convention.

The officers of the Engineers' International Union have expressed the desire to be included in this conference.

CHANGE OF TITLE—LAUNDRY WORKERS

By decision of the 1916 convention the Laundry Workers International Union was accorded jurisdiction over cleaners and dyers employed in laundries. All other cleaners and dyers when organized are chartered direct by the American Federation of Labor. There are now 49 of these directly chartered local unions with a paid-up membership of 2,673. The paid-up membership of the International Laundry Workers is 6,000.

By Resolution No. 169 the Laundry Workers International Union applied to the San Francisco convention for change of title to "The International Union of Laundry Workers, Cleaners and Dyers of America" with extension of jurisdiction over cleaners and dyers outside of laundries.

We investigated the matter very carefully and considered the question from every point of view, reaching the conclusion that the best interests of the laundry workers as well as of the labor movement in general would be served by the Laundry Workers International Union continuing, at least for the time being, to exercise jurisdiction over dyers and cleaners only employed in laundries.

CHANGE OF TITLE—HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES

The Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance requested authority to change its title without change of jurisdiction to "Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America." Your Executive Council approved the application for change of title.

PROTEST OF THE OFFICERS OF THE MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

The following communication was submitted by Thomas H. Brown, President of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to the Executive Council for consideration at its meeting held beginning January 29, 1935:

Washington, D. C.,
February 1, 1935.

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, and the Executive Council, Greetings:

The Executive Board of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is protesting against what we believe is an infringement on our jurisdiction as defined in our charter as granted to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. This charter was issued on October 17, 1916, by the American Federation of Labor. This charter granted to us the same jurisdiction that we had prior to our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, with this reservation only; that the machinists working in or about the mines of Butte, Montana, and Bingham,

Utah, would not be required to become members of the Western Federation of Miners, date of organization, May 15, 1893.

On or about May 8, 1934, the members of three of our locals who had taken a strike vote came out on strike. Later they were joined by our local in Great Falls, Montana. At that time we had probably 8,000 men out. The company against whom the strike was called was the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. That strike was terminated about the 15th of September. While that strike was still in progress, I received the following information: that officials of craft unions had come to Butte under sealed orders, the nature of which our members did not know. Those of our members on strike were very much concerned. I was asked to return to Butte as soon as our convention was over. On my return to Butte I was informed by a member of the strike committee that an agreement had been consummated in Washington between officials of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company and someone in Washington; that his understanding was that they were going to be allowed to vote on this agreement. This agreement was negotiated without our knowledge or consent, notwithstanding the fact that we had about 8,000 of our members out on strike against this company, striking for better working conditions.

It is not extension of jurisdiction we are seeking, but only to retain the jurisdiction we have had for over 40 years. We are going to be besieged and disgorge of our membership that joined this organization believing that they rightfully came under our jurisdiction, if we are not to be allowed to retain as members of our organization all men working in or about mines, mills, smelters, metal refineries, tunnels, open pits and open cuts.

We would very much like to know who are eligible to become members of our organization. I feel that in fairness to the members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers who joined our organization, thinking that we have certain jurisdiction, which has been questioned by other international unions we would appreciate very much if you will give our protest your earliest consideration.

THOMAS H. BROWN.

The Executive Council gave most careful and extended consideration to the protest filed by the president of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. A hearing was held at which representatives of the Metal Trades Department, metal trades organizations, President Brown of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and others were present. All details and facts connected with the jurisdictional controversy referred to in the communication presented to the Executive Council were most carefully considered.

A special time for the consideration of the case was set for Wednesday afternoon, February 6.

The hearing developed the fact that the protest filed by President Brown was against an agreement relating to hours, wages and conditions of employment, entered into between metal trades and building trades organizations and the Anaconda Copper Mining Company.

President Brown contended that such action constituted a transgression of the jurisdiction of the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen's Union over men employed in and around mines, mills and smelters.

At the conclusion of the hearing and of the discussion which ensued, the Council decided to refer the matter for further consideration to the next meeting

of the Council, and that a conference be held with the Metal Trades Department in order to ascertain their attitude and to secure facts.

Pursuant to the decision of the January meeting of the Executive Council, at the meeting beginning April 29, the Executive Council gave a further hearing on the protest of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers against the agreement negotiated by the Metal Trades Department with the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. Representatives of the organizations interested again appeared before the Executive Council supplementing the communications and statements made at the January meeting, with additional information, facts and statements. The Executive Council again gave the protest of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers painstaking, diligent and most analytical consideration. Every pertinent fact in connection with the protest and with the grant of jurisdiction by the American Federation of Labor to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union was taken into account, analyzed and considered. At the conclusion of the Council's deliberations the following motion was adopted:

The Executive Council, after hearing the protest of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization decided that there is no infringement on the jurisdiction of that organization.

The Executive Council herewith submits its report of its consideration and decision of the protest of the officers of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to the convention for its information and for such consideration and action as it may desire to take.

OBSERVANCE OF CONTRACTS

The American Federation of Labor is committed to the principle of collective bargaining and the observance of wage agreements. When contracts are finally negotiated between the representatives of employers and of employees, it becomes the duty, in fact, the obligation, of all parties to signed agreements, to comply with said agreements, to carry them out and to maintain them inviolate. The Executive Council is, therefore, but emphasizing and repeating the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor when it urges its members everywhere to religiously observe all wage agreements negotiated, accepted and signed. These represent solemn covenants that cannot be disregarded and violated without sacrificing reputation, standing and honor.

The Executive Council calls upon the officers and representatives of all national and international unions to require their members to adhere to and observe all contracts negotiated through collective bargaining and all agreements signed and sealed by their chosen representatives. We urge all city central bodies and state federations of labor to cooperate fully in the enforcement of wage agreements. It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the membership of unions who disregard agreements and who violate them without cause or justification should be disciplined in a proper and practical way and should be required to obey and observe all agreements entered into.

The Executive Council regards this matter as of great importance and sincerely recommends that all affiliated organizations give it special consideration and attention.

OUT-OF-WORK STAMPS FOR UNEMPLOYED

By Resolution No. 106 the San Francisco Convention directed the Executive Council to make a study of the various methods by which international unions have provided for the maintenance of good standing for unemployed members. This study was made. The Executive Council has complied with the decision of the Convention.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Despite most aggressive opposition Labor was successful in securing the enactment of important measures into law during the first session of the Seventy-fourth Congress.

Among the laws enacted which are regarded as of great benefit to Labor are:

1. Labor Disputes Act, Public No. 198
2. Security Act, Public No. 271
3. Law to stabilize the coal industry, Public No. 402
4. Air Mail Act providing rates of compensation and working conditions for all pilots, Public No. 270
5. Forty-hour week for 121,069 postal employees with no reduction in wages, Public No. 275
6. Railroad Retirement Act, Public No. 399
7. Appropriation of \$4,880,000,000 for relief of unemployed, Public Resolution No. 11
8. Repealed the last 5 per cent reduction made by the Economy Act.
9. Appropriated funds to send 30,000 Filipinos to their homeland. Public No. 202
10. Prison labor law prohibiting transportation of prison made products into states having state use system, Public No. 215

Powerful employers organizations and the representatives of special interests most vigorously opposed the enactment of these measures into law. The record made represents a legislative achievement for the American Federation of Labor.

National Labor Relations Act—The Wagner-Connery Labor Disputes Bill passed both Houses of Congress, was approved by the President and became a law July 5, 1935. President Green and other friends of the measure appeared before the Education and Labor Committee of the Senate and the Labor Committee of the House and explained the great benefits that would come from this legislation. President Green pointed out that there could be no peace in industry unless collective bargaining machinery was set up so that negotiations between employers and employees could be carried on in a practical and constructive way.

When Section 7-a of the National Recovery Act became a law through its incorporation in industrial codes of fair competition the membership of the American Federation of Labor believed a policy had been adopted that would prevent strikes and minimize labor disputes. But this was not to be. Employers refused to obey the law. They employed high-priced lawyers to show them how to circumvent the law.

Discrimination was the order of the day. Employees were discharged, enormous sums were used to establish company unions and a legal fight was made to

protect said company unions. Courts were appealed to to prevent or delay the holding of elections to determine who should bargain collectively with the employer. In calling upon the workers to obey the laws great corporations expended large sums in trying to break the law.

Because of the action of the employers it was necessary to secure the passage of legislation that would make it possible to have real collective bargaining. To that end the Wagner-Connery Labor Disputes Bill was introduced.

No bill ever introduced in Congress was so misrepresented. In the south a telegraph and telephone company solicited contributions from its employees to be used in defeating the measure. Some employers coerced their employees into signing petitions protesting against the legislation. One corporation started a chain letter urging recipients immediately to wire their respective Congressmen the strongest possible protest against the bill and also to have twenty-five or more of their employees do the same. Those who received the chain letters were requested to write five business friends to also send such messages to Congressmen and also have their employees do likewise. Great importance was given this campaign as an appeal was made to each recipient of the letter "not to break the chain."

When the bill was up in the Senate efforts were made to insert amendments that would practically kill the intent of the proposed law. These, however, were defeated and the bill was passed by the Senate May 16 by a vote of 63 to 12.

The opposition to the bill in the House became greater and greater. When the bill was first introduced in Congress and hearings were held, President Green called upon the officials and members of all labor organizations to write or wire their respective Congressmen urging them to vote for the bill. However, the great strength of the opposition was directed towards the House organization in its last efforts to defeat the bill. The Rules Committee was asked by friends of the bill for a rule providing for the consideration of the measure. After some delay caused by continued opposition a rule was finally granted. The bill passed the House June 19 without a record vote.

Convincing evidence was submitted in an effort to prove that the National Labor Relations Act would be of benefit to the people of the United States. All that Labor asked was to be placed in a position of equality with employers in bargaining collectively.

The intent of the law was so important that the President of the United States placed it in his "must" list for passage by Congress.

Labor has always opposed "company unions." These "unions" are formed by employers for the purpose of controlling the economic power of the workers. They are organized by the employers for their own special benefit. The law is designed to protect employees against being compelled to join company unions for it prohibits certain unfair labor practices. Among them are:

1. Interfering with, restraining, or coercing employees in the exercise of their rights of self-organization and collective bargaining.
2. Dominating or interfering with the formation or administration of any labor organization, or contributing financial or other support to it.
3. Discriminating in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to discourage membership in any labor organization, but an employer is not precluded from entering into an agree-

ment with a union of the appropriate craft or unit of employees, making union membership a condition of employment.

4. Discharging or otherwise discriminating against an employee or filing charges or giving testimony under this Act.

5. Refusing to bargain collectively with the representatives of the employees.

Nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to interfere with, impede or diminish in any way the right to strike.

National Security Act—The National Security Bill was reported by the Ways and Means Committee of the House April 5 and was passed April 19. It was reported in the Senate May 20 and passed June 19. The Senate, however, adopted the Clark amendment which provided that private old age pension plans would be exempt from the provisions of the Act.

The bill went to conference. The House by an overwhelming vote refused to accept the Clark amendment. The Senate conferees after over a month's discussion agreed to recede on the amendment providing committees would be appointed by the House and Senate to investigate private pension plans in order to determine if there should be future legislation regarding them. This agreement was approved by the Congress and the bill was sent to the President who approved and attached his signature.

The states must enact similar social security legislation in order to make this federal act effective. The Executive Council, therefore, urges state federations of labor to secure the enactment of supplementary legislation in the different states at the earliest possible date so that all workers may enjoy the benefits of this federal act.

Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935—The passage of the \$4,880,000,000 relief measure by Congress followed a bitter struggle to secure an amendment providing that the prevailing rate of wages should be paid upon all public works projects. Every influence possible was brought to bear in support of Senator McCarran's amendment providing for the payment of prevailing wage rates. Reductions in the wages of government employees are always used as a strong argument in favor of reductions in wages in private employment. Therefore, it was deemed necessary, by Labor, to include a provision for the prevailing rate of wages in the relief bill in order that wages in private employment would not be endangered.

The intent and purpose of the law is to supply work relief instead of direct relief to the unemployed who are receiving aid from the government. The work to be done includes highways, construction, street repairing, grade crossing elimination, rural rehabilitation, relief in stricken agricultural areas, water conservation, trans-mountain water diversion, irrigation, reclamation, rural electrification, housing, assistance for education, professional and clerical persons, civilian conservation corps and loans or grants, or both, for projects of states, territories, possessions, including subdivisions and agencies thereof.

The original bill, as presented, contained in Section 6 the provision that the President should prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry

out the purposes of the law. This meant that he would fix the wages and number of hours to be employed by those on work relief. This immediately caused a furor in the ranks of Labor and Senator McCarran's amendment was presented at the instance of the American Federation of Labor.

The Appropriations Committee, however, adopted a resolution proposed by Senator Russell which provided that when the rates of wages paid affected adversely or were likely to decrease the prevailing rate of wages paid for any work of a similar nature in private employment the President or such official as he may designate should immediately fix the rate at an amount not less than that paid for similar work in such locality by private employers.

This was not considered satisfactory and the entire Executive Council attended a meeting of the Appropriations Committee and urged the approval of the McCarran amendment. President Green made a strenuous appeal for the amendment. He declared that the low wage rates to be paid under the Russell amendment would reduce the purchasing power of millions of workers in private industry. "Private industry," he said, "had always cut wages when it saw the government paying less."

However, the Russell amendment was approved by the Committee and a report was made to the Senate. When the bill was up for discussion in the Senate, Senator McCarran offered his prevailing wage rate amendment and it was adopted by a vote of 44 to 43. This vote was taken February 21, 1935.

Shortly afterward the bill was recommitted to the Appropriations Committee and the McCarran amendment was stricken out. A new resolution by Senator Russell was approved by the committee. When the bill was returned to the Senate, Senator McCarran offered his amendment again and it was defeated by a vote of 50 to 38. Senator Russell's substitute was then adopted by a vote of 83 yeas and 2 nays.

The Russell substitute provided that the President shall require to be paid such rates of pay for all persons engaged upon any project financed in whole or in part, through loans or otherwise, by funds appropriated, as will in the discretion of the President accomplish the purposes of the act and not affect adversely or otherwise tend to decrease the going rates of wages paid for work of a similar nature.

It also provided that whenever any permanent buildings for the use of any department of the government of the United States, or the District of Columbia, are to be constructed the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act shall prevail and rates of wages shall be determined in advance of any bidding thereon.

The bill originated in the House and unsuccessful efforts were made there to provide for the prevailing rate of wages and the thirty-hour week. Representative Connery was very insistent on the prevailing rate of wages to be included in the bill and Representative Wood urged the thirty-hour week.

The President, who was empowered by the Act to fix wage rates, divided the country into four zones and fixed the wages of those on work relief from \$19 a month in the south for unskilled labor to \$85 a month in the north for skilled labor. In intermediate work the rates ranged from \$27 in the south to \$65 in the north. The rate for professional and technical work ranged from \$39 a month to \$94. These rates were termed "security wages."

These wages aroused the wage earners of the country. President Green issued a statement in which he declared that if these low wage rates are paid the purchasing power of millions of workers would be reduced and that there was grave danger that private industry would reduce wages in conformity with the action of the government.

He also objected to the regional basis of paying wages which would make it far more difficult to protect the prevailing wage rates which are local and must be fixed locally. He said that the differentials established were tremendous and would not only maintain but gradually increase the differences which already exist in the buying power of the southern workers as compared with that of the northern workers.

Administrator Harold L. Ickes of the P. W. A. issued an order that on all contract work financed from funds appropriated by the Administrator of Public Works the prevailing rate of wages should be paid. The rates are to be those agreed upon under collective agreements or understandings between organized labor and employers. If these rates are higher than those provided for in the resolution adopted August 14, 1933, then the higher rates should apply.

Government Contracts—One of the most important bills introduced in Congress and passed by the Senate failed of passage in the House. This bill which was introduced by Senator Walsh provides that all persons who sell to the government or enter into any contractual relations with it shall conform to conditions contained in the specifications. The bill aims to eliminate sweat shops, the "kick-back" contractors and sub-contractors and will compel every person who sells to the government to agree to and observe fair labor conditions.

These provisions must be incorporated in all contracts for construction and for the sale of articles, materials, supplies, equipment, or services including contracts for loans or grants made to the federal government. This measure is designed to establish and maintain fair wages on purchases, loans or grants where federal funds are involved directly or indirectly. According to the report of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor the proposed law would end the paradoxical and unfair situation in which the government on one hand urges private employers to maintain and uphold fair wage standards and on the other award contracts for supplies and construction to the lowest bidder.

Contracts are now awarded to the lowest "responsible" bidder. To make a bidder "responsible," he is compelled to give a bond. As any person who secures a contract from the government can obtain a bond, it does not provide any protection for the government or for the labor employed.

When the bill was considered by the Judiciary Committee of the House it was decided by a vote of 13 to 7 to postpone action until the next session of Congress. The leaders of the National Manufacturers Association and the Southern Manufacturers Association sought to have the Committee reject the bill. The following were appointed a Committee to investigate the proposed measure during the recess and report as soon as Congress meets in January: Representatives Duffy of New York, Healey of Massachusetts, Ramsay of West Virginia, Walter of Pennsylvania, Chandler of Tennessee, Hess of Ohio and Robsion of Kentucky.

The Executive Council will appeal to Congress to enact this measure into law when it convenes next January.

Bituminous Coal Industry—Congress passed the Guffey-Snyder Coal Bill affecting 600,000 mine workers and it was signed by the President, August 30.

The law provides for the stabilization of the bituminous mine industry through the establishment of fair labor and trade practices and a method of arbitrating differences over wage scales. A commission of five members will administer the law and a board of three members will adjust labor disputes. The board will be composed of a representative of the mine workers, a representative of the coal operators and a neutral member as umpire. The umpire must have no financial interest in the bituminous coal industry nor any connection whatever with employers' associations. Section 7a of the National Recovery Act is incorporated in the law.

The officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America are confident that the law will protect the interest of Labor and bring peace to an industry that has suffered so seriously from unfair trade and labor practices.

Railroad Retirement Act—Near the closing day of Congress both Houses passed the railroad employees pension bill. Employees on railroads, express companies and sleeping car companies subject to the Interstate Commerce Act are to be the beneficiaries of this law. A tax of three and one-half per cent of the pay-rolls will be paid by the railroad corporations and three and one-half per cent of wages by railroad employees. Employees are retired as follows:

When they reach the age of 65 on or after the date the bill was signed by the President regardless of their years of service; when they are 51 or more years old and have 30 years of service; when at any age they have completed 30 years of service and are retired by the carriers for mental or physical disability.

It is estimated that approximately 75,000 employees over 65 years of age were eligible for retirement when the President signed the bill. Other thousands, though not 65 years old, were eligible to retire because they had 30 or more years service. The retirement bill enacted by the 73rd Congress was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The new law was redrafted in order to meet the constitutional objections raised.

We regard this measure as of tremendous importance to Labor and of great benefit to all railroad employees. We urge that the constitutionality of this act be defended in every proper and legal way.

Forty-Hour Week for Postal Employees—Postal employees numbering 121,069 will benefit by the Forty-hour Week Bill passed by Congress and signed by the President. The employees will receive the same wages for the five-day week they received for the five and one-half days.

In connection with this legislation which passed the House unanimously, it contained a dual hour and mileage provision for the protection of railway mail clerks similar in principle to the long-established standard of all other railroad trainmen. The government has officially recognized this standard for railroad

trainmen. It is based upon the principle that the faster a train moves, the greater is the hazard, exertion, responsibility and productivity.

But as a result of misrepresentations regarding the cost and effects of the mileage provision made by departmental officials of the railway mail service final enactment of the provision was blocked by a motion to reconsider made near the close of the session, which would have prevented enactment of the 40-hour week bill. Rather than have this happen, the Railway Mail Association, for the general welfare of other postal workers, withdrew the protective mileage provision which would have guaranteed to railway mail clerks on the road equal benefits granted to other postal workers under the bill. The dual hour and mileage measure for the protection of railway mail service workers will be presented to the next session of Congress.

The thirty-day leave bill for government employees, passed unanimously by the House, was blocked in the Senate by an objection made by Senator McKellar. Efforts will be renewed in the next session of Congress to have the Senate approve this measure.

Convict Labor—Another important step in the campaign of the American Federation of Labor to eliminate the competition of convict labor was taken in the Seventy-Fourth Congress. The bill introduced by Senator Ashurst and Representative Sumners prohibited the interstate transportation of prison-made products into states that had established the state use system. The state use system prohibits the sale on the open market of prison-made goods manufactured by the convicts of the state.

The Hawes-Cooper Act enables a state to enact legislation prohibiting the sale of prison-made goods from another state if the former state's laws provide that its own convict-made goods cannot be sold on the open market. Quite a number of cases have been reported of convict-made goods manufactured in one state being shipped and sold in a state which forbids their sale on the open market. The Ashurst-Sumners prison labor law provides:

That it shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to transport or cause to be transported, in any manner or by any means whatsoever, or aid or assist in obtaining transportation for or in transporting any goods, wares and merchandise manufactured, produced, or mined wholly or in part by convicts or prisoners (except convicts or prisoners on parole or probation), or in any penal or reformatory institution, from one State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place non-contiguous but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or from any foreign country, into any State, Territory or District of the United States, or place non-contiguous but subject to the jurisdiction thereof, where said goods, wares and merchandise are intended by any person interested therein to be received, possessed, sold, or in any manner used, either in the original package or otherwise, in violation of any law of such State, Territory, or District of the United States, or place non-contiguous but subject to the jurisdiction thereof. Nothing herein shall apply to commodities manufactured in Federal penal and correctional institutions for use by the Federal Government.

The law also provides that convict-made goods shipped in interstate commerce shall be plainly marked so that the name and address of the shipper, the

name and address of the consignee, the nature of the contents and the penal institution or reformatory where manufactured or produced may be readily ascertained on an inspection of the outside of the package in which said convict-made goods are shipped. A violation of the law shall be punishable by a fine of not more than \$1,000, and said goods, wares and merchandise forfeited to the United States.

The following states have accepted the provisions of the Hawes-Cooper Act, which means that said states have established the states use system and prohibited the sale on the open market of goods not only manufactured in their own prisons but in those of other states as well:

Arizona	Iowa	New Hampshire	Pennsylvania
Arkansas	Kansas	New Jersey	Rhode Island
California	Massachusetts	New York	South Dakota
Colorado	Mississippi	North Carolina	Texas
Idaho	Montana	Ohio	Utah
Illinois	Nebraska	Oregon	Washington

The addition of the Ashurst-Summers Act with the penalty attached will defeat any attempts to ship prison-made goods into a state where the state use system is in effect.

The Executive Council believes that employment in state prisons can be diversified so as to permit the employment of convicts in the manufacture of products and commodities for the use of the state or political sub-divisions thereof. The purpose is to reduce the competition of prison-made goods to a minimum.

Immigration—The policy of the American Federation of Labor regarding immigration legislation has been vigorously upheld. We have jealously guarded the immigration statutes which were passed at previous sessions of Congress. All attempts to weaken or modify these immigration statutes have been opposed and resisted by the officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor. Measures dealing with immigration and immigration restriction were introduced at the recent session of Congress.

One of these measures of special importance was H. R. 8163, introduced by Congressman Kerr, at the request of the Commissioner of Immigration. There were sections and features of this immigration bill which were objectionable to the American Federation of Labor. For this reason objections to consideration of the bill were interposed by representatives of the American Federation of Labor. Conferences were held between a committee representing the Executive Council, the Commissioner of Immigration and his representatives in an endeavor to re-draft the objectionable sections of this bill. No agreement was reached; consequently, the American Federation of Labor has remained firm in its opposition to the enactment of this bill.

The Kerr Bill has been characterized as a "deportation" bill. It is the opinion of the Executive Council that it is designed to liberalize the deportation sections of existing immigration statutes. The measure was given support by those we have always known to be opposed to restrictive immigration statutes.

A companion measure to the Kerr Bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator Coolidge. The measure has simply remained on the Senate calendar with-

out any action whatsoever. Strong opposition to the measure was manifested by a very large number of members of the United States Senate.

In conformity with the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor, it is the purpose of the Executive Council to do all that lies within its power to strengthen and perfect restricted immigration legislation rather than to modify or weaken existing statutes.

Thirty-Hour Week—The Black-Connery bill was reported favorably both in the Senate and House, but was not presented for a final vote. The fact that there are still 11,000,000 persons unemployed in the United States shows clearly that it is necessary that the working day and working week must be reduced in order to create work opportunities for these idle workers. Pursuant to instructions of previous conventions, the Executive Council will continue its efforts to secure the enactment of the thirty-hour week bill into law.

Economy Act—Congress restored the last 5 per cent of the 15 per cent wage cut sustained by government employees in 1933. Senator McCarran and Representative Griswold introduced bills to restore the 5 per cent wage reduction. Both bills provided that the restoration would be retroactive to January 1. No hearings were called on the bills.

When the appropriations for Independent Offices bill reached the Senate, Senator McCarran introduced an amendment providing for repeal of the wage cut, retroactive from April 1, 1935. This was adopted by the Senate and accepted by the House.

The plan of determining the wages of government employees on a cost of living basis proved impractical. During the depression wages were reduced and the cost of living increased. The Executive Council believes that any effort to enact legislation which provides that the wages of government employees shall be based on the cost of living should be opposed in every way.

Filipinos Exodus—Congress enacted a law to transport at federal expense to the Philippine Islands all natives of that country who desired to return to their homeland. There are 45,208 Filipinos in the United States and of these it is expected 30,000 will return home. Most of them are on relief and the government considered that it would be to the advantage of the country if the Filipinos were returned to the islands.

Every non-citizen Filipino resident in this country or in the territories is entitled to make application for transportation at the expense of the United States government.

Congress considered this legislation an emergency measure in order that many cities and localities could be speedily relieved of the burden imposed upon them by unemployed Filipinos who have been dependent on local charity or unemployed relief rolls. It considered that the expenditure of the money required would be an economical use of public funds and vastly more beneficial to this country than would the withholding of this congressional encouragement to them to seek passage.

Not a single opponent appeared before the Committee's hearings in opposition to the measure. Filipinos are neither citizens nor aliens and therefore not

subject to the immigration laws. The Independence Act, which was approved by the Philippine Legislature, provided that only fifty Filipinos can come to this country each year after it had been approved by the Philippine Legislature. This is now in effect. After complete independence no Filipino can come to the United States for permanent residence, as that country is in the barred zone.

In the past few months an under-cover campaign has been conducted to frighten the Filipinos into the idea that when they become independent Japan will take them over. During the discussion on the passage of the Independence Act representatives of the Filipinos emphatically denied that the Japanese had any such ambitions. They said that Japan was looking toward the continent of Asia and had no thought of taking over the Philippines.

These reports, however, have as their objective a campaign in the Philippines to repeal the Independence Act, to which the American Federation of Labor should object.

Petition Rule Changed—The first act of the Seventy-Fourth Congress was to amend the rule in the House of Representatives requiring 145 names on a petition to withdraw a Bill from a committee. This permitted action on the bills that were being held up by a committee chairman.

The House, however, changed the number necessary to sign a petition from 145 to 218. The object was to eliminate petitions.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

In order to make effective a uniform national policy regulating child labor, which states have been unable to achieve, the Child Labor Amendment proposes to authorize Congress to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age.

A national law is needed because the child labor products of states with low standards are transported and sold in states with higher standards.

When the Child Labor Amendment is ratified Congress shall determine the age at which children may be employed and shall prohibit gainful employment to all under that age. This does not mean that the law will invade the home either in the city or on the farm and prohibit children from taking a reasonable part in the home duties. It only seeks to conserve the formative period of every child's life to educational development. The Amendment will in no way change family control and authority. It simply grants to Congress power which the states now have and exercise. It will not interfere with the states' right to enact child labor legislation raising standards fixed by Congress and to cooperate with federal authorities. The appropriations for dependent children provided in the new Social Security Act will facilitate the establishment of higher age levels for gainful employment for children.

Twenty-four states have ratified the Child Labor Amendment. Twelve more states must approve the amendment in order to secure its adoption as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

Only four state legislatures are scheduled to meet in 1936. Others may be called to meet in special session. The state legislatures which will convene are: Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia. Forty-four state legislatures will

meet in 1937. We hope to secure ratification of this amendment in a sufficient number of state legislatures during the next two years in order to secure its adoption.

By common consent state legislation had been relied upon to protect the children. But state legislation has failed to achieve this purpose. Nine states permit children under 14 years of age to work in factories. Eight states permit children between 14 and 16 years of age to work nine to eleven hours a day. Eleven states permit children to work until 8 p. m., or later. Thirty-four states have practically no regulations of employment of 16 and 17 year old boys and girls in hazardous occupations.

These laws permit the manufacturers in one state where child labor is employed to under-sell the manufacturers in adjoining states where child labor is prohibited. The intent of those who originated the amendment was to provide that the employment of children should be regulated by Congress instead of by the forty-eight states. It must be remembered there are scores of laws in the several states for the protection of children. Friends of the amendment ask that Congress be empowered to legislate for children engaged in gainful employment.

Among those who have been active in opposition to the Amendment are: The National Association of Manufacturers, Tennessee Manufacturers Association, Georgia Manufacturers Association and the Southern Textile Bulletin, whose publisher has been active in all attempts to prevent the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The states which have failed to ratify the amendment are:

Alabama	Kentucky	Nebraska	South Carolina
Connecticut	Louisiana	Nevada	South Dakota
Delaware	Maryland	New Mexico	Tennessee
Florida	Massachusetts	New York	Texas
Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	Vermont
Kansas	Missouri	Rhode Island	Virginia

The Executive Council recommends that an active campaign should be launched in 1936 and that all candidates for election to the various state legislatures which have not yet ratified the amendment should be asked to state their attitude for or against the amendment. Those who answer favorably should be given a full measure of labor support. Those who answer unfavorably should be defeated.

We feel sure that if this plan of questioning candidates is followed the legislatures in a sufficient number of states will ratify the amendment so that it will be adopted as a part of the constitution of the United States.

All members of organized labor should pledge themselves to refuse to vote for a candidate for a state legislature who is opposed to the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. If this pledge is religiously kept there will be a sufficient number of legislators elected to ratify the child labor amendment in the required number of states.

STATE COMPACTS

Representatives of a number of states have held conferences and have sought to establish compacts providing for uniform, standard conditions of employment,

particularly with regard to minimum wages for women and minors. While certain portions of these plans can be approved and supported, there is one phase of the question which must be given most careful consideration and which is classified as Child Labor legislation.

Since 1924 the American Federation of Labor has urged the ratification of an amendment to the constitution of the United States delegating to Congress power to limit, regulate and prohibit the employment of children in mines, mills and factories.

If state compacts make provisions governing the labor of children there is danger that such action might furnish states which have not yet ratified the amendment with an excuse that no such action was necessary because of the provisions contained in said compacts.

Six New England states and Pennsylvania have such compacts. When two of these states have agreed to certain legislation and it is approved by Congress it becomes the law in other states.

Massachusetts and New Hampshire have adopted a minimum wage law. It provides that no employer can pay a woman or a minor under twenty-one years of age an unfair or oppressive wage. When Congress consents to the action of these two states then the minimum law becomes effective in the other four states.

The consent of Congress is required by reason of Section 10 of Article 1 of the constitution of the United States which provides: "No state shall, without the consent of Congress * * * enter into any agreement or compact with another state."

Uniformity in Child Labor legislation can be secured through an Act of Congress after ratification of the Child Labor amendment by the required number of states. Our primary purpose is to secure the adoption of the Child Labor amendment. The Executive Council, therefore, warns state federations of labor to exercise the highest degree of care in approving compacts containing provisions governing child labor.

ANTI-INJUNCTION LAWS

Nineteen states now have enacted anti-injunction laws based on the Norris-LaGuardia Act. This legislation has proved to be of great benefit to Labor. It has prevented federal and some state judges from issuing injunctions in labor disputes.

President Green has impressed upon all state federations of labor the importance of having bills introduced in the legislatures that have not yet acted on this legislation. A model bill was sent to all state federations of labor and it was introduced in states that had not yet enacted such legislation. The states which have enacted anti-injunction legislation are:

Arizona	Louisiana	New Jersey	Pennsylvania
Colorado	Maine	New York	Utah
Idaho	Maryland	North Dakota	Washington
Illinois	Massachusetts	Oregon	Wisconsin
Indiana	Minnesota		Wyoming

The Executive Council wishes to impress upon the membership the necessity for urging the enactment of state anti-injunction legislation.

In order to do this in a practical and constructive way the Executive Council urges officials of state federations of labor and city central bodies to support candidates for the legislatures who are in favor of this legislation. It is the sincere desire and purpose of the Executive Council to secure the enactment of anti-injunction legislation in each and every state.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Three states have thus far failed to enact workmen's compensation legislation. They are: Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina.

A workmen's compensation law was passed at the last session of the Florida legislature. In nearly every state where compensation laws are in effect improvements were made in workmen's compensation laws during the 1935 sessions of these state legislatures. The policy of the labor movement is to secure the enactment of adequate compensation laws. In many instances, these laws are far from satisfactory because of the inadequate compensation awards provided for. However, each year when legislatures meet amendments are offered and in many instances adopted.

The Executive Council urges the officers and members of state federations of labor of Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina to continue their efforts to secure the enactment of social justice legislation of this character.

MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

The sentiment in favor of minimum wage legislation for women and minors has developed rapidly in the last few years. Sixteen states have enacted such legislation into law. They are:

California	Massachusetts	New York	South Dakota
Colorado	Minnesota	North Dakota	Utah
Connecticut	New Hampshire	Ohio	Washington
Illinois	New Jersey	Oregon	Wisconsin

While we favor the enactment of minimum wage legislation for women and minors as a step towards progress, it is the avowed purpose of the American Federation of Labor to fight to secure for women the same rate of pay as paid to men engaged in relatively the same occupation.

In states where minimum wage laws for women and minors have not been passed officials of state federations of labor are urged by the Executive Council to sponsor and secure the introduction of such proposed legislation in the state legislatures.

NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL POLICY

In 1936 a political campaign will be inaugurated and carried forward for the election of President, Vice President, 32 members of the United States Sen-

ate and 435 members of the House of Representatives. In addition, there will be elections in the various states and municipalities for state and city officials.

Labor must, therefore, with all its friends, support candidates for office who are friendly and sympathetic toward its legislative aims and purposes and defeat those who are against it.

For years the organized wage earners of the United States and their friends have stood firmly by the following declaration :

Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress or other offices, whether executive, legislative or judicial.

Participation in the primaries is highly important, especially in the south, where candidates who are nominated are sure of election. There will be presidential primaries in a number of states. We urge our membership and their friends to go to the polls and vote for candidates who they know will support Labor and its policies.

The following declaration of the American Federation of Labor should also be remembered when voters go to the polls on primary and election days :

The American labor movement is not partisan to a political party ; it is partisan to a principle, the principle of equal rights and freedom.

It is the desire of the Executive Council that the officials of every national and international union, state federation of labor, city central body and local union shall keep in close touch with the non-partisan political campaign committee of the American Federation of Labor during the entire campaign. If Labor is to be successful this policy must be followed. Not only should members of organized labor vote at the primaries on election day but they should urge their immediate families, relatives, neighbors and sympathizers to go to the polls and cast their ballots for approved candidates.

The Executive Council also requests that the officers of state federations of labor and city central bodies interview candidates for state and municipal offices as to the stand they will take on remedial legislation. The non-partisan political campaign committee will question candidates for Congress.

The records of candidates for President and Vice-President will be printed in circular form as well as the provisions in the platforms of the political parties favorable or unfavorable to Labor and the people. The records of members of Congress who are candidates will be furnished to all the different labor organizations.

EDUCATION

The public school system is the main educational medium for the majority of our citizens and is, therefore, the heart of our general educational program. As Labor is proud of its historic record as a founder of the public school system, it must assume continuing responsibility for the maintenance of the system, and continuous improvement of its services to different groups, so that all may have equal opportunities for development without the disadvantage of educational handicaps.

Since 1929 our public schools have been restricted and handicapped by the decline in public income. Labor has steadfastly maintained that appropriations for education should have priority over other purposes. We feel that with returning business activity appropriations for education should be increased among the first. Such increases are necessary in order to provide adequate educational opportunities and to restore what the depression has driven from curricula.

In our report last year we included policies on the major educational problems and issues. Little can be added to this record except to put it into effect. We, therefore, recommend and urge every central labor union to follow the program outlined below and so be ready in order that Labor may participate in meeting educational problems when they arise:

1. Appoint a committee on education composed of trade unionists interested and active in this field.
2. Secure labor representation on the local boards of education.
3. Secure labor representation on the board of directors of the public library.

If those representing Labor on these two educational services are members of the local committee on education, or cooperate with the committee, reports on problems and work and current information could be cleared through the American Federation of Labor offices.

FEDERAL EMERGENCY WORKERS EDUCATION

The government included in its federal emergency relief program a division for an emergency education program, including workers' education. This program had its origin both in the problem of unemployment for those formerly employed in industry and unemployment for teachers and other professional groups.

The federal workers education program set up quickly had two great handicaps: first, inadequate materials for teaching classes, and a very meagre supply of persons sufficiently familiar with workers problems and the educational field to do really effective work. The workers education division, therefore, set up training centers which in turn were hampered by the inadequacy of materials for instruction and by limitations in the selection of personnel. During the summer months of 1934, training centers were set up in a dozen cities and 500 teachers were recruited and trained for the workers education field. An effort was made to secure supervisors of workers education in the various states. This has been achieved in 19 states. Plans are now under way for twenty-five 6-weeks training centers in which it is hoped there will be an enrollment of 1,200 teachers. These training centers will be under the administration of the states in which they are held. Responsibility for choosing the state director and for the general management of the teachers training centers rests with the state ERA and the state Department of Labor.

From this it is apparent that the development holds both an opportunity and a responsibility for local organizations of labor. It is important that representatives of the state federations particularly should be active in following the program

within their states and urging upon the proper authorities the appointment of persons qualified to do this work.

Central labor unions and local unions may find it desirable to secure help from this source in developing their special programs. Those responsible for spending the funds for this particular kind of work will need the advice and the cooperation of constructive organizations.

The Executive Council urges the president of every state federation of labor to be responsible for seeing that there is a state director of workers education and that a person who understands the problems of Labor is designated for this work. Our workers education undertakings can best be carried on through alliances and cooperative arrangements with the responsible educational agencies of the state and community. On the other hand, progress in developing union policies and better technique can be achieved only by educational activities directly controlled by the union itself.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

The year, 1934-35, will stand out in the history of American workers education as witnessing the largest volume of activity on record. The reason is to be found in the activity on the part of the federal government to attempt to cope with the difficult problem of unemployment.

With over 100,000 idle teachers, who could not be employed on the restricted school budgets all over America, the emergency educational program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, which had begun the year previous, was expanded to provide work for double the number of unemployed teachers. During the summer months of 1934 training centers had been set up in a dozen sections of the country and 500 teachers were recruited and trained for the workers education field alone. With this enlarged number of teachers trained for adult educational work and with the demand on the part of the unions for expanded activities, it was inevitable that the supply should serve the demand and provide the substance for what is bound to mark a new chapter in the history of American workers education.

Following out the plan that had been developed in 1933-34, the Bureau made provision for a continuance of regional directors (with assistants in the east and middle west areas) to cooperate in the expansion of the work.

The state federations of labor, through the appointment of special committees on education, were brought into touch with the federal workers education program. In some of these states, where there were full-time state supervisors of workers education under the federal program, it was possible to expand greatly the educational opportunities for Labor. In each of these states where a state supervisor was in charge, it was possible for the regional director to assist by advice and counsel; in those states not served by state supervisors, the regional director worked out, in cooperation with the local central labor unions, a program of workers education to train workers to meet their responsibilities under the NRA.

In the Detroit area a systematic program of education for automobile workers was begun with the close cooperation of the Detroit and Wayne County Labor

Assembly. In addition to study classes, conferences and institutes were held in many states.

Enlarged Support for the Workers Education Bureau—During the course of the year the Bureau received an emergency grant of \$15,000 from the Carnegie Corporation in aid of its program, and for the second successive year received a grant of \$27,000 from the General Education Board as a special grant in aid of the emergency educational program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

To provide, however, for an expanded program of activity of the Bureau, it was necessary to secure from the trade union movement a wider basis of financial support. Upon the recommendation of a special committee the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its regular meeting in Atlantic City in August voted to increase the annual contribution from the American Federation of Labor to the Workers Education Bureau from the sum of \$200 to \$5,000 a year. With this enlarged support by Labor it is proposed that the Bureau expand its own activities to serve the widening needs of American labor both at home and abroad. The amount contributed by the American Federation of Labor is but a small part of the money necessary to properly conduct the work of the Bureau. We, therefore, urge the international unions not only to continue but to increase their contributions to the Workers Education Bureau.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

For the first time our nation participated in the International Labor Conference which is an international gathering to which all member Governments send a delegation of four representatives: one from the most representative labor organization; one from the most representative employers organization; and two representing the government. This conference meets at least once each year and is a branch of the International Labor Organization which deliberates upon policies and makes draft recommendations to the various member governments.

The International Labor Organization was created by Part 13 of the Versailles Treaty. As the delegates to this convention will remember, this section of the Treaty was drafted by a special labor commission of which our late President, Samuel Gompers, was chairman. The work of this committee was reported to the Atlantic City Convention in 1919 and approved by that convention.

Nations may be affiliated to the International Labor Organization without affiliation to the League of Nations. When our Government refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty that decision automatically kept us out of the International Labor Organization. From time to time there was discussion of separate affiliation with this organization but no serious consideration of this action was given until the present Administration.

Because our labor movement has not been in touch with the International Labor Organization and its work, and because of our geographic position, we are removed from European happenings and our labor movement is comparatively unfamiliar with the work of the I.L.O. and with the procedure of that organization.

Now that we as a labor movement are called upon to take part in the work of a going organization and to do our part to make contributions and to obtain such benefits as are possible, it is necessary first to inform ourselves of the functions of the organization and to plan how best we can do our part.

The International Labor Organization has its headquarters in Geneva, housed in a special building. It has a large administrative and research staff presided over by a Director and two assistant directors. The International Labor Office is controlled by the Governing Board which chooses the Director. The composition of the governing body represents a certain analogy to that of the Conference—governments, employers, workers being represented on it in the same proportions as in the Conference but in smaller numbers. There are twelve government representatives, six employers, and six workers. Of the twelve persons representing the Governments, eight shall be nominated by the members which are of chief industrial importance and four shall be nominated by members selected by the government delegates to the Conference, excluding the delegates from the eight member nations mentioned above. The Government Board meets quarterly and determines the work of the organization and plans for the annual conference. After the United States affiliated to the International Labor Organization, a place was made on the Governing Board for the President of the American Federation of Labor, William Green. As Mr. Green was unable to be present at the spring meeting, he designated David Dubinsky, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, as his representative. The delegation designated by our Government to represent us in the June Conference were: for the government, Grace Abbott and Walton H. Hamilton; for labor, D. W. Tracy; and for employers, Henry S. Dennison.

In the June session, which was the nineteenth of the International Labor Conference, 52 nations were represented by 158 delegates, and 242 technical advisors. Since the work of the Conference is concerned largely with the deliberations which involve research work and which must be given mature consideration, each delegate to the conference is allowed two technical advisors upon every proposal to be considered. Because of the expense involved and other considerations, the governments do not always avail themselves of its full privilege. The United States delegation was limited in the choice of technical advisors by the funds available.

In the nineteenth Conference, only 30 nations were represented by complete delegations: 6 by partial delegations, and 16 nations represented by government delegates only. The major work of the conference is consideration and action upon what are called draft conventions. The conventions are legal proposals, outlining the fundamentals of legislation to achieve a specified purpose. Under the double discussion procedure which is followed, deliberation on any proposal is spread over two years. This gives adequate time for full consideration. After the convention is ratified by the International Labor Conference, member Governments are under obligations to submit the convention for ratification by their respective governments. The conventions adopted cover the following subjects:

Social Insurance

Maternity benefits

Unemployment indemnity for shipwrecked sailors

- Accident compensation for agricultural workers
- Compensation for industrial accidents
- Compensation for occupational diseases
- Adjusted compensation for foreign workers
- Sickness insurance for workers in industry, commerce, and domestic servants
- Sickness insurance for agricultural workers
- Old-age pensions for industrial and commercial undertakings
- Liberal provisions for out-workers and domestic servants
- Old-age pension for agricultural workers
- Compulsory invalidity insurance for agricultural workers, for industrial and commercial undertakings
- Widows and orphans insurance for industrial and commercial undertakings and for agricultural undertakings

Child Labor

- Minimum age for employment in industry
- Night work of young persons
- Minimum age for employment at sea
- Employment of children in agricultural undertakings
- Minimum age for trimmers and stokers
- Minimum age for non-industrial employment

Hourly Rest Periods and Night Work

- 8-Hour day and 48-hour week in industry
- Weekly day of rest for industrial workers
- Regulation of hours of work in commerce and offices
- Prohibition of night work in bakeries
- Hours of work in hard coal and lignite mines

Prevention of Industrial Accidents and Diseases

- Prohibition of use of white lead in interior painting
- Marking weight on heavy packages transported by vessels
- Protection against accidents in loading or unloading ships

Employment Offices and Information Concerning Employment

- Organization of public free employment offices
- Employment offices for seamen
- Gradual elimination of fee charging employment offices

*Seamen's articles of agreement and repatriation**Miscellaneous*

- Night work for women in industry
- Right of agricultural workers to organize
- Simplification of inspection of immigrants on board ship
- Minimum wage fixing machinery
- Forced or compulsory labor

Recommendations Banning Use of White Phosphorus in Match Manufacturing

In 1934, of the thirty conventions adopted by the International Labor Conference, fifteen had been ratified by twenty of the thirty governments, six by from fifteen to nineteen governments, and of the remaining nine, six by ten to fourteen governments, and three by less than ten nations. In addition to these ratifications, there were registered eleven conditional or delayed ratifications, which meant

that the ratification would take effect when and if ratified by certain specified governments.

The agenda of the nineteenth International Labor Conference contained the following:

1. Maintenance of rights in course of acquisition and acquired rights under invalidity, old age and widows and orphans insurance on behalf of workers who transfer their residence from one country to another.
2. Employment of women on underground work in mines of all kinds.
3. Unemployment among young persons.
4. The recruiting of labor in colonies and in other territories with analogous labor conditions.
5. Holidays with pay.
6. Reduction of hours of work.
7. Partial revision of the hours of work (coal mines) Convention, 1931.

There was before the Conference a Draft General Convention approving the principle of the 40-hour week. This proposal cited as reasons for the 40-hour week the millions of unemployed, the desirability of enabling workers to share in the benefits of our rapid technical progress, and the necessity of continuous effort to reduce hours of employment.

The Conference declared its approval of the principle of the 40-hour week as the general international standard of hours of work and as a guide for the action of the members of the organization without prejudice to further reduction of hours when circumstances permit.

The Convention proposes the consideration of a series of Draft Conventions for the progressive application of the principle to the whole of the employed field.

The industries for which specific recommendations for reduction of hours of work were considered by this Conference were: (1) public works undertakings or subsidized by the government; (2) iron and steel; (3) building and contracting; (4) glass bottle manufacture; (5) coal mines.

A serious problem developed with regard to the discussion of the reduction of hours of work Conventions in that employers refused to participate in the committee work or discussion of these Conventions with the exception of the employers delegates from the United States and Italy. Inasmuch as deliberations on conventions is a form of tri-partite negotiation to reach a conclusion in which all concur, this refusal on the part of employers created a very serious situation. It is customary for the delegates to Conference to organize in groups as soon as the Conference convenes; workers group, employers group, and government group, organize and select chairman. These groups continue to meet during the session and serve as clearing agencies for more or less united action. When the Conference decided to continue its normal course, despite the employers strike, the employers representative from Ireland broke from the employers bloc supported by the employers representatives from Australia and New Zealand, by speeches on the floor. The employers representatives even though not participating generally, attended the committee deliberations. The incident is of significance in that it marks a break in the solidarity of the employers ranks and was a step toward real deliberation and decision upon the merits of the issue.

This General Draft Convention replaces the old 48-hour principle which constituted part of the original charter of the International Labor Organization. It provides that each member of the International Labor Organization, which ratified the Convention, declare its approval of (a) the principle of the 40-hour week, applied in such a manner that the standard of living is not reduced in consequence, and (b) the taking or facilitating of such measures as may be judged appropriate to secure this end; and undertakes to apply this principle to classes of employment in accordance with which detailed provisions to be prescribed by such separate Conventions as are ratified by that member.

The preambles and first section of the Convention are:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having met at Geneva in its Nineteenth Session on 4 June 1935,

Considering that the question of the reduction of hours of work is the sixth item on the Agenda of the Session;

Considering that unemployment has become so widespread and long-continued that there are at the present time many millions of workers throughout the world suffering hardship and privation for which they are not themselves responsible and from which they are justly entitled to be relieved;

Considering that it is desirable that workers should as far as practicable be entitled to share in the benefits of the rapid technical progress which is a characteristic of modern industry; and

Considering that in pursuance of the Resolutions adopted by the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Sessions of the International Labour Conference it is necessary that a continuous effort should be made to reduce hours of work in all forms of employment to such extent as is possible;

adopts, this — day of June 1935, the following Draft Convention which may be cited as the Forty-Hour Week Convention, 1935:

ARTICLE I

Each Member of the International Labour Organisation which ratifies this Convention declares its approval of:

- (a) the principle of a forty-hour week applied in such a manner that the standard of living is not reduced in consequence; and
- (b) the taking or facilitating of such measures as may be judged appropriate to secure this end;

and undertakes to apply this principle to classes of employment in accordance with the detailed provisions to be prescribed by such separate Conventions as are ratified by that Member.

The second major point before the Conference was employment of young people. The problem of young people unable to find normal work in our economic organization was first emphasized by the Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation. The European countries which first plunged into problems of economic depression have tried to meet this problem in a number of ways. The report on these various attempts was prepared by the International Labor Organization and the following Draft Resolution was considered by the Nineteenth Conference:

The Conference,

Having considered the problem of unemployment among young persons and having recommended Governments to apply different measures including in particular:

(a) The fixing at 15 of the minimum compulsory school-leaving age and the minimum age for admission to employment;

(b) The development of technical education; and

(c) The setting up of vocational guidance services attached to or in co-operation with the public employment exchanges;

Is of opinion that these measures concern not only unemployed young persons but all young workers,

And requests the Governing Body to consider urgently the desirability of placing on the agenda of an early Session of the Conference:

(1) The revision of the Conventions fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment (1919), to employment at sea (1920), to employment in agriculture (1921) and to non-industrial employment (1932) with a view to raising the age from 14 as laid down in those Conventions to 15, and

(2) The question of vocational guidance, apprenticeship and technical education of young workers.

The third distinguishing feature of the Conference was the Director's report. The report of the Director for 1935 was a remarkable interpretation of efforts in many lands to develop a national economic control which will emphasize social welfare. The Director well expresses the new position of social policy as well as objectives in public policy in the following extract:

The protection of the worker against the hazards and abuses to which he was exposed in industry was the basic notion upon which social policy was directed during the hundred years ending with the termination of the war. It is hardly too much to say that in its essence social legislation was regarded even by many of its protagonists as a sort of humanitarian exorcism on the economic system. The intervention of the state, however necessary in the general interest of the community, was assumed to be anti-economic insofar as it restricted the free play of the law of supply and demand. A fundamental antithesis was believed to exist between the social and the economic objectives, wherever the demands of the two appeared in conflict. As has been pointed out in the first chapter of this Report, a different view is now gaining ground. The purely protective conception of social action is now giving way to the wider conception of social security. The negative aim of guarding the worker against social risks and abuses is being replaced by the positive aim of affording him adequate opportunities both of achieving a decent level of material comfort and of ensuring his individual development.

It may well be that in the future a larger portion of the time of the Conference will be allotted to questions of general policy and less to the elaboration of legal instruments. Such a tendency would by no means imply any diminution of its importance or usefulness. On the contrary, as the Conference has gradually become the most authoritative organ of opinion on all aspects of social policy and as social policy has become more inextricably involved in the discussion and solution of the broad economic issues, the Conference has been inevitably led to consider matters which had hitherto seemed to lie on the extreme borderline of its jurisdiction or beyond it. The progressive abandonment of the self-adjusting system has vitally altered the situation. The introduction of any measure of planned

economy at once raises the questions of the goal towards which it is directed. It is impossible for the Conference to ignore the fundamental questions upon which social progress or reaction are now seen to depend. As the most representative body in the social field, it is increasingly its duty to keep the social repercussion of economic measures constantly under review. By so doing it can make an invaluable contribution to the international discussion of the real issues which are now perplexing and dividing the economic world.

The following is a brief summary of the decisions of the Nineteenth Session:

By a vote of 85 to 0 the Conference adopted a draft convention for the establishment of an international plan for the maintenance of rights acquired under invalidity, old age and widows' and orphans' insurance by such workers as may have transferred residence from one country to another.

By a vote of 117 to 0 the Conference adopted a draft convention prohibiting the employment of women underground, in mines, with certain specified exemptions.

By a vote of 96 to 17, the Conference decided to deal with the problem of unemployment among young persons under a single discussion, which meant not deferring action—as under the normal procedure—until after a second discussion next year.

By a vote of 106 to 0, it adopted a recommendation inviting governments to apply the following principles: raise the age of leaving school, vocational education, recreational and social services for the young unemployed. It also, by a vote of 61 to 18, requested the governing body of the International Labor Office to consider the desirability of placing on the agenda of an early session of the Conference revision of the minimum age for employment, raising it from 14 to 15 years, and to continue study of unemployment insurance or assistance for agricultural workers.

By a vote of 94 to 0, the Conference placed on the agenda for next session, for second and final discussion, the regulation of certain special systems for recruiting colonial workers.

By a vote of 107 to 15, the Conference decided that the item "holidays with pay" should be placed on the agenda for second discussion next year and put in the form of a draft convention or recommendations, or both. It was also adopted, by 64 to 19, to request the governing body to place the question of holidays with pay for agricultural workers on the agenda for the next session.

By a vote of 79 to 30, the general draft convention, embodying the principle of the 40-hour week with maintenance of the standard of living, was adopted. A supplementary resolution relating to the maintenance of the standard of living was adopted, by a vote of 75 to 27.

By a vote of 72 to 34, a draft convention providing an average work-week of 42 hours for the glass bottle industry was adopted, with the institution of a system of at least four shifts.

The draft convention applying the 40-hour week to public works failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority, on a final vote of 67 to 38. By a vote of 84 to 31, the Conference placed this question on the agenda for the 1936 Conference.

The draft convention applying the 40-hour week to the building and civil

engineering industry also failed of two-thirds majority (57-40). This proposal was placed on the agenda for 1936.

The draft convention for the 40-hour week in iron and steel works was placed on the 1936 agenda (81-23).

The draft convention providing for a week of 38½ hours in underground hard coal and lignite mines and an average 40-hour week in open hard coal and lignite mines was placed on the 1936 agenda (76-25).

In the discussion of the 40-hour week proposal, the experience of the United States in applying the general 40-hour week principle by codes under the National Recovery Administration, was frequently cited as evidence of the practicability of the proposal. In the deliberations of committees and the Conference, technical information constituted the basis of arguments.

As the work of the International Labor Organization is continuous in character, it is obvious that delegates without contact with previous work and without thorough study of the exhaustive briefs and reports prepared by the I. L. O. are at a distinct disadvantage. It is, furthermore, very plain that the decisions of this Conference carry great weight as considered international policies, determined after discussion by representatives of governments, employers and labor of practically all of the countries of the world. By the making of these international conventions and their ratification by respective member governments, there will be established standards of work for all employed workers that will constitute the basis for commercial competition within a nation and between nations. As these basic conditions are gradually raised, we shall be able to eliminate some of the major causes of unfair competitive practices.

Participation in the work of the International Labor Organization offers to the American Federation of Labor a real opportunity to contribute to the development of higher labor standards of work and life, thereby benefiting our own movement and the workers of our own country. It is important that the American Federation of Labor should select, in advance, able representatives to participate in the annual International Labor Conferences so that they may have adequate time to acquaint themselves with the proposals to be discussed and the procedure of the Conference. We recommend continuation of the policy that the Executive Council select representatives to attend the meetings of the International Labor Office and International Labor Conferences.

Proposals on the Agenda are known well in advance of meetings. If the groups concerned see to it that their representatives are also chosen in advance, its chances for constructive work are immeasurably increased. It is also necessary that they arrange to have adequate technical advice in Geneva and should insist that government appropriations be made for that purpose.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Development of International Labor Organization—Wage earners of various countries were first united internationally in the International Workingmen's Association which was organized in 1864. This organization was primarily in support of revolutionary purposes and was superseded in 1889 by the Second

Internationale, which was primarily socialistic. One of the primary objectives of the Second Internationale was solidarity of the workers of all countries against war. Hence, the organization broke down during the period of the World War.

The Third Internationale was the result of a meeting of socialists and labor leaders at Berne, anticipating the close of the war. This conference appointed a commission for the reconstruction of the Internationale. Meanwhile, a movement for an international organization of workers by trade union organization began to take definite form in 1889-90. There was an international organization of typographical workers in 1889. In 1890 the miners of five countries formed the International Miners Federation. By 1900 there were seventeen international trade secretariats, more or less rudimentary in form. This movement was given further impetus by the consolidation of union organizations in various countries.

British and French trade unionists resented the domination of socialists in the Second Internationale. In 1900 the French trade unionists invited the national trade union organizations in foreign countries to a meeting in Paris, which was attended by a few delegates from Italy and England. The next year the Danish Federation of Trade Unions called a similar conference for Denmark, which was attended by trade union officials from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Belgium, France and England. Carl Legien of Germany became the leader in shaping this international trade union development. Conferences the next year in Stuttgart were followed by a third conference in Dublin in 1903, where the International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers was formally established to meet biennially. Legien was made International Secretary.

After several years of correspondence, Samuel Gompers, then President of the American Federation of Labor, represented the American Federation of Labor unofficially at the meeting of the Secretariat in Paris in 1909. In 1910 the American Federation of Labor became a member of the International Secretariat.

War Changes—When the World War broke out there were high hopes that through the International Secretariat, Labor could exercise powerful influence for peace. This hope proved completely unfounded. Various efforts by the Allies and by Germany were made toward a conference of labor leaders during the War, but there was no general meeting until after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, when a conference was called in Amsterdam for the purpose of reorganizing the International Secretariat. This conference drafted a new charter and adopted the name, International Federation of Trade Unions. The American Federation of Labor was represented in this conference and at the first meeting under the new charter which immediately followed by Samuel Gompers and Daniel J. Tobin. There were 91 delegates present, representing 14 countries, with a membership of approximately 18,000,000 wage earners. Wartime emotions dominated much of the discussion and prevented unity of action. The headquarters were transferred from Germany to Amsterdam and later removed to Paris. Through the support of the American Federation of Labor, W. A. Appleton of the British Federation of Trade Unions was elected president over Carl Legien.

After Versailles—In October 1919, the General Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions, simultaneously with the first International Labor

Conference constituted under Part XIII of the Versailles Treaty, held a conference in Washington. The work of the I. F. T. U. became increasingly political as workers of various countries became involved in revolutionary or reactionary developments.

During 1920-21 the I. F. T. U. was active in the Hungarian boycott, the embargo on arms against Poland, and various plans for socialization. The American Federation of Labor believed that preoccupation with these political purposes prevented concentration on trade union activity.

After the communists secured control in Russia and formed a communists' internationale for the extension of communist propaganda in other countries, the I. F. T. U. became the leader of an international defense of the trade union movement against the communists in all countries. When the communists, intending to bore from within, applied for affiliation to Amsterdam, they were denied membership except upon the ground that they would cease their attacks on the I. F. T. U. and its leaders, and that they would declare their willingness to fight war and reaction in their own land, and that the All Russian Council of Trade Unions separate itself from the Communist Party and Soviet government.

The International Federation of Trade Unions became the spearhead of the free trade union movement in Europe and opposed everywhere, especially at Geneva, recognition of communist and fascist labor organizations as bona fide representatives of wage earners.

The American Federation of Labor withdrew from the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1921. One of the main differences between the American Federation of Labor and the labor movements of other countries with regard to the I. F. T. U. was that American labor regarded the organization as primarily a clearing center for information. European workers expected the organization to be active in their strikes and in their political movements. The United States believed that the dues assessed by Amsterdam were higher than were warranted by the benefits to American workers. They also were opposed to the practice of European officers in signing the names of those in executive capacity to documents to which personal consent had not been given. The proposal for American reaffiliation to the I. F. T. U. has been repeatedly raised. It is now being pressed in order to get the cooperation of American workers actively against fascist developments in Europe. The I. F. T. U. opposed the recognition of representatives from fascist labor organizations. It issued a circular during the Saar plebescite pointing out to wage earners of the Saar region that reunion with Germany meant loss of rights as trade unionists. It issued a circular protesting against the policy of the Spanish government for Spanish workers.

The American Federation of Labor officially gave the following reasons for refusal to affiliate with the International Federation of Trade Unions:

First: that the new constitution completely abrogated the principle of complete autonomy for each national trade union federation.

Second: that through the issuance of appeals and proclamations the executive body of the International Federation had committed the Federation to a revolutionary principle to which the American Federation of Labor is and always has been uncompromisingly opposed and to which no labor movement guided by democratic ideals could give approval.

Third: that a system of dues had been adopted which would place upon the American Federation of Labor a heavy and unbearable expense.

Considerable correspondence has occurred on these three points but the International Federation of Trade Unions at no time made complete response to these difficulties. However, because of the fact that the International Federation of Trade Unions is the agency through which European workers are making their general fight against state controlled labor organizations, the American Federation of Labor is again requested to consider affiliation with this organization.

Structure and Functions of the I. F. T. U.—In deciding this question, the following facts about the International Federation of Trade Unions are essential to an understanding of what affiliation would mean. The International Federation has two types of members—national labor centers and international trade organizations. The national labor centers of the following countries are members: South Africa, Southwest Africa, Argentine, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dutch East Indies, Esthonia, France, Finland, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Hungary, India, Luxemburg, Memal, Palestine, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Dantzig. Only one national center of any one country is eligible to membership. The following international trade organizations are represented:

Bookbinders	Food and Drink	Painters
Building and Wood	Trades	Postal Employees
Workers	Glassworkers	Potteryworkers
Civil Servants	Hairdressers	Public Services
Clothingworkers	Hatters	Stoneworkers
Commercial, Clerical	Hotel Employees	Teachers
and Technical Em-	Landworkers	Textile Workers
ployees	Leatherworkers	Tobaccoworkers
Diamondworkers	Lithographers	Transportworkers
Engine- and Firemen	Metalworkers	Typographers
Factoryworkers	Miners	

The trade secretariats include not only industrial workers but agricultural laborers, clerical and office workers, public service and government employees. Their place in the structure of the I. F. T. U. is on an agreed division of functions. The main body of the International Federation of Trade Unions is the spokesman of the general international interests of Labor, while the function of the Trade Secretariats is to protect the particular interests of their respective trades or industries. The secretariats are entirely independent in their internal affairs; but they obligate themselves in matters affecting other trades or the I. F. T. U. as a whole to consult the I. F. T. U. and to carry out the general policies of the International.

The headquarters of the I. F. T. U. are in Paris, in charge of W. Schevenels, General Secretary. The Executive Committee consists of Walter M. Citrine (Great Britain), President; vice-chairmen, L. Jouhaux of France and H. Jacobson of Denmark; J. Schorsch, Austria, Corn. Mertens of Belgium, and R. Tayerle of Czechoslovakia. The Executive has at least six meetings a year, the expenses of which are paid by the I. F. T. U. The International issues a magazine at irregular

intervals, and press reports in six languages. It has made financial grants to national centers, the extent of which has been recently reduced for financial reasons.

The General Council consists of the members of the Executive Committee and a delegate from each affiliated country, and meets once a year. National centers pay the expenses of their delegates. Trade secretariats meet once a year, the time and place being linked up with the meeting of the General Executive. The executive of the I. F. T. U. convenes and presides over the meetings.

The I. F. T. U. has actively cooperated in the work of the International Labor Office. The General Secretary has maintained the closest relations with the workers group of the governing body of the International Labor Office and the workers' delegates to international conferences. The Secretary issues questionnaires based on the subjects on the agenda for international labor conferences and national centers and international trade secretariats. In order to compile the views of these various organizations the Secretary arranges conferences of labor delegates from the various countries to international labor conferences to promote solidarity and understanding between the labor members of the conference.

The International Federation of Trade Unions has been recently active on the following program:

Disarmament action and the agitation against war.

Fight against reaction and fascism.

Educational work through a special Youth Committee.

International Committee of Trade Union Women.

Dues—The dues of national centers are 12 French francs per year per hundred members, based on the registered membership on January 1st of the year for which dues are payable and payments shall be made quarterly. The Executive is given authority, however, to reduce the dues of national centers of non-European countries which are not in a position to pay the normal affiliation fees.

Membership of the I.F.T.U.—The first constituent congress of the I.F.T.U. was convened in Amsterdam, Holland, on July 28, 1919. There were 91 delegates at this congress, representing 14 countries and a membership of 17,740,000 workers. On January 1st, 1933, the membership of the I.F.T.U. was given as 13,710,206. The membership of July 1st, 1934, was 8,145,780.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The Pan-American Federation of Labor was originally founded for the advancement of the common interests of the workers in every nation upon the American continent. In carrying out these purposes we are interested in raising the standard of life and living among working people. We wish to encourage the workers represented in the Pan-American Federation of Labor to mobilize and develop their economic strength so that it may be intelligently and constructively used in furthering their general common welfare in the interest of the men, women and children

dependent upon the working people of all Pan-American countries. In this respect we differ from those Pan-American organizations formed for the purpose of promoting commercial enterprises, for the purpose of exercising financial and corporate power in an attempt to exploit the resources of nations.

We are interested in the human element in every nation and in every country upon the American continent. We want to serve in such a way as to promote the intellectual, the spiritual and the moral well-being of Pan-American men and women.

Not only have we in mind economic freedom, the exercise of the right to organize, but we also have in mind the exercise of all other phases of freedom and liberty that are the inherent right of every man and woman in all the countries of the world. Men must be industrially free, intellectually free and politically free. In this respect the organized labor movement stands fairly and squarely upon these fundamental principles. There must be freedom of the press. The press in every country must be free, free to publish such articles as are not libelous, such articles as may be educational and helpful, even though they may meet with the opposition of special interests.

International Conference in Chile—At the request of the government of Chile, the International Labor Office is planning a regional conference to be held in Santiago, Chile, within the coming year. In this conference issues and problems of the International Labor Office are to be discussed and the nations which are members of the International Labor Office will be invited to participate. The nations of Latin-America have rarely availed themselves of their opportunity to send a full delegation to Geneva. Inasmuch as the industrial development within these nations is coming rather rapidly, it is necessary to establish good labor standards in these countries so that their output will not come into the world market to the disadvantage of those countries where higher standards prevail. The fundamental purpose of the conference is to create a more understanding interest in the work of the International Labor Office and to insure more representative participation. The Chilean conference is in no way in conflict with the activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

Labor Delegation Needed—The affiliated labor centers of Pan-America have been and are in great need of moral solidarity and mutual help from the labor movement, but we have not been able in the past to finance a representative delegation that could have visited the most important labor centers of the Pan-American countries, to develop and strengthen close cooperation in the defense of our common cause between the affiliated labor movements. It is certain that if such goodwill delegation had made that visit, a better understanding of cooperation could have been obtained, the labor solidarity affecting both hemispheres would have been closer, and substantial results obtained. But American labor representatives never had the opportunity to go further than Mexico, Cuba and Puerto Rico. We have been in constant correspondence with all the labor centers and have assisted them whenever it was possible to do so.

Cuba—A situation of real unrest exists in Cuba. President Carlos Mendieta has been making every effort, so far as we can determine, to give the nation sound government and to rebuild its shattered economic fortunes. But he faces an almost impossible task, as far as the immediate future is concerned.

The Cuban government is confronted with a grave economic situation concerning the wage earning masses. This condition has created a situation dangerous to bona fide labor aspirations and to the government. We cannot fail to be concerned about the outlook for trade unionism.

Mexico—Luis N. Morones, executive head of the Mexican Federation of Labor, paid a goodwill visit to the United States in July. Brother Morones visited the officers of several of the international unions who have headquarters in Washington, including the officers of the United Mine Workers, the United Textile Workers and the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers, all of which have problems which interest them in Pan American relations.

The Executive Council, in considering the question of the possibility of holding the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in the near future, maintains that considering the financial condition of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and its constituent bodies, the opinion unanimously prevailed that the Pan-American Federation of Labor is not prepared to hold a convention at the present time.

PUERTO RICO

Convention—The annual convention of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico was held on Labor Day. The social and economic condition of the workers of the Island was discussed at large. It is estimated that there are 375,000 unemployed workers in Puerto Rico and of these, 60,000 are sugar and tobacco workers. According to statistics the compensation which sugar and tobacco corporations will receive from the A. A. A. for reduction of crops is as follows:

Sugar	\$11,401,000
Tobacco	3,631,000
Total	\$15,031,000

This will mean the following salary loss to workers:

Sugar workers, including factory and trans- port workers.	\$3,090,000
Agricultural and factory tobacco workers.....	1,025,000
Total	\$4,115,000

In view of this situation the convention resolved to request the Secretary of Agriculture to enforce protective regulations of labor, with regard to minimum salary, hours of work, child labor and other conditions which appear in the contract of agricultural adjustment for the sugar industry and which are enforced in

the beet sugar and sugar cane industry in the United States. Another resolution also provided that a request be made to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration at San Juan to hold meetings with employers and employees in order to reach a satisfactory agreement to be in force for the grinding season 1935-36.

A resolution was also approved requesting that preference be given to 25,000 sugar and tobacco workers who had been left without employment because of the restriction of crops in all public works in rural districts.

The convention petitioned the Congress of the United States that the processing taxes now paid by the citizens of Puerto Rico in accordance with the agricultural adjustment legislation be levied and collected by custom officials of Puerto Rico to create a special fund in the insular treasury for public works, community aggrandizement measures, and to protect the health and for the general welfare of the people of the Island.

Delegates attending this convention represented 75,000 workers.

Agreements and Strikes—Collective agreements were signed in January, 1935, between the Association of Sugar Growers and the Insular Council of Factory and Agricultural Workers Unions covering 123,000 workers and between the shipping companies and the dock laborers of Puerto Rico, affecting 20,000 workers.

Strikes among the bed and mattress workers, carpenters, salt workers and other trades, involving 5,000 workers, were settled by the Mediation and Conciliation Commission.

Governor Blanton Winship and Commissioner of Labor P. Rivera Martinez cooperated in the satisfactory settlement of these conflicts.

NRA—The annulment of the National Recovery Act by the Supreme Court of the United States did not affect materially labor conditions in Puerto Rico. During its functioning in Puerto Rico only three codes were approved: for loading and unloading of fertilizers, for needlework and for bakeries. The approval of these codes not only limited the activities of Labor in its struggle for better conditions but also imposed inferior wage rates and working hours as compared with those previously in force.

Legislative Achievements—The Legislature of Puerto Rico passed numerous laws beneficial to the people of Puerto Rico. Among the most important ones were the following:

An act permitting the people of Puerto Rico to levy taxes on alcoholic beverages, which contains a provision that \$30,000 be set aside for the construction of model houses for laborers, which shall be leased with right to ownership.

A plan was approved setting forth all the economic and social problems affecting the people of Puerto Rico, dealing with the insular and municipal debts; municipal charities; the necessity of creating subsistence farms to absorb a large number of rural laborers; rural electrification and irrigation, and unemployment, and other measures for the protection of commerce, industry, agriculture and labor in general.

The term fixed for the construction of the Labor Temple of the Federation

was extended five years. Ten thousand dollars has been collected and fifty thousand dollars is needed.

An act establishing an exclusive state fund for workmen's compensation.

An act appropriating a yearly sum of \$150,000 to meet the deficit caused by the workmen's compensation act since the year 1928 to the present time. The total sum owed to clinics, injured persons, and for other expenses amounts to \$700,000.

With a view to facilitating the securing of homes and agricultural farms by industrial and agricultural workers, a reassessment of all the property under the jurisdiction and administration of the Homestead Division of the Department of Labor was ordered.

An act establishing the eight-hour day in all commercial and industrial establishments.

The Department of Labor was granted a bigger appropriation in order to increase its personnel and enlarge its activities.

Voting powers were granted all citizens of both sexes, literate and illiterate. The election law including this provision is believed to be the only law of its kind in the world.

Federal Measures—The President established the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration and designated Ernest H. Gruening as Administrator.

An extremely conservative estimate of the burden directly and indirectly imposed upon Puerto Rico by Federal recovery legislation, shows after deducting amounts received by Puerto Rico through allotments of public work and emergency relief funds, that Puerto Rico has been penalized to the extent of twenty-four and a third million dollars during the past year. All funds allotted from the emergency relief appropriation constitute in every sense a part compensation of such burden and hence must not be considered as emergency relief.

The Puerto Rican labor movement requested Federal authorities to extend the Social Security Law to Puerto Rico and the program of workers' education.

Puerto Rico, with the exception of Canada, is America's best overseas market in the new world.

COMMUNISTIC OPPOSITION TO THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

For a number of years the Executive Council has reported to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor the activities of the communists in their attempts to capture and get control of the labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the trickery and deception used by them to gain that end.

At the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor held in 1925, the Executive Council said in its report under the caption "Warning Against Communist Activities":

Among the pitfalls threatening unwary trade unionists are communists organizations and activities operating under names adroitly designed to suggest identification with the bona fide trade union movement. By such deceptions a number of trade unionists and labor organizations have been

misled into supporting efforts seeking to overthrow our unions and our purposes.

These organizations assume to speak in the name of labor and attempt to arrogate to themselves labor's functions, but it is the familiar attempt of the wolf to disguise himself as a sheep in order to make a more strategic attack on his prey. * * * *

They seek out races and groups with grievances and foster discontent in the hope of inciting uprisings and riots. They endeavor to destroy efforts for constructive development in order that there may be more discontent and hopeless rage against wrongs. Whether sincere in their belief in the need for world revolution or only maliciously promoting trouble, communists seek first the overthrow of the bona fide labor movement. * * * *

Trade unionists should be on their guard against not only the propaganda of communist and pseudo-labor organizations, but also against their efforts to collect money avowedly for purposes beneficial to Labor but actually for the benefit of individuals and purposes subversive to the trade union movement itself. The activities of the trade union movement are limited in many ways by lack of funds and whatever surplus money trade unions have ought to be contributed to agencies of which they have knowledge and in which they have confidence, rather than to take the chance of supporting a hostile movement by making contributions to organizations that are not vouched for by the legitimate labor movement.

We recommend to all trade union organizations that before they enter into commitments of any kind with organizations and movements of which they do not have personal information and which have not been approved by the American Federation of Labor, that they first make inquiry of the representatives of the American labor movement.

Caution saves serious mistakes.

The convention unanimously adopted the report and ordered that it be given the widest publicity.

At the same time that convention, among other things, declared that:

1. The American Federation of Labor stands unequivocally for democracy, for the right of people to rule themselves and to control their own destinies through political machinery of their own making.
2. The American Federation of Labor opposes with all of the fervor of a high idealism every kind of autocracy, bureaucracy or dictatorship, whether brutal or benevolent.
3. The American Federation of Labor is emphatically opposed to revolution and to the teaching of revolution by violence wherever democracy exists and where the people have the power to modify or change their government through the use of constitutional means.
4. The American Federation of Labor denounces the whole communist philosophy and dogma.
5. The American Federation of Labor will continue its opposition against all forms of communist agitation in the United States and the western hemisphere.
6. The American Federation of Labor is democratic in faith and structure and it can never be otherwise. Democracy and autocracy can make no compromise. To compromise with this enemy is inevitably to the advantage of the enemy.
7. The American Federation of Labor proposes, in the future as in the past, to use every honorable method to protect its own integrity against the corrupting, disintegrating, devastating preachings of communism and to protect in like vigorous manner every democratic institution in our Republic. We stand for America, for democratic America, and we want the world to understand that fact.

At the Los Angeles, California, convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in 1927, the Executive Council reported as follows under the caption:

No Communistic Control—We have been successful during the past year in defeating plans of communists to get control of trade unions. We believe there can be no compromise with communists because their purpose is the destruction of trade unions and the inculcation of class war.

Wherever communist propagandists have concentrated their work and there was need to let the trade unionists have information of deception practiced, the Federation has made the necessary information available. In this way we have been able to advise trade unionists so they would not knowingly give either financial or moral support to communist undertakings.

The American labor movement represents the ideal of constructive development based upon an understanding of the interdependence of the interests of all individuals and groups. That we have made distinct progress in defeating the philosophy and the proponents of communism is in the interest of the general welfare of the workers of our nation as well as of our national institutions.

Organizations of wage earners guided by voluntary principles are the instrumentalities through which workers may expect improvement in conditions of life and work.

The report was adopted and all organizations were warned that:

There is no place in the American Federation of Labor for those who wish to employ the tactics of the communists.

We must purge our movement of all such characters or suffer the inevitable consequences.

At the New Orleans, Louisiana, convention of the American Federation of Labor held in 1928, the Executive Council reported as follows under the caption:

Attempted Communistic Control—The activities of the communists to disrupt and disorganize the trade unions and get control of union meetings have not abated. Their purposes are concealed under the terms and titles which tend to mislead the unthinking and those not fully informed—sometimes expressed as destructive criticism, efforts to belittle trade union policies, or to reverse trade union policies for revolutionary methods. We have been constantly on the alert to warn our affiliated organizations and their membership against giving aid or comfort, moral or financial support, to these would-be wreckers of the trade union movement.

The trade union movement is founded upon sound and proven principles. The life of our movement depends upon the preservation of these principles. The communists are fundamentally antagonistic to the principles, policies, practices and law of the organized labor movement.

We repeat our assertion that has been often reaffirmed, there can be no compromise with the communists, with its followers and adherents. They seek the destruction of the organized labor movement and would substitute therefor class war and class hatred. Their objective in the United States necessitates not only the destruction of the American Federation of Labor but the overthrow of the government of the United States and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Wherever there is discontent among the workers arising from unsatisfactory conditions of employment, low wages, long hours of work, unemployment, that is the point where the communists concentrate their work. They seek to get workers out on strike or to control strikes called by trade unionists. Such strikes become propaganda centers with no real effort to

get an agreement. Not work agreements with opportunity for steady progress, but rebellion and insistence on ultimate ends is their purpose and policy; not possible betterment now in the conditions of the workers but the promise of all things is the bait with which they seek to lure the toilers from their allegiance to the great organized labor movement which since its inception 50 years ago has brought so much of help and hope and betterment into the lives of the workers.

The communists have been especially active in the needle trades, textile industries, building trades and the mining industry. They have sought to form rival organizations in these trades. They have fomented friction and trouble and then placed obstacles in the way of industrial agreements.

The organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor itself have taken a determined stand to expel every communist from the ranks of the organized labor movement.

We refer at this length to these matters because of the increased activity of the communists during the past year and because we again desire to warn the organizations of labor, their officers and their members against giving countenance, aid, support or encouragement to communistic activities whatsoever guise they may assume. Make official inquiries, before entering into new relationships.

The Committee on Resolutions to whom this matter was referred reported as follows:

Your committee is in hearty accord with that part of the Executive Council's report which appears under the caption "Attempted Communistic Control." We commend the Council for its firm stand against communists in America. The American communist movement is destructive in character. It seeks to tear down, regardless of consequences. While prattling loudly about workers' control over industry, it seeks to give industry control over the workers by destroying the trade unions, which are the only agencies through which workers are enabled to exercise control over themselves. The anti-union employer and the anti-union communists are partners in the nefarious attempts which are being made to undermine trade unionism. They work toward the same end. It may be well said that one operates as a tiger and the other uses the tactics of the jackal. The moment the intended victim shows any weakness under the attack of one, the other sweeps down upon him.

In practically every strike which takes place, when the employer is endeavoring to destroy the union, the communist enters with his propaganda of discouragement and despair, endeavoring to sow seeds of suspicion and distrust, not only against the officers and committees of the union, but even between the members themselves. Like the industrial spy, the anti-union communist appears in many guises, but is usually readily detected when proper inquiry is made. Whenever international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions receive communications from groups or sources with which they are not thoroughly familiar, they should make inquiry in each case to make sure that they are not being enticed into a communist trap or being misled to lend their sympathy and support to communist activities. The American Federation of Labor is always on the alert and will respond promptly to all inquiries in such matters.

The report was unanimously adopted.

At the 1932 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in

At the Los Angeles, California, convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in 1927, the Executive Council reported as follows under the caption:

No Communistic Control—We have been successful during the past year in defeating plans of communists to get control of trade unions. We believe there can be no compromise with communists because their purpose is the destruction of trade unions and the inculcation of class war.

Wherever communist propagandists have concentrated their work and there was need to let the trade unionists have information of deception practiced, the Federation has made the necessary information available. In this way we have been able to advise trade unionists so they would not knowingly give either financial or moral support to communist undertakings.

The American labor movement represents the ideal of constructive development based upon an understanding of the interdependence of the interests of all individuals and groups. That we have made distinct progress in defeating the philosophy and the proponents of communism is in the interest of the general welfare of the workers of our nation as well as of our national institutions.

Organizations of wage earners guided by voluntary principles are the instrumentalities through which workers may expect improvement in conditions of life and work.

The report was adopted and all organizations were warned that:

There is no place in the American Federation of Labor for those who wish to employ the tactics of the communists.

We must purge our movement of all such characters or suffer the inevitable consequences.

At the New Orleans, Louisiana, convention of the American Federation of Labor held in 1928, the Executive Council reported as follows under the caption:

Attempted Communistic Control—The activities of the communists to disrupt and disorganize the trade unions and get control of union meetings have not abated. Their purposes are concealed under the terms and titles which tend to mislead the unthinking and those not fully informed—sometimes expressed as destructive criticism, efforts to belittle trade union policies, or to reverse trade union policies for revolutionary methods. We have been constantly on the alert to warn our affiliated organizations and their membership against giving aid or comfort, moral or financial support, to these would-be wreckers of the trade union movement.

The trade union movement is founded upon sound and proven principles. The life of our movement depends upon the preservation of these principles. The communists are fundamentally antagonistic to the principles, policies, practices and law of the organized labor movement.

We repeat our assertion that has been often reaffirmed, there can be no compromise with the communists, with its followers and adherents. They seek the destruction of the organized labor movement and would substitute therefor class war and class hatred. Their objective in the United States necessitates not only the destruction of the American Federation of Labor but the overthrow of the government of the United States and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Wherever there is discontent among the workers arising from unsatisfactory conditions of employment, low wages, long hours of work, unemployment, that is the point where the communists concentrate their work. They seek to get workers out on strike or to control strikes called by trade unionists. Such strikes become propaganda centers with no real effort to

get an agreement. Not work agreements with opportunity for steady progress, but rebellion and insistence on ultimate ends is their purpose and policy; not possible betterment now in the conditions of the workers but the promise of all things is the bait with which they seek to lure the toilers from their allegiance to the great organized labor movement which since its inception 50 years ago has brought so much of help and hope and betterment into the lives of the workers.

The communists have been especially active in the needle trades, textile industries, building trades and the mining industry. They have sought to form rival organizations in these trades. They have fomented friction and trouble and then placed obstacles in the way of industrial agreements.

The organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor itself have taken a determined stand to expel every communist from the ranks of the organized labor movement.

We refer at this length to these matters because of the increased activity of the communists during the past year and because we again desire to warn the organizations of labor, their officers and their members against giving countenance, aid, support or encouragement to communistic activities whatsoever guise they may assume. Make official inquiries, before entering into new relationships.

The Committee on Resolutions to whom this matter was referred reported as follows:

Your committee is in hearty accord with that part of the Executive Council's report which appears under the caption "Attempted Communistic Control." We commend the Council for its firm stand against communists in America. The American communist movement is destructive in character. It seeks to tear down, regardless of consequences. While prattling loudly about workers' control over industry, it seeks to give industry control over the workers by destroying the trade unions, which are the only agencies through which workers are enabled to exercise control over themselves. The anti-union employer and the anti-union communists are partners in the nefarious attempts which are being made to undermine trade unionism. They work toward the same end. It may be well said that one operates as a tiger and the other uses the tactics of the jackal. The moment the intended victim shows any weakness under the attack of one, the other sweeps down upon him.

In practically every strike which takes place, when the employer is endeavoring to destroy the union, the communist enters with his propaganda of discouragement and despair, endeavoring to sow seeds of suspicion and distrust, not only against the officers and committees of the union, but even between the members themselves. Like the industrial spy, the anti-union communist appears in many guises, but is usually readily detected when proper inquiry is made. Whenever international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions receive communications from groups or sources with which they are not thoroughly familiar, they should make inquiry in each case to make sure that they are not being enticed into a communist trap or being misled to lend their sympathy and support to communist activities. The American Federation of Labor is always on the alert and will respond promptly to all inquiries in such matters.

The report was unanimously adopted.

At the 1932 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in

Cincinnati, Ohio, the following resolution on communism was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The propaganda of communism continues throughout the United States directed from Moscow, where the communist Internationale, the Red International of Labor Unions and the Communist Government are one and inseparable, forming arms of the same dictatorship; and

WHEREAS, The communist propaganda disseminated in the United States through a score or more of major organizations and an even larger number of subordinate agencies, including a dozen daily newspapers, has for its first objects the destruction of the American Federation of Labor, American recognition of the communist regime in Russia and the destruction of every organization hostile to communism; and

WHEREAS, The final object of the communist propaganda is the complete destruction of democracy and human freedom and the establishment of a dictatorship in this and every other free country, subordinate to the communist authority in Moscow, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor renew its declaration of unalterable opposition and hostility to communism and to every activity of organized communism, and that we counsel our membership to be zealous in refusal of all aid or comfort to any communist organization or to any campaign conducted by any communist organization or by those organizations which are allied with and sympathetic to communism through interlocking directorate or other devices and subterfuges.

The 1934 convention of the American Federation of Labor held in San Francisco, California, went on record as opposed to the communist party establishing cells within local unions for the purpose of destroying the trade union movement.

We are bringing these declarations and actions of the American Federation of Labor now plainly, clearly and distinctly to your attention for the reason that orders have been recently issued by the Communist Internationale in Moscow for a change in policy. Originally their policy was to bore from within. They then changed to organizing dual unions. They found this did not meet their aims, and they have now directed the communists of the United States to become members of American Federation of Labor unions for the purpose of boring from within; to become officers of these unions; to become delegates to city central and state bodies; to become delegates to all conventions and get control of the unions and the entire labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor for their own ends and purposes.

If the communists succeed in their efforts, it means no more or less than the dissolution and destruction of our movement, which we strenuously oppose and resent.

In order to combat the propaganda and activities of the communists we recommend that Section 5, Article IV of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended as follows:

No organization officered or controlled by communists, or any person espousing communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, and no organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any national or international organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such relationship or under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any central body, state

federation of labor, national or international union connected with the American Federation of Labor under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

GERMAN BOYCOTT

The last two conventions of the American Federation of Labor have considered the overthrow of constitutional government in Germany and the destruction of what was once the strongest organized labor movement in the world.

The religious persecution which was attendant on the establishment of a government by force has been especially revolting to those peoples who believe in freedom as the best means for human development. To express our abhorrence for the regime which has overthrown the institutions and practices of civic and religious freedom for which nations have struggled for centuries, the American Federation of Labor declared a boycott against German-made goods and German services.

In declaring this boycott, the American Federation of Labor recognizes the right of the German people to govern themselves in accordance with their own desires, but it resolves upon a policy of non-intercourse until the destruction of the German trade union movement should stop, and that persecution of German working people and religious sects should be terminated. Not only has this persecution not been stopped, but it has been extended during the past year. The German labor movement has been still further handicapped. Outstanding in the year's happenings was the martyrdom of Fritz Husemann, former president of the Miners Union and member of the German Reichstag. Husemann was shot down in attempting to escape from a concentration camp. He had refused to accept asylum outside of Germany because he felt obligated to remain with his fellow workers to do what he could in remedying conditions within Germany. He died as he lived, in the service of the working people of Germany.

The San Francisco Convention authorized the American Federation of Labor to take measures for the relief of the victims of fascist governments. It urged the fullest support for the Chest for the Liberation of Workers of Europe, which was organized by interested national and international unions. In accord with this instruction, the President of the American Federation of Labor appointed the following to represent the American Federation of Labor on the Chest for the Liberation of the Workers of Europe: Matthew Woll, Joseph N. Weber, Raymond Lowry, David Dubinsky, A. O. Wharton, John L. Lewis, Joseph P. Ryan, and Charles P. Howard.

Your Executive Council believes and recommends that the boycott against German-made goods and services should be continued during the coming year, and until there is adequate recognition and protection of the rights of the minority groups—political, religious and economic.

CONCLUSION

Our report has covered the outstanding undertakings and problems of the past year, without attempting to cover customary activities and the details of

organization work. We submit to this convention serious problems to be decided by you and great opportunities which we should plan to utilize during the coming year.

With the spirit of fraternity and with good will to our fellow workers, we can achieve greatly in the coming year. All must jointly be responsible for decisions which will disclose the way forward.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
President.

FRANK DUFFY,
First Vice-President

T. A. RICKERT,
Second Vice-President.

MATTHEW WOLL,
Third Vice-President.

JOHN COEFIELD,
Fourth Vice-President.

ARTHUR O. WHARTON,
Fifth Vice-President.

JOSEPH N. WEBER,
Sixth Vice-President.

G. M. BUGIAZET,
Seventh Vice-President.

GEO. M. HARRISON,
Eighth Vice-President.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Ninth Vice-President.

WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
Tenth Vice-President.

GEORGE L. BERRY,
Eleventh Vice-President.

JOHN L. LEWIS,
Twelfth Vice-President.

DAVID DUBINSKY,
Thirteenth Vice-President.

HARRY C. BATES,
Fourteenth Vice-President.

EDWARD J. GAINOR,
Fifteenth Vice-President.

FRANK MORRISON,
*Secretary and Treasurer
pro tem
Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor.*

The Chair will ask Secretary Morrison to read a telegram addressed to the convention.*

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

New York, N. Y.,
October 5, 1935.

William Green,
American Federation of Labor
Convention,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Fraternal greetings to Convention of American Federation of Labor from Emergency Committee in Aid of Political Refugees from Nazism, just organized in this country under direction of James G. McDonald, high commissioner for German Refugees. We hope to raise one quarter million dollars from non-trade union sources. Good part of fund will go to labor chest. In process of raising money we hope to join with you in making all America conscious of Nazism and our responsibility to aid political refugees from Germany.

FRANCIS A. HENSON,
Executive Secretary.

President Green: The telegram will be included in today's proceedings. The Chair will ask if there are any announcements that any officer or delegate desires to make.

RESOLUTIONS

AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate John J. Scully, Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States and our people always have been committed to a policy of an adequate merchant marine as a necessity for national defense purposes and for the growth of domestic and foreign commerce; and

WHEREAS, Because of the high standards of living in this country more money is required to build ships in American shipyards and to operate them by American seamen and the cost of fuel, provisions, and repairs is greater in the operation of American ships than those flying other flags; and

WHEREAS, Under present business conditions most American ships are being operated at a loss; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled that we urge the continuance of Federal aid to our American merchant marine and shipping in order that this most necessary adjunct to the National defense may be available at all times; provided

THAT ships receiving any Federal assistance be required to employ only American-born seamen or seamen who are completely naturalized citizens of the United States; and provided further

THAT the officers and crews of all commercial ships flying the American flag be thoroughly trained and disciplined aboard American merchant ships.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

THOMAS J. MOONEY

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegates Lawrence O'Keefe, John Barnett and Aloys Towers, International Molders' Union.

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney, a member of the International Molders' Union of North America for 32 years, has been imprisoned by the State of California for more than 18 of his best years on a life imprisonment sentence on the foulest frame-up conspiracy ever recorded in the whole history of American jurisprudence; and

WHEREAS, This monstrous frame-up conspiracy against Thomas J. Mooney was conceived, inspired, directed, executed and paid for by the hiring henchmen Agents Provocateurs of the California non-union open shop employers, particularly the public utilities corporations of San Francisco, who had direct control of the district attorney's office and the police department; and

WHEREAS, The real motive behind this outrageous conspiracy is class fear and class hatred of Thomas J. Mooney, because of his aggressive, militant activity in the California trade union movement and his undying loyalty and devotion to the entire working class; and

WHEREAS, The original trial judge, Franklin A. Griffin, Captain of Detectives Duncan Matheson, in charge of the gathering of all the evidence, all of the living members of the jury that found him guilty, and the present district attorney have demanded his pardon; and

WHEREAS, Two commissions appointed by Presidents Wilson and Hoover investigated this case and branded the frame-up as "shocking to one's sense of justice"; and

WHEREAS, Hundreds of other public officials, countless thousands of worthwhile men and women, organizations and many scores of the great daily newspapers and magazines throughout the world have branded this frame-up as a blot upon civilization, the shame of America, and a disgraceful smear upon the escutcheons of the State of California and an international scandal; and

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney was, by a directed verdict, upon the motion of the district attorney, and over his protest, acquitted on May 24, 1933, on an indictment identical to the one on which he was convicted 13 years ago; and with the verdict of not guilty still ringing in his ears, he was placed in irons and speeded back to San Quentin Prison for the rest of his natural life; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates assembled in the 28th Convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, at Chicago, Ill., August 13 to 25, 1934, that we reiterate and declare once again our full and complete belief in the absolute innocence of our brother member, Thomas J. Mooney, and denounce with righteous wrathful indignation and scornful contempt the original framers of this foul conspiracy and every other public official who, subsequent thereto by his decisions, aiding, abetting, deeds or words of encouragement toward the continuation of this monstrous frame-up; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Molders' Union delegates to all conventions of the American Federation of Labor present this resolution for adoption.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NON-CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES IN POSTAL SERVICE

Resolution No. 3.—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Civil Service is a protection to government employes against undesirable working conditions, and safeguards their positions against unfair labor practices and lay-offs; and

WHEREAS, During the past two years temporary, non-civil service employes have been introduced into the postal service in ever increasing numbers; and

WHEREAS, This condition, because it tends to limit the number of regular civil service employes, is a menace to the entire civil service system; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks in convention assembled in Atlanta, Georgia, September 2-7, 1935, went on record as being opposed to the use of these non-civil service employes except during the month of December when the large volume of holiday mail necessitates an increase in the personnel; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 53rd Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to the use of non-civil service employes in the postal service except during the month of December.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

LABOR INJUNCTION

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States passed an anti-injunction act in 1882, and whereas the State of Illinois passed an anti-injunction act in 1925, both of which acts were intended to limit and restrict the

issuance of injunctions in labor disputes; and

WHEREAS, Courts have by their construction of these acts virtually nullified the legislative purpose and intent of the anti-injunction acts;

WHEREAS, In every important strike in the history of the American labor movement, the injunction has been a favored weapon of the employers against the working class; and

WHEREAS, Where economic pressure and private company thugs failed to break the solidarity and fighting spirit of the strikers, the bosses have always appealed to the courts, which have proved ever ready to heed the voice of the exploiters; and

WHEREAS, Mass arrests, fines, imprisonment and police terrorism, have been the consequences of labor injunctions, all with the open purpose of breaking the strikes and fastening the chains of slavery ever tighter around labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 53rd Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor go on record

1—To condemn the injunctions aimed against labor organizations as a most dangerous and treacherous weapon in the hands of the employers and as a shameful violation of the elementary rights of labor.

2—To demand that the labor injunctions be abolished and courts prohibited from issuing injunctions in labor cases.

3—To pledge ourselves to help with every means in our power all labor organizations engaged in the struggle against injunctions.

4—Urge upon the A. F. of L. to carry on an effective struggle to abolish the menace of the labor injunction.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

WIDOWS' ANNUITY LAW

Resolution No. 5.—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A postal employe pays for his annuity which makes it a contribution and sacrifice on the part of his wife also. Under present law if employe dies, his widow receives no annuity and is often left destitute and, as the National Federation of Post Office Clerks has approved of the passage of a law known as Widows' Annuity Law, which will pay a partial annuity to widow of deceased employe; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that they approve of Congress passing Widows' Annuity Law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

POSTAL EMPLOYEES THIRTY (30) YEAR OPTIONAL RETIREMENT

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present retirement law compels post office employes to work until he is 63 years of age regardless of service, and National Federation of Post Office Clerks approves the introducing of a law to make 30 years of service the only qualification for voluntary retirement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to approve of the passage of such a law to be known as 30-Year Optional Retirement Law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PROPOSING POSTAL EMPLOYEES COURT OF APPEALS

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under present law an employe may be reduced in salary or dismissed without just cause because in any dispute, postal officials act as judge, jury and accuser. National Federation of Post Office Clerks approve a passage of Court of Appeals Law to remedy this; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By Illinois Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to go on record as approving passage of Court of Appeals Law by Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PROPOSING FEDERAL LAW FOR BOND- ING OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present Bonding Law in post offices makes employes secure bond from private bonding company who charge excessive premiums and seldom make restitution to the government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that Congress should pass law for Federal Government to bond its own employes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SHEEP SHEARERS' APPLICATION FOR BOYCOTT OF WOOL, LAMB AND MUTTON

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate A. A. Evans, Sheep Shearers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, For several years past the several western states woolgrowers' associa-

tions, namely, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Washington and Wyoming, and individual members of those associations, have pursued the policy of employing non-union sheep shearers and contractors to shear their sheep, which has resulted in reducing the wage paid for shearing sheep, in the above named states, to a point where sheep shearers cannot earn a living wage; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America, No. 1, Inc., in convention assembled, that should the above named state woolgrowers' associations, or individual members thereof, at their annual conventions to be held before the date of January 31, 1936, fail or refuse to recognize the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America, No. 1, Inc., and fail or refuse thereafter to pay the scale of wages fixed by the Sheep Shearers' Union or refuse to employ union sheep shearers or union contractors, exclusively, for the shearing of sheep, in the several named states, the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America, No. 1, Inc., on February 1, 1936, shall declare that a boycott exist on wool, lamb and mutton throughout the United States; and further be it

RESOLVED, That the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America, No. 1, Inc., being affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, shall request immediate support from the state federations of labor, national and international unions, city councils and local unions throughout the United States, in making this boycott effective; and be it further

RESOLVED, That during the term of such boycott, no member of organized labor or his family shall purchase any wool, lamb or mutton.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

MEAT CUTTERS vs. WILSON AND COMPANY

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, M. J. Kelly, and M. S. Maxwell, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, For the past four months, Local Union No. 89 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America have been on strike at the plant of Wilson & Company, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and

WHEREAS, Wilson & Company is one of the four large packers having plants extending from coast to coast; and

WHEREAS, Every effort has been made through the regular channels of organized labor to bring about an amicable adjustment of this controversy; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in conjunction with officials of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America attempt to negotiate with Wilson &

Company for a settlement of the controversy at their Oklahoma City plant and in the event Wilson & Company refuses to adjust the matter on a fair and equitable basis that the incoming Executive Board shall consider the advisability of supporting the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in giving wide publicity to the controversy.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

MEAT CUTTERS vs. JOHN MORRELL COMPANY

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, M. J. Kelly and M. S. Maxwell, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, The John Morrell Company, with plants at Sioux Falls, South Dakota; Ottumwa, Iowa, and Topeka, Kansas, on March 9th laid off one hundred and eight (108) of the most active members of local union No. 304, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, which resulted in a strike at that time. At the end of four days a settlement was reached in which it was agreed to reinstate all but twenty-nine (29) of the discharged members of the union. The case of these twenty-nine (29) men was taken to the St. Paul Regional Labor Board and a decision was made that they had been unjustly discriminated against and the Morrell Company was ordered to reinstate them within five (5) days' time. The case was pending in Washington when the Supreme Court declared the NRA unconstitutional. Later, every possible effort was made by agents of the Department of Labor, the Governor's office and committees of well known trade unionists at Sioux Falls, but the Morrell Company ignored these requests, which resulted in the second strike being called on July 18th; and

WHEREAS, Since that date the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America have been making a coast to coast campaign against the products of the Morrell concern which has had a tremendous effect upon its business; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in convention of the fifty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to offer the services of the Federation in an effort to adjust this controversy to the satisfaction of all concerned; and be it further

RESOLVED, That they be empowered, in the event the Morrell Company refuses to adjust the matter amicably, to lend all moral support to the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in giving nation-wide publicity to the controversy.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

CENTRAL BODIES NOT TO ENGAGE IN JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate W. M. Brandt, Missouri State Federation of Labor.

"No Central Body shall engage in any jurisdictional dispute between Local, National or International Unions, without being so instructed by the President of the American Federation of Labor."

Referred to Committee on Local and State Federated Bodies.

FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Wm. M. Brandt, Missouri State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, May 27, 1935, the Supreme Court of our Country declared unconstitutional the N. R. A. and that on May 28th, the Chicago Daily Tribune carried a news article in which one reactionary member of Congress was quoted as saying, after this decision was rendered, "We lawyers are on top"; and

WHEREAS, Conditions as they now confront us is whether the courts and the lawyers, representing a small percentage of the population of our country, shall rule our country, or the great mass of the people shall rule it; and

WHEREAS, The delegates to this Convention must know that in the darkest days of Kaiserism in Germany that any law enacted by the German Congress, the same could not be set aside by the Kaiser, or any of his Courts; and

WHEREAS, We must also know that in Great Britain when the British House of Commons passes a law, the King of England, the House of Lords nor any of the courts of that country can set aside said law; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed, working with other liberal forces of our country to prepare a Federal Constitutional Amendment, to the effect that when any elected Representatives pass a law, or any law enacted by the referendum of our people, whether these laws be made by the Federal Government, State Government, County Government or City Government, that no law enacted by the Representatives or the referendum shall be declared unconstitutional by any Federal Court, State Court, County Court or Municipal Court.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Wm. M. Brandt, Missouri State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Some twenty-four (24) states have now passed the National Child Labor

Law as enacted by the House of Representatives and the Senate of the Federal Government in 1924; and

WHEREAS, A number of misguided organizations in our country are doing all within their power to prevent the necessary number of states ratifying this amendment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make this one of their major issues in sending out a request to the central bodies and state federations of labor in those states that have not as yet ratified this amendment, calling upon them to bend all energy at their command in endeavoring to get the members of the several state legislatures to vote favorably on this proposition.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF BANKING INSTITUTIONS

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Louis Leonard, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

RESOLVED, The delegates to the 60th Annual Convention go on record as favoring government ownership of our banking institutions so the people may have a safe place to deposit their money and be able to get loans at a reasonable rate of interest for purchase of homes and other legitimate needs. If this resolution carries, it is to be presented to the next A. F. of L. Convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

HEARST NEWSPAPERS

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate John North, United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 19970, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

WHEREAS, Hearst, through his publications, has demonstrated that he is an enemy of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record condemning the Fascist campaign of Hearst and his allies and pledges to fight for, preserve and extend our democratic rights and to work and co-operate with all those sincerely fighting against the menace of Fascism in this country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled repudiate the Fascist document sponsored by Hearst and known as the "New Declaration of Independence" and call upon President William Green to withdraw his signature.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LUNDEEN BILL

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate John North, United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 19970, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

WHEREAS, There is now pending before the United States Congress a Bill, H. R. 2827, the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, which alone of all similar bills and measures provides for the immediate establishment of a Federal system of unemployment and social insurance financed exclusively by the employers and government with payment at the rate of the prevailing union wages and in no case less than \$10.00 per week plus \$3.00 for each dependent, for every worker unemployed through no fault of his own; therefore be it

RESOLVED, To endorse the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, H. R. 2827, and demand its adoption by Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, To call upon all state organizations to introduce similar measures in the state legislatures; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council communicate with all locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to urge them to call upon their respective Congressmen and Senators to support H. R. 2827 in Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

OUT-OF-WORK MEMBERS

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate T. E. Cunningham, Minnesota State Federation of Labor, St. Paul, Minn.

WHEREAS, The Minnesota State Federation of Labor, at its 1935 Convention, adopted a resolution urging upon the American Federation of Labor to consider proposing to the international unions a plan to maintain the members who are out of work in good standing with their various organizations so that suspension because of non-payment of dues may be reduced; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to study this question.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING ADMINISTRATION OF FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS AND VOLUNTEER ORGANIZERS BY CENTRAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate G. L. Swetland, Central Labor Union, Marion, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The organization during the past several years of federal labor unions

has caused much misunderstanding and strife within the craft unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Unqualified persons have secured credentials as organizers of the American Federation of Labor and used such with selfish motives, and to further political rackets, the officers of the American Federation of Labor paying little heed to the requests from local central labor unions for withdrawal of such credentials; and

WHEREAS, The laxity of laws governing the federal labor unions and the lack of definite rules on jurisdiction, permitting such selfish organizers to use the federal labor unions to the end that craftsmen to fill any job are furnished from a federal labor union; and

WHEREAS, This central labor union has only a desire to help preserve harmony within the ranks of the various craft unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, working to the end that men and women be placed in the union crafts where each belongs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this central labor union in regular session this 11th day of September, 1935, do recommend that the laws committee of the American Federation of Labor in session at Atlantic City this coming October 7, 1935, add a new section, known as section 7 to and under Miscellaneous on Page 29 of the present constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this new section read as follows: "In a vicinity where the American Federation of Labor does not maintain a headquarters and a General Organizer in charge, but has a central labor union chartered, the conduct of a federal labor union in such vicinity shall be under control of a council composed of the president and three delegates named by the president of such central labor union and three members from the federal labor union"; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the laws committee of the American Federation of Labor to adopt this recommendation along with more strict rules to govern the volunteer organizers and their work, placing them directly under the actions and requests of the central labor unions in the vicinity from which they are named.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

MONTHLY DUES FOR FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate John W. Crother, Central Trades Council, Jeannette, Pa.

WHEREAS, The promotion of federal labor unions has been hindered due to having the

fixed amount of one dollar (\$1.00) per month per member as the minimum monthly dues; and

WHEREAS, Local unions have given up their charters to the American Federation of Labor because they were not permitted to have a fee less than one dollar (\$1.00) even though they were willing to pay the fixed per capita tax of thirty-five cents (\$0.35) to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Independent unions are being formed, some apparently leaning toward the formation of company unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, Federal labor unions shall be permitted to fix the amount of monthly dues within each local union; however, it shall be understood that the monthly dues shall include thirty-five cents (\$0.35) per capita tax to be paid to the American Federation of Labor, plus five cents (\$0.05) for distress cases, plus a reasonable amount to carry on the business of the local union.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

HEARST NEWSPAPERS

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate John W. Crother, Central Trades Council, Jeannette, Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, The newspapers and magazines controlled and owned by William Randolph Hearst are carrying on an anti-union campaign; and

WHEREAS, It is a well known fact that Hearst has already organized a war against Spain and is now trying to organize another war; and

WHEREAS, Hearst went to Germany and had a talk with the leaders of the German Fascist and then came back to this country and intensified his fight against the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Many local unions in all parts of the country have gone on record against the Hearst newspapers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record against the Hearst newspapers and calls upon all organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. to take similar action and in this way defeat the union-smashing campaign of Hearst.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMPANY UNIONS

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate John W. Crother, Central Trades Council, Jeannette, Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, The company unions have grown in the last few years. Thousands of

steel workers are now in the company unions and many coal miners were also driven into the company unions; and

WHEREAS, The growth of these company unions came with the NRA and the labor boards and can be traced to the work of these same labor boards; and

WHEREAS, These company unions, dominated and controlled by the companies, are used to beat down the wages and conditions of the workers, and to prevent the workers from striking for better conditions and union organization; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner Bill has a section defining the "employer unit and employee representation plan" as units of collective bargaining, in this way giving legal status to the company unions; and

WHEREAS, This act calls for the formation of a labor board, whose function is to prevent strikes and arbitrate the wages and conditions of the workers; and

WHEREAS, We have learned that we cannot depend on labor boards or anyone but the organization of the workers to get better wages and working conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Trades Council of Jeannette, Pa., demands that the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record

1.—To arouse the labor movement and the public to the menace of company unions and the Fascist danger in these company unions;

2.—To fight against compulsory arbitration and for the right to strike, organize and picket;

3.—To give all possible aid to the members of the company unions that want to break away and form or join the bona fide labor unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate John W. Crother, Central Trades Council, Jeannette, Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, Labor has learned through experience that the promises of representatives of political parties of Big Business to fight for measures in its interest have been false and for purposes of vote-getting as demonstrated in such acts as in the defeat of the prevailing wage amendment, the establishment of a coolie wage of \$19.00-\$24.00 monthly on relief projects, the veto of the veterans' bonus, the continued issuance of injunctions, the use of the military against striking workers, the failure to ratify the Child Labor amendment and the adoption of a "social security" program which taxes labor for old age pensions and so-called unemployment "insurance" and ignores completely the present unemployed; and

WHEREAS, In order to crush the great strikes waged by labor throughout the country, national guardsmen were mobilized to murder and maim our brother trade unionists and force them back to work under miserable conditions, and these military forces were called out by governors of the Republican and Democratic Parties who appealed for and obtained labor's vote on the promise of support of labor's interests; and

WHEREAS, These experiences prove that we cannot rely on the so-called "friends of labor" since they act in behalf of their parties which are supported by and function in the interests of Big Business and they demonstrate that the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor of "rewarding friends and defeating enemies" only divides labor's vote and works to the detriment of labor, preventing us from organizing on the political field against the employers as we are organized on the economic field; and

WHEREAS, The New Deal government elected by an overwhelming labor vote has aided the employers to increase their profits by 600 per cent., has helped to stimulate company unionism to the extent of five million members, has forced down the standard of living of millions of unemployed to a coolie wage level of subsistence; and

WHEREAS, A movement is now afoot amongst the workers in many states for the formation of a Labor Party based on a program in defense of labor's interests to enable the workers to send their own representatives, responsible to labor, into the legislatures, and conferences of trade unions in Connecticut, Michigan, New Jersey, Illinois and other states have been held for this purpose; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record endorsing the formation of an anti-capitalist, anti-Fascist Labor Party organized on the basis of trade unions and other labor organizations, including farmers, Negro organizations, poor middle classes and all workers' political organizations, on the platform of struggle for the rights and needs of all working people and against Fascism, against war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor unite with all other organizations endorsing this program to achieve the purposes of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING INDUSTRIAL UNION AMONG STEEL WORKERS

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate John W. Crother, Central Trades Council, Jeannette, Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, The present unorganized condition of the steel workers has resulted in

increased discrimination, coercion and intimidation, with a consequent lowering of the living standards of the steel workers, thus tending to lower the living standards of all workers in America. This lack of organization in the steel industry is a direct menace to the entire labor movement, lending encouragement to employers in other industries in their union-smashing, wage-cutting policies; and

WHEREAS, Such lack of organization in a basic industry such as steel may well become a breeding ground for Fascism; and

WHEREAS, The resolution presented by John L. Lewis and accepted by the 54th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. was a promissory note to the steel workers of America; and

WHEREAS, This promissory note has not been redeemed, but on the contrary has been entirely neglected by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. shall immediately proceed to carry out the terms of the Lewis resolution, thus making good the promise of the A. F. of L. to the steel workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as the very nature of the steel industry makes it a certainty that only a broad industrial union can efficiently serve the steel workers, that there shall be no jurisdictional disputes stand in the way of establishing such a union in the steel industry, but on the contrary, the entire A. F. of L. shall mobilize its full forces to at once begin an organizational drive to build a strong mass industrial union in the steel industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LUNDEEN BILL

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate John W. Crother, Central Trades Council, Jeannette, Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, Employment in industry has shown no appreciable gain despite all the ballyhoo of recovery advanced by the New Deal and there are still approximately 22 million men, women and children dependent for their means of existence on meagre pittance of relief; and

WHEREAS, The enactment of the administration's "social security" measure has not provided social security for these millions at present unemployed and is totally inadequate to protect labor against unemployment since it provides for only a limited amount of benefit for a limited period to a small section of American labor and compels the employed workers to bear the burden through the method of taxation of payrolls which is passed on to the wage earners in the form of higher prices and wage cuts; and

WHEREAS, The government program pushed through Congress over the opposition of millions of members of the American Federation of Labor who had declared their support for the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, introduced by Congressman Lundeen and known as H. R. 2827, cannot be considered a substitute for genuine unemployment insurance contained in the Workers' Bill; and

WHEREAS, It is in the interest of labor to defeat measures similar to the "social security act" in the state legislatures and instead fight for the adoption of a genuine social insurance measure as embodied in H. R. 2827, which provides that adequate unemployment insurance be given to all unemployed workers for the full period of unemployment by taxation on higher incomes; and

WHEREAS, The sentiment of the membership of the American Federation of Labor for the Lundeen Bill, H. R. 2827, is being repeatedly shown in the many endorsements by international unions, central bodies and local unions, of which there are more than 3,000 on record; therefore be it

RESOLVED, To endorse the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, H. R. 2827, and demand its adoption by Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, To call upon all state organizations to introduce similar measures in the state legislatures; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council communicate with all locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to urge them to call upon their respective Congressmen and Senators to support H. R. 2827 in Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN AMONG FLOUR AND CEREAL MILL WORKERS

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate T. E. Cunningham, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Flour and Cereal Mill Workers' Federal Labor Unions in the state of Minnesota sponsored a resolution in the 1935 Convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor urging that special effort be made to organize the employees of flour and cereal mills in the United States and Canada, and requested that this subject matter be submitted to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City in October; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to conduct a survey of the possibilities of securing a thorough organization of the flour and cereal mill workers, and that the State Federations of Labor be urged to render every effort in securing organization of such

flour and cereal mills as are operating in their respective states.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

PROPOSING INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHEMICAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate A. P. Lee, representing Chemical Workers, No. 19019, Barberton, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The Chemical workers throughout the United States who are now organized into various Federal Labor Unions have by common consent come to the conclusion that their interests can best be served through the formation of a union along industrial lines; and

WHEREAS, It is an established fact that the chemical industry has always been an open shop and the workers therein non-union, and in the very few instances where a worker was affiliated with the union labor movement, it was necessary for said worker to keep such affiliations secret from the chemical manufacturers under whom he worked to escape being discharged; and

WHEREAS, The workers in the great mass production industries such as chemical workers, rubber workers, automobile workers, and other workers in industries of the same nature have formed themselves into Federal Labor Unions for the purpose of mutual benefit and protection, and regardless of the type of work they do or to what particular craft they might belong, every man can see the crying need of enlisting together not only as workers in each particular shop or factory but as a class of workers as a whole engaged in any particular industry if we are to preserve what gains we have achieved or to have hope of further achievement; and

WHEREAS, From past experiences we know it is useless even to try to deal with the chemical manufacturers through more than one strong union, covering every type of workers in the industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at the Westminster Hall, Chelsea Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J., this, the year of 1935, take into serious consideration the right of the workers in the chemical industry to form what is known as the industrial organization allowing such union to embrace all workers in the chemical industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION IN CEMENT INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Charles H. Rundle, Cement Mill Employees' Union No.

18710; Weldon Merritt, Cement Mill Employees No. 19466, and Arthur J. Strunk, Cement Mill Employees' Union No. 18673.

WHEREAS, A beginning has been made in organizing the Cement Industry into Vertical or Industrial type Unions; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. in its 54th Annual Convention approved of this type of unions; and

WHEREAS, Most employers in this industry are bending every effort to prevent further organizing, and to break up unions already formed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. act at once to initiate an intensive campaign to organize this industry as fully as possible.

WHEREAS, The cement industry is in a very depressed condition; and

WHEREAS, Costs of production are higher in America than in most foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, An already inadequate tariff was recently reduced, causing an enormous increase in the amount of imported cement; and

WHEREAS, American labor in this industry suffers because of these conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the proper officers of the A. F. of L. exert every effort to have the tariff on cement again raised at least as much as the last reduction.

WHEREAS, The U. S. Government has signified its intention of buying foreign cement; and

WHEREAS, American cement plants are now operating at far below their capacities, causing much unemployment and suffering to workers in this industry; and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Government has appropriated billions of dollars to relieve distress; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protests strongly against the use of any of this money for the purchase of foreign cement or any other product that can be produced in our own country by our own labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ORGANIZATION OF YOUTH

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Morris Fine, Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The labor movement is witnessing with pride and interest the growing trend among young workers to enter into

and build up trade unions, proving themselves to be indispensable to the unified battles which organized labor must wage to win a fit American standard of living; and

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration, CCC camps, and other measures undertaken by the federal government, pay recognition to the fact that there is a distinct youth problem in industry; and

WHEREAS, The various schemes for the government sponsorship of apprentice training, and hiring of youth on work projects at less than even prevailing wages endanger union standards; and

WHEREAS, Various state federations of labor conventions, as New York, Minnesota, Connecticut, etc., have enthusiastically called for special emphasis and organizational steps on the part of the Federation of Labor in organizing the youth; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Atlantic City from October 7th, issues a call to American youth in industry to join the various locals of the American Federation of Labor, and open up a drive to build unions in so-called "youth" trades; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention urges all international local and Federal unions to devise special youth forms of activity, such as Labor Sports Leagues, designating special youth committees to encourage and foster organization amongst young people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take a determined stand that there shall be no discrimination against youth demanding equal pay for equal work.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Clair B. Bellows, Federal Labor Union No. 18344, Syracuse, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Industry today is organized along industrial lines; and

WHEREAS, Both employers and the government recognize that the industrial set-up is most in keeping with the modern tempo of industrial organization; and

WHEREAS, Due to increasing mechanization, craft divisions are being broken up and workers are losing craft consciousness and accepting industrial consciousness in its place; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor Executive Council has already taken some steps towards a more industrial form of organization in the form of federal labor unions; and

WHEREAS, That in the near future a delegate from Federal Labor Union No. 18344 will attend the national convention in Atlantic City, N. J.; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this delegate be instructed to request necessary changes in present-day by-laws of the American Federation of Labor to conform more to present-day industrial organization; therefore be it further

RESOLVED, That Federal Labor Union No. 18344, in regular meeting assembled, indorse this resolution; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this union of over a thousand members send this resolution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their consideration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING AN INDUSTRIAL UNION IN HIGH PRESSURE PIPE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate J. A. Burks, Federal Labor Union No. 18388, Birmingham, Alabama.

WHEREAS, We are living in a mechanical and industrial age that warrants the formation of industrial unionism which shall include and embrace all the various classes of labor that are employed in and around any certain industry; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its last convention, held in the City of San Francisco, California, did go on record as favoring such an industrial organization and thus instructed its officers; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the High Pressure Pipe Industry of Birmingham, Alabama, and vicinity, have organized an industrial or federal organization, which includes in the membership thereof all persons employed in and around said industry into one organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record and do hereby instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to permit, practice, pursue, and follow such a course of action in organization of said industries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That said industries and the members of said organizations thereof be permitted and the American Federation of Labor be instructed to create and charter state and national organizations for and of such industries with the right of the membership to elect and select their own officers, both state and national, thereof; be it further

RESOLVED, That this organization shall be known and designated as the High Pressure Pipe Workers' Union of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the said organization shall be a part and parcel of the American

Federation of Labor with all the rights and privileges of other national and state unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That when such union is organized and the officers thereof elected, that they shall have full rights and privileges of supervision and jurisdiction over the membership of said organization and the laying of such assessments for dues and other revenues of the organization as may be determined and designated by said organization for the purpose of carrying on and defraying the several expenses incurred by and by reason of said organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PREVAILING WAGE ON WPA PROJECTS

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Harry Krauss, Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990, Lancaster, Pa.

Realizing that the so-called Security Wage of \$19.00 to \$94.00 for the unemployed on WPA projects is a direct threat to the wage scale of all workers in industry inasmuch that it is impossible to have two wage scales at the same time, that this cooie wage scale will have the effect of flooding the gates of industry with labor willing to work at any price slightly above the WPA scale, and in turn will have the effect of undermining and breaking up the A. F. of L. unions that have been built up over many years of hard persistent work; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Linoleum Workers' Union offers all its support to the unemployed workers and will assist them in their efforts to organize the unorganized and in their efforts to secure the prevailing wage for unskilled, and trade union wages and conditions for the skilled workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FASCISM

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Harry Krauss, Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990, Lancaster, Pa.

WHEREAS, We, not without alarm, see the growing tendencies of Fascism and the preparations for war in the U. S. A. and realizing that Fascism has as its objective the smashing of all civil liberties of the people, also the smashing of all labor unions (Germany, Italy) by force and bloody terror, that in imperialist wars the workers in all countries gain nothing but untold poverty, misery, hardship, and death; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Linoleum Workers' Union declares itself to be the irreconcilable foe of Fascism and war and pledges itself to struggle with all power at its command against these blood brothers of reaction and destruction of civilization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LUNDEEN BILL

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Harry Krauss, Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990, Lancaster, Pa.

WHEREAS, The new works program is a dismal failure and could not possibly put the unemployed back to work; that the workers unemployed have steadily grown in number and now reach a total of 23,000,000; that this surplus army of labor is a constant incentive to employers to cut wages; that the recently enacted social security bill passed by Congress is a complete fake that does not even consider the 23,000,000 now unemployed and little or nothing for any other category of workers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990 recognizes that the Lundeen Bill, H. R. 2827, is the only genuine social and unemployment insurance that offers a minimum of security to all workers;

And therefore we indorse and pledge our support of the aforesaid Bill, H. R. 2827.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Harry Krauss, Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990, Lancaster, Pa.

WHEREAS, That both the Republican and Democratic Parties represent the same capitalists' interests as against the interests of labor, organized and unorganized, and over a long period of years have failed to enact a single law beneficial to labor as a whole;

WHEREAS, That both of the old parties show a decided tendency to become more reactionary and anti-labor in all their policies; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the time has come for labor to make a clean breakaway from both the old Parties, to establish a Farmer Labor Party based on the trade unions and farmers' organizations that will represent their class interest and will fight for their immediate economic needs, defend and advance the civil liberties of the people, and struggle against war and Fascism.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Harry Krauss, Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990, Lancaster, Pa.

WHEREAS, That the modern technique of mass production and the increased use of automatic machinery has rendered the craft type of unionism obsolete inasmuch as it is no longer able to best represent the interests of organized labor; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990, go on record as favoring the endorsement of the industrial form of unionism embracing all workers in a given industry irrespective of their craft.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING REGULATIONS FOR ADMINISTRATION OF LOCAL UNIONS

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate John North, United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 19970, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

WHEREAS, Principles of democracy being imbedded in the American workers and which our forefathers fought and died for; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record for trade union democracy and calls all affiliated unions to establish this principle on the basis of the following procedure:

1—All officials shall be elected by popular vote in secret ballot and elected special committees from the membership be in charge of counting the votes.

2—The practice of not seating delegates to central bodies, on various pretexts must stop.

3—The membership shall have the right to recall officials and representatives by a majority vote before the expiration of the official term.

4—No member of the union except those found guilty as strike-breakers or as working in the interests of the employers shall be deprived of the right to be nominated, put on the ballot and to act as an official or representative of the union when elected.

5—All trade union agreements, all amendments to the constitution and all other questions affecting the interests of the membership shall be submitted to the members for a vote.

6—The right of local unions to start a referendum, the right of individual free speech, free criticism of policies, members to initiate policies, the right of local unions to declare a strike, the right of a member to belong to any political party, all these shall be considered rights which shall not be violated.

7—No body shall convict a member or an official on charges involving suspension or expulsion of a member or an official, except by a trial board elected by a popular vote of the members and giving the accused all the privileges of counsel, witnesses, his or her own stenographic record, and full publicity of the proceedings.

8—National and international officials shall call conventions as stipulated in the constitutions, of the respective organizations, but under all circumstances such conventions shall be held at least every two years.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING SUPPORT OF PEACE POLICY OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate John North, United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 19970, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

WHEREAS, All wars are waged at the expense of the working class of people and they are the ones forced to fight it and provide their life as cannon fodder; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record to mobilize the membership of the A. F. of L. against an Italian war on Ethiopia, to prevent the manufacture and shipment of munitions to Italy and to pledge to rally the forces of labor against another World War; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge to support the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate John North, United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 19970, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The Labor Party based on all exploited peoples, on their struggle for higher living standards being immediate necessity; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record endorsing the formation of an anti-capitalist, and anti-Fascist Labor Party, organized on the basis of the trade unions and other labor organizations, including farmers, Negro organizations, poor middle classes and all political organizations of the working people, on the platform of struggle for the rights and needs, and against Fascism and war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor unite with all other labor organizations endorsing this program to achieve the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate John North, United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 19970, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

WHEREAS, Industrial unionism being recognized as a powerful unifying force of all workers; and

WHEREAS, Our experience has aptly demonstrated its superiority over all other types of unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record

1—To launch an organizational drive to organize the workers in the mass production industries into industrial unions.

2—To immediately organize the federal locals now in these industries into respective international industrial unions controlled by the rank and file with democratically elected officials and with full autonomy to act in the interest of the organization; and

3—To proceed with the establishment of industrial unions where craft unions now exist by amalgamation of the craft unions in each industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT (H. J. Res. 327)

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Wyndam Mortimer, United Automobile Workers' Union No. 18463, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have seriously endangered the future of all legislation on behalf of farm and city workers, and also legislation looking toward greater control over transportation, industry and business by the government; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has gone on record in favor of a constitutional amendment which would legalize such legislation; and

WHEREAS, Representative Vito Marcantonio, of New York, has introduced in Congress a proposed amendment known as the Workers' Rights Amendment (H. J. Res. 327), which would legalize such legislation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, White Motor Local of the International Union of the United Automobile Workers of America, go on record in favor of this resolution; and be it

RESOLVED, That we urge all members to actively support this amendment and bring it to the attention of farmers and workers everywhere, and that copies of this resolution and notification of this action be sent to Representative H. W. Sumners, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, the Congressmen from this County, Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L.; Ed Hall, Secretary of the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America, and the Labor Committee for the Workers' Rights Amendment, Cleveland, Ohio.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING INVESTIGATION OF ATTITUDE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES TOWARD LABOR ACTIVITIES

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Selma Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Through misunderstanding, lack of information, maladministration, and abuse of power there have at times come from the law enforcement agencies improper and unwarranted attacks upon the workers; and

WHEREAS, Industrial organizations have at times employed private detectives or private police who actually foment industrial strife and destroy the civil rights of the workers; and

WHEREAS, Reports from a number of states show that the state labor groups have opposed the tactics of state police and state constabularies; and

WHEREAS, The militia which by statute and in keeping with the American tradition should function solely for the protection of all the citizens of a state has, in many instances, been wrongly used to attack citizens ruthlessly and so has aided the industrial organizations in a community, control the lives of the people, and to deprive many of them of their civil rights; and

WHEREAS, Reports have been received that in many parts of the country self-appointed law enforcement agencies, vigilantes and similar illegal bodies have usurped the power of the proper law enforcement agencies; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is anxious to co-operate closely with properly constituted and properly administered law enforcement agencies of the nation, of the state, and of the local com-

munity, to protect the lives and the rights of all the citizens; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled call upon the Executive Council to direct the research service of the American Federation of Labor to conduct a thorough investigation into the entire subject of relation of the municipal police, of private police and private detectives, of state police and constabularies and of the militia to trade union organizations during any labor dispute.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SPEAKERS' BUREAU, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Selma M. Borchardt, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, There is a demand for speakers to discuss the problems confronting the workers of our country; and

WHEREAS, Often so-called intellectuals who are totally ignorant of or intentionally hostile to the policy of the bona-fide union movement present these subjects to college classes, on the public platform, in forums or through publications, assuming in so doing the role of "labor expert"; and

WHEREAS, Unorganized workers seeking authentic information on the American Federation of Labor are often misled by information supplied by those seeking the creation of Company Unions, and from those who seek to exploit the labor movement by seeking to build through it a creed which is antagonistic to the political, economic and social philosophy of the American Federation of Labor;

WHEREAS, Trade union officers and those who work closely with them should be used to interpret the American Federation of Labor;

WHEREAS, The Union Label, the Shop Card and the Button should have a far larger meaning in order that unorganized workers and the general public may appreciate better the value of such emblems, and of the labor movement itself; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, direct the Executive Council to establish and support a Speakers' Bureau, in the Union Label Trades Department, through which Bureau it will be possible to furnish qualified speakers to discuss the problems of the bona-fide American labor movement so that if at any time, a group wishes a speaker to present labor's interpretation of a given problem that the Speakers' Bureau of the Union Label Trades

Department may, in cooperation with the local trade union organizations in the community from which such a call comes, furnish the speaker, as desired.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR COOPERATION WITH NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Selma Borchardt, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The far-reaching social and economic changes which have occurred during the last decade have had a particularly tragic, a devastating effect upon the young people of the nation; and

WHEREAS, The Youth of today must bear the full responsibilities of citizenship tomorrow; and

WHEREAS, Numerous plans have been proposed which would vitally affect the youth of the nation, including plans calling for political upheavals, revolutionary tactics, and some seeking to force youthful labor into a degrading economic enslavement; and

WHEREAS, There has been created a National Youth Administration in which, from the very start, organized labor was given a definite recognition and functional place; and

WHEREAS, It is the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with governmental and private agencies which seek to serve the common good; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, call upon the state federations and city central bodies to cooperate with their respective Youth Administration organizations, both to protect the best interests of the youth of the land, and to preserve and enhance the traditions and standards of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint such special committees as he may deem necessary to carry out the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CLEARING HOUSE OF INFORMATION ON STATE LEGISLATIVE PROBLEMS

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Selma M. Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Legislation of vital importance to the organized workers is presented

and acted upon by the legislatures of many of our states yearly; and

WHEREAS, The arguments used by the workers and by those opposed to the workers in connection with the legislation in one state is of great value to the workers of all other states; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, direct the Executive Council to establish a clearing house on state legislative information where there shall be gathered, compiled and analyzed and then distributed in summary form, at stated intervals, during the legislative session to the officers of State Federations of Labor:

1. Reports of legislation affecting labor pending in each state.

2. A list of those groups which are co-operating with labor, and of those who are opposing labor, with a report of the arguments used in support and in opposition to such legislation.

3. The problems (administrative and others) which may arise as a result of the enactment of labor and other social legislation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That officers of State Federations of Labor be requested to furnish to the American Federation of Labor or such bureau as may be established as a result of favorable action on this resolution, such information as they may be asked for while the respective legislative bodies are in session.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

OPPOSING MEANS TEST IN RELIEF ACTIVITIES

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Selma M. Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The federal government, and the agencies which administer relief, have placed in operation a Means Test, which test forces the applicant for relief to prove, in order to obtain relief, that he is absolutely destitute, and further to prove that no member of his family is earning anything, and that neither he nor any member of his family holds a job, not even a casual one for a day or more per week; and

WHEREAS, This practice is anti-social in principle and in practice, for it forces a worker to a statement that he has become a pauper, and further results in a worker's hesitating to accept work which is not permanent, lest he, therefore, be denied needed relief; and

WHEREAS, The moral degradation which this test forces upon the workers and their families is extremely harmful; and

WHEREAS, The free trade unions of other countries have found that this so-called Means Test results in tragic consequences,

and they have therefore vigorously and successfully opposed the continuance of it; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, condemn this so-called Means Test (actually a destitution test) and that we direct the Executive Council to use every means at its command to bring about its elimination.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING LAW

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Selma M. Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has on many occasions endorsed legislation which would enable the federal government to aid states in preventing lynching; and

WHEREAS, The Costigan-Wagner Bill, which embodies this principle, was favorably reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee, and was before the Senate for consideration for some time; and

WHEREAS, Parliamentary tactics were used to prevent a vote on this question; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirm its support of federal anti-lynching legislation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we deplore and protest against the parliamentary tactics which prevented a vote by our national Congress on a question of so great importance to our people as an anti-lynching bill.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PROHIBITING USE OF FEDERAL ARMS BY STATES MILITIA IN LABOR DISPUTES

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Selma M. Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, In the struggles of many trade union organizations within many states, the state militia has at times been improperly used to help destroy the rights of the workers; and

WHEREAS, Such improper use of the militia violates the spirit and the letter of the law which created our national militia as an arm of defense for the protection of the rights of all of our citizens against a common enemy; and

WHEREAS, The state militia in most states is equipped by the federal government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled condemn the use of militia in industrial disputes; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to support legislation which prevents the abusive use of militia in industrial disputes; legislation which embodies the principle expressed in the Connery Bill which prohibits the use of federal arms and equipment by state militia, in any industrial dispute, unless the use of such equipment be expressly authorized by the federal authorities in recognition of a national emergency which they deem acute enough to warrant the use of federal military force against citizens of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

OPPOSING UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN OLYMPIC GAMES

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Selma Borchardt, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has in the last two conventions pledged its moral and economic force to fight Hitlerism for its destruction of the trade union movement and for its denial to its citizens of their religious liberty; and

WHEREAS, The Olympic games, which should promote sportsmanship and good will, are being used by the Nazis to intensify hatreds and race discriminations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, reaffirm its determinations to use its full moral and economic force to fight Hitlerism; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in keeping with this declaration of the American Federation of Labor that it oppose the participation of the United States in the Olympic games in Berlin, 1936.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM IN MASS PRODUCTION INDUSTRIES

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Wyndham Mortimer, Federal Labor Unions No. 18614 and 18463, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, In this age of mass production, all industry is organized into one gigantic framework with the various departments and plants operating under central control; and

WHEREAS, The introduction of modern machinery has destroyed all semblance of craftsmanship and craft problems, often causes strife and division of the workers, and prevents the workers presenting a solid front to the employer in the struggle to organize and establish proper working conditions and decent wages; and

WHEREAS, In awarding a charter to the United Automobile Workers of America as an International Union, the Executive Council of the Federation of Labor has reserved for certain other International Unions jurisdiction over certain groups of employees of the automobile and parts industry; and

WHEREAS, If the jurisdictional limitation is allowed to stand, it can only mean the gradual disintegration of the local unions of the United Automobile Workers; and

WHEREAS, the international unions to which have been awarded jurisdiction over certain groups of workers in the auto and parts industry, have in the past made no considerable effort to organize these workers, but have instead waited until these workers were organized into Federal Labor Unions before manifesting any interest in them; now be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled in this, the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby declare that we favor the industrial form of organization in all mass production industries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with the content of this resolution, and instruct them to be governed in accordance with its provisions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING COMMITTEE TO STUDY APPLICATION OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates J. F. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis., and J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The activity of the organized labor movement during the past few years, in organizing millions of workers into Federal Labor and craft unions affiliated with National and International unions, in order to gain improved conditions for these workers, has clearly demonstrated that in many cases, particularly in so-called mass production industries, our present organizational set-up is inadequate to fully meet the needs of the workers; and

WHEREAS, This situation presents many complex and intricate problems which

are of the most vital concern to all units of our government; and

WHEREAS, Because of the complexities involved this matter cannot be adequately solved by precedent, emotional appeal, snap judgment or a blanket declaration for one or another form of organization, but should be most thoroughly considered in all of its details so that a practical program may be effectuated; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, realizing the grave importance of this matter, hereby directs the creation of a special interim committee composed of the President of the American Federation of Labor, two officers of International unions of a craft character, two officers of International unions of an industrial or semi-industrial character, three officers of State Federations of Labor, three officers of Central Labor Unions, and two officers of Federal Labor Unions, which committee shall give special study to this whole matter and prepare a comprehensive report and recommendations for submission to the next convention of the Federation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming President of the Federation appoint the members of this committee within thirty days of the closing date of this convention and that the Executive Council of the Federation in arranging the program for the 1936 convention make the report of this committee a special order of business for the opening day of the second week of the convention and that necessary expenses of this committee be paid by the Federation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. J. LINDEMANN-HOVERSON COMPANY, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate J. F. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, More than six hundred employees of the A. J. Lindemann-Hoverson Company, Milwaukee, Wis., manufacturers of the Alcazar and other brands of gas, electric, kerosene and gasoline stoves, were forced to go on strike August 20, 1935, because this firm, in violation of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, discriminated against workers who had started a movement to organize the employees of this company; and

WHEREAS, This company in further violation of the labor act has refused to meet with the chosen representatives of its striking employees in spite of all efforts on the part of Federal conciliators to bring about such a meeting for the purpose of getting a settlement; and

WHEREAS, This flagrant violation of the laws of the land has led to numerous demonstrations by thousands of workers in the vicinity of the company's plant which created a situation so serious that the Common Council of the City of Milwaukee unanimously passed a resolution asking the Chief of Police to close the plant and when the Chief of Police refused to do so on legal technical grounds, the Common Council passed an ordinance which resulted in at least a temporary closing of this plant; and

WHEREAS, After an investigation, according to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee has placed this firm and its products on its "We do not patronize" list upon the request of the Machinists' Local Union; and

WHEREAS, In addition to the Machinists' Union, the Molders, Metal Polishers and Foundry Employers' Unions are also involved and all of these unions are acting in union in this strike; and

WHEREAS, This firm evidently is adamant in its position to refuse to deal with its workers on an organized basis; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we declare the A. J. Lindemann-Hoverson Company, of Milwaukee, unfair to organized labor and that the Executive Council be requested to take the necessary steps under Section 4 of Article IX of the Constitution of the Federation for further appropriate action against this firm.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

UNEMPLOYMENT STAMPS

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates J. F. Frederick, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wisconsin and J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In these times of great economic instability many organized as well as unorganized workers are subject to unemployment, during the period of which their income is cut off; and

WHEREAS, because of this condition many members of Federal Labor Unions and of local unions chartered by National or International unions cannot pay their dues and in consequence become suspended from membership; and

WHEREAS, members so suspended are apt to feel that they have been unfairly treated and often become discouraged or even antagonistic to our organizations; and

WHEREAS, it requires a great deal of energy and expense to get such members back into the organized labor movement and, therefore, every reasonable method of keeping them in our movement should be used; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the incoming Executive Council set up a system of unemployment stamps for Federal Labor Unions so that members of these local unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor will be adequately protected against loss of membership because of unemployment; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the Executive Council, after the American Federation of Labor itself has set the example, give to all affiliated National and International unions the information gained by them on this matter with the recommendation that such National and International unions which have not yet instituted a system of unemployment stamps for the maintenance of good standing for unemployed members, give such matter most serious consideration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN AMONG WORKERS IN OFFICE EQUIPMENT INDUSTRY.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Howard Sticht, Federal Labor Union 19401, Tonawanda, N. Y.

WHEREAS, it is necessary to standardize wages and working hours in office equipment manufacturing industry; and

WHEREAS, it is necessary to organize this industry on a national scale to gain these conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor immediately appoint at least two organizers to organize the workers in this industry one hundred per cent. into the American Federation of Labor Federal Labor Unions.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN, DALLAS, TEXAS

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate B. M. Egan, Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, A condition exists in the City of Dallas that will require the attention of all International unions to the end that all organized labor will be benefited;

WHEREAS, A strike of the Ladies Garment Workers has been in progress now for the past eight months; and

WHEREAS, The open-shop association in this city, together with the Chamber of Commerce and the different manufacturing concerns, have combined in an effort to break up the strike of the Garment Workers; and

WHEREAS, The manufacturing concerns in this city have, through injunctions and other methods, succeeded in throwing in jail most of the girls involved in the strike, the leaders of the Union, and the representative of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, Working conditions and wages in this city are below the subsistence standard; and

WHEREAS, Labor in general has been kept down here, and every attempt that has been made to organize was brutally suppressed by the employers in this city; and

WHEREAS, The Texas Centennial Exposition plant is being built at present, and the Commission in charge of same is discriminating against union workers, and ignoring organized labor completely; and

WHEREAS, The prospects for the building trades and all other craft to organize and improve conditions are bright, and we feel that it is the opportune moment to make a great organization drive in this city; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Council of Dallas request the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to advise all the International Unions to jointly make the organization drive in this city, and have representatives to the different International Unions stationed in the city until such organization drive can be successfully carried out.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

PROTESTING ADMISSION OF ALIEN THEATRICAL WARDROBE ATTENDANTS.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Augusta Ocker, Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants' Union No. 16770.

WHEREAS, Foreign Theatrical Companies, entering the United States, to perform before the public, bring Costumers and Wardrobe Attendants with them, to take charge of the Wardrobe Department; and

WHEREAS, Approximately eighty percent of the Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants in this country have been unemployed most of the past five years, and they never travel to foreign countries to work; and

WHEREAS, We can supply these foreign companies with the help required, and

thereby lessen the unemployment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its fifty-fifth convention, authorize the Executive Council to consult with the United States Immigration Department, regarding this matter, for the purpose of procuring this work for the American citizen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**APPRENTICE TRAINING SCHOOL—
NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING AND
DRY DOCK COMPANY,
NEWPORT NEWS, VA.**

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There exists in the plant of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, Newport News, Va., a school for apprentice training, which is operated for the benefit of this shipbuilding company; and

WHEREAS, Instructors in this Apprentice Training School are also instructors in a trade school; also within this shipbuilding plant wherein beginners, learners and helpers are given a short course in electric welding and other crafts, which has resulted in the lowering of wages in these particular trades; and

WHEREAS, Apprentices, beginners, learners and helpers are trained in these schools and put to work in this shipbuilding plant at wage rates much lower than those prevalent for that particular operation in other shipyards and navy yards, while skilled workers in these crafts remain unemployed and are refused an opportunity to work in order that the company may save on its pay roll; and

WHEREAS, It is neither just nor reasonable that public funds should be used to maintain training schools for the exclusive benefit of a particular employer, but should be expended in the interest of all citizens and taxpayers; and

WHEREAS, A portion of the funds expended to maintain this Apprentice Training School are Federal funds, given according to the terms of the Smith-Hughes Act, through the Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior; and

WHEREAS, There are similar abuses in similar trades and industrial arts schools in other parts of the country; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that this matter be called to the attention of the President of the United

States, to the attention of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, with the request that an investigation be made and the necessary steps be taken to remedy this serious situation, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be hereby instructed to exert every effort to secure corrective action through the aforementioned governmental agencies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior and to the Honorable Secretary of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

OPPOSING DISPLACEMENT OF WORKERS WITH CIVIL SERVICE STATUS BY EMERGENCY WORKERS

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., is definitely opposed to any change in the status or abrogation of civil service rights of civilian employees, classified or unclassified, and known as permanent employees; and

WHEREAS, Maintenance and repair work is and has been performed by emergency employes on United States Government property, endangering the continued employment of permanent employes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue its efforts to prevent displacement of permanent employes by emergency workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROTESTING DISPLACEMENT OF NAVY YARD WORKERS BY WPA WORKERS

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Men employed in navy yards for a considerable number of years are being laid off for lack of funds; and

WHEREAS, Their places are being filled with men from the WPA at considerably lower wages; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to apply their energetic efforts to the end that this unsatisfactory condition be eliminated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING ESTABLISHMENT OF ADJUSTMENT BOARDS IN NAVY AND WAR DEPARTMENTS TO DEAL WITH LABOR GRIEVANCES

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, A multitude of grievances affecting all trades have existed or developed in the Navy Yard service during the last several years involving such matters as efficiency markings, interpretation of Civil Service Rules and Regulations, trade jurisdiction, encroachment of the enlisted personnel on work which should properly be assigned to the civilian personnel; the encroachment of naval officers upon duties which should be retained by civilian supervisors, alleged discrimination against employees for union activity, rights of employees to be represented by union committees or representatives, and numerous other matters which have resulted in dissatisfaction and inefficiency; and

WHEREAS, While progress has been made in the Navy Department in the adjudication of these complaints, there still exists no adequate machinery within the Navy Department for the satisfactory adjudication of these questions, and to that extent, the Navy Yard employees are denied the right of appeal through their chosen representatives; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor endeavor to have established in the Navy Department a Board of Adjustment, similar to the Navy Department Wage Board of Review, which is composed of two representatives of the Department appointed by the Secretary of the Navy, and one representative of Labor nominated by the President of the A. F. of L., and appointed by the Secretary of the Navy, whose duty it shall be to hold hearings upon Navy Yard grievances, and reach decisions in relation thereto; and that the representatives of Organized Labor shall be entitled to appear before such Board to discuss pending grievances in the same manner as such representatives were, and are, entitled to appear before the Department Wage Board of Review in relation to the wage question; and be it further

RESOLVED, That an endeavor be made to have a similar Board established under the War Department for the adjudication of grievances arising at the arsenals and the several activities coming under the Chief of Engineers of the War Department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

METAL TRADES ORGANIZATIONS VS. OIL FIELD WORKERS

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers were denied a charter by the American Federation of Labor at about the year 1919 because of their intended jurisdiction, which was an infringement upon the jurisdiction of the various international trade unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, After jurisdictional agreement had been entered into by various international trade unions and after an agreement had been entered into with the American Federation of Labor and the late President Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at that time a charter was issued to the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers; and

WHEREAS, These agreements are definite in their intent and purpose and were intended specifically to provide for and to eliminate any possible encroachment by the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers upon the jurisdiction of the several international trade unions employed in the Petroleum Industry; and

WHEREAS, Beginning about 1933, shortly after the National Recovery Act was made effective, the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers entered into an active campaign throughout the Petroleum Industry; and

WHEREAS, During this campaign it soon developed that their organizing campaign was being carried on without regard to the jurisdiction of any of the international trade unions, and the Refinery Workers continued their encroachment and their apparent desire to nullify the agreements and the rights extended to them under the charter issued by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In 1934 at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in San Francisco, a resolution was introduced by the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, having for its purpose the correcting of the encroachment and the total disregard by the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of the agreements and understandings had with the American Federation of Labor, the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America and the several other international trade unions involved; and

WHEREAS, As the result of the introduction of this resolution conferences were sought by the International Association of

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers which resulted in a proclamation and assurances in writing being given to the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, having for its purpose defining the principles and the policies of the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers; and

WHEREAS, This proclamation and statement of their intentions and purposes contained definite assurance that the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers were not only to desist in soliciting membership outside of their jurisdiction, but assurances were given that such members as had been secured would be turned over to the International craft unions, together with such money as had been collected; and

WHEREAS, In spite of these assurances and in spite of the fact that the resolution introduced in 1934 was withdrawn with all good intent and purpose, the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers have continued to violate all of the understandings and agreements, together with the jurisdiction, both of its organization and the International craft unions affected; and

WHEREAS, In spite of any and all action on the part of the International craft unions, the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers have continued to violate their jurisdiction, to actually offer opposition to the organization of craft unions; and

WHEREAS, They have actually entered into agreements with certain companies of the Petroleum Industry in which the International craft jurisdictions have been covered and are involved; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers be instructed to immediately turn over all members now members of their organization and who come within the jurisdiction of the several trade unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That unless this is accomplished within a thirty-day period that the charter of the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers be revoked as of the date of the expiration of the thirty-day period; and be it further

RESOLVED, That no charter be issued to the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers until such jurisdiction is adhered to and honored; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the jurisdiction of the several International craft unions, whose members are employed in the Petroleum Industry, be reaffirmed by this convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

OPPOSING FEDERAL AID TO VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS IN PRIVATE INDUSTRIAL PLANTS

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has long been interested in Vocational Education; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor advocated and assisted in having passed by the Congress of the United States a Trades and Industrial Act, better known as the Smith-Hughes Act, which aims are to assist the various States in the Union in a program of Vocational Training for the youth of the nation; and

WHEREAS, The intent of the Smith-Hughes Act has not always been carried out, and there have been abuses in the use of the funds given by the Federal Government to the States, since these tax funds have, in many instances, been given to schools located wholly within private industrial plants and operated in a manner which seriously affected wage earners, not only tending to overcrowd certain skilled trades, but in other ways to lower the prevailing wages in these skilled trades, thereby increasing unemployment as well as lowering standards of living; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that it deplores this misuse of taxpayers' money and call upon the President of the United States and the Honorable Secretary of the Interior to immediately cause to be investigated all vocational training or trades educational schools located within private industrial plants and to withdraw Federal funds where abuses exist and are not immediately remedied; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior and to the Honorable Secretary of Labor, with the request that appropriate action be taken.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROTESTING USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS FOR VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS IN PRIVATE INDUSTRIAL PLANTS

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate Paul I. Topping, Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has long been interested in Vocational Education, so as to properly and adequately train for Trades and Industry; and

WHEREAS, The Trade Union Movement has advocated and assisted in having passed by the Congress of the United States a Trades and Industrial Act, better known as the Smith-Hughes Act, which aims as to assist the various States in the Union in a program of Vocational Training and for the youth of the Nation; and

WHEREAS, The intent of the Smith-Hughes Act has not always been carried out, but there have been many uses of the funds given by the Federal Government to the States, since these tax funds have, in many instances, been given to schools located wholly within private industrial plants and operated in a manner which has seriously affected wage earners, not only tending to overcrowd certain skilled trades, thereby increasing unemployment as well as lowering standards of living; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., October 7-18, 1935, deplore this misuse of taxpayers' money and call upon the President of the United States and the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, to immediately cause to be investigated all Vocational Training or Trades Educational Schools located within private industrial plants and to withdraw Federal funds where abuses exist and are not immediately remedied; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our belief in thorough and adequate training for the youth of the land, both technical and practical, but we refuse to assist in training persons for jobs that do not now exist and in all probability never will exist in order to decrease the pay roll of some private industrial plant; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior and to the Honorable Secretary of Labor, with the request that appropriate action be taken.

Referred to Committee on Education.

APPRENTICE TRAINING — NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING DRY DOCK COMPANY, NEWPORT NEWS, VA.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Paul I. Topping, Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, There exists in the plant of the Newport News Shipbuilding Dry Dock Company, Newport News, Va., a school for Apprentice Training which is operated for the benefit of this Shipbuilding Company, with not much thought given to benefiting apprentices; and

WHEREAS, Instructors in this Apprentice Training School are also instructors in a Trade School, also within this Shipbuilding Plant, wherein beginners, learners and helpers are given a short course in electric welding and in other crafts, which has resulted in the lowering of wages in these particular trades; and

WHEREAS, Apprentices, beginners, learners and helpers are trained in these schools and put to work in this Shipbuilding Plant at wage rates much lower than those prevalent for that particular operation in other Shipyards and Navy Yards, while skilled workers in these crafts remain unemployed and are refused an opportunity to work in order that the company may save on its pay roll; and

WHEREAS, It is neither just nor reasonable that public funds should be used to maintain training schools for the exclusive benefit of a particular employer, but should be expended in the interest of all citizens and taxpayers; and

WHEREAS, A portion of the funds expended to maintain this Apprentice School are Federal funds, given according to the terms of the Smith-Hughes Act, through the Bureau of Education in the Department of Interior; and

WHEREAS, There are similar abuses in similar trades and industrial arts schools in other parts of the country; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., October 7-18, 1935, call to the attention this matter to the President of the United States, to the attention of the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, with the request that an investigation be made and the necessary steps be taken to remedy this very serious situation, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be hereby instructed to exert every effort to secure corrective action through the aforementioned governmental agencies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior and to the Honorable Secretary of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Education.

PROPOSING THIRTY HOUR WEEK IN OFFICE EQUIPMENT INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Howard Sticht, Federal Labor Union 19401, Tonawanda, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There are at least ten thousand unemployed workers in the office equipment manufacturing industry; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary for the industry to absorb these workers in order to bring about the return of better economic conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a thirty hour week be established in the office equipment manufacturing industry with the present weekly earnings of the forty hour week being applied to the thirty hour week with no reductions.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY TO CLASSIFY GROUP IV (b) EMPLOYEES OF THE NAVAL FIELD SERVICE TO THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects' and Draftsmen's Unions, and E. Claude Babcock, and John F. Daniels, of the American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, Section 2 of the Brookhart Act enacted by the 71st Congress, expressly provided that the Group IV (b) employees of the Naval Field Establishment be placed under the salary rates of the Classification Act of 1923 as amended; and

WHEREAS, After a protracted delay of several years, the special board of the Navy Department has finally completed the final allocation for this group; and

WHEREAS, In doing so, those entrusted with this work have disregarded the principle of equal pay for equal work when compared with the rates of pay allowed for similar work at the Navy Department; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Personnel Classification Board of the Civil Service Commission be directed to review this final allocation, taking into account the provisions of the Classification Act and the precedents established for corresponding positions in the Navy Department offices; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Chairmen of the Civil Service Committees of both Houses of Congress be advised of what has transpired in this instance for the purpose of investigating the various abuses that have developed since the Classification Act of 1923 was enacted; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, through its Legislative Committee and all other A. F. of L. agencies in Washington, aid and assist in the consummation of the foregoing resolves.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH COMPANY

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate B. M. Egan, Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, A strike has been in progress among the Dress Workers of Dallas, Texas, and for many months various forces opposed to trade unionism have sought to bring all pressure possible to defeat this strike and break the forces of organized labor which are seeking to spread the doctrine of trade unionism into new fields and industries where a need for organization is evident; and

WHEREAS, In the course of the oppression practiced by the enemies of organized labor, these foes of unionism solicited and obtained the aid of the officials of the Postal Telegraph Company, in Dallas, Texas. That during the trial of Meyer Perlstein, Representative of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, for contempt of Court because of a Court injunction issued against the strikers, M. B. Hargraves, Superintendent of the Postal Telegraph Company's Dallas office, was subpoenaed to bring telegrams into court, and to appear against said Union official. That prior to presenting these telegrams in Court (which was lawful presentation in Court), the said M. B. Hargraves, secretly and in violation of the law, gave these telegrams to William Burrow, an attorney who was seeking to have Meyer Perlstein jailed for contempt of Court. That the law of our land, as set forth in a standard law book, is as follows:

"Duty not to Disclose. It is a part of the undertaking of the telegraph company with respect to the transmission and subsequent handling of a message, that the contents of the message shall not be disclosed to any person whomsoever without the consent, express or implied, of either the sender or the addressee; and for a violation of this duty, willful or negligent, the company will be liable."

That the said Superintendent of the Postal Telegraph Company's Dallas office gave these telegrams to William Burrow without any order from any Court, in direct violation of the law, and that he did so without notifying the Union attorneys, and he gave the anti-union forces a chance of examining about two hundred and fifty (250) telegrams in advance of the trial, to have them inspected by typewriting and handwriting experts, to pry into the Union's business without legal cause, and did align himself against the forces of organized labor by helping, aiding and assisting in the persecution and jailing of a Union official; and

WHEREAS, The Dallas Central Labor Council deplores the unfair conduct on the part of the official of the Postal Telegraph Company, and has, at its regular meeting duly assembled, passed this resolution condemning the Postal Telegraph Company

for its improper action, and asks the American Federation of Labor also to condemn the vicious practice which was followed by the Postal Telegraph Company in doing an act which materially hurt the defense of a Union official in a contempt of court trial growing out of a labor dispute, and asks that the American Federation of Labor investigate this unfair act on the part of the Postal Telegraph Company to determine if it has aligned itself permanently with the forces which are seeking to destroy trade unionism.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

OPPOSING PRIVATE OLD AGE PENSION PLANS

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin, Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, There is now pending, before the Congress of the United States of America a Social Security Program which will be of benefit to the laboring class of the country and the country as a whole; and

WHEREAS, Certain corporations are now attempting to coerce their employees to accept private old age pension plans that will be of little benefit to the laboring class, especially in the mining industry, due to the short life span of men employed in and around mines, mills and smelters; and

WHEREAS, The burden of maintaining such pension plans are placed entirely upon the employees of said corporations; and

WHEREAS, The corporations' major reason for the adoption of old age pension plan is to forestall legislation by the Federal Government on the Social Security Program; and

WHEREAS, the adoption of private old age pension plans will lead to elimination of the older men in the industry by physical examination and placing them in the care of the already overburdened taxpayers; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in convention assembled go on record as being opposed to the private old age pension plan as being proposed by the employers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being opposed to the adoption of the Clark Amendment now pending in the United States Congress; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be immediately urged to veto

any or all legislation that provides for a private social security plan.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

THIRTY-HOUR WEEK BILL

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin, Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, In spite of the many governmental laws and regulations introduced during the present administration, unemployment and long hours of labor are still rampant throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, The increase in prices and displacement of workers by improved machinery has increased the unemployed and the burden of taxation upon the workers; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is obliged to attempt to consume over-production and increase the buying power of the workers of the land by appropriating immense sums of money and putting the unemployed temporarily to work at the expense of the taxpayers and an ever increasing national deficit; and

WHEREAS, The provisions of the Black Bill hardly would be adequate to put the unemployed to work, but would aid considerably by increasing buying power and decreasing the surplus in all branches of industry; and

WHEREAS, The Black Bill would put a definite curb upon the policies practiced by many employers, the products of whom are used by the United States Government, towards labor; and

WHEREAS, The Black Bill would be a definite step towards redistribution of wealth; and

WHEREAS, The decrease in working hours and also unemployment would naturally aid in balancing our national budget which has increased tremendously the last few years; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in convention assembled go on record as asking that the Congress of the United States pass the Black Bill as the only bill before Congress which will help the shameful and deplorable unemployment situation and the other untold miseries that go with it; and be it further

RESOLVED, That under no circumstances shall the bill permit any reduction in the weekly or monthly wages in effect prior to the enactment of this bill; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to districts of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the American Federation of Labor, the Senators and Representatives of these respective districts and states, as well as to the President of the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF UNITED BREWERY WORKERS

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin, Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, The International Union of Brewery Workers have been deprived of the jurisdiction over the teamsters and chauffeurs in the delivery of their product by a ruling of the convention of the American Federation of Labor and said jurisdiction granted to the International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In many parts of the country the members of the International Union of Brewery Workers have refused to work with members of the Teamsters' Union who were taking their rightful jobs, said Brewery Workers being on strike; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs are furnishing strike-breakers in all departments of the breweries and furnishing them with a card sponsored by the International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in convention assembled this 5th day of August, 1935, at Salt Lake City, Utah, do reaffirm our allegiance to the righteous cause of the International Union of Brewery Workers in their fight for jurisdiction over all employees in and around and about a brewery, including the delivery of their products; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to vote for and sustain the International Union of Brewery Workers in their just cause of industrial unionism.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS PROTEST JURISDICTION ENCROACHMENT BY FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin and Paul M. Peter-

son, International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, A Federal Labor Union under the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor is supposed to be a clearing house for other unions, and the understanding we have is that any group that is organized in a Federal Labor Union is supposed to be turned over to their respective unions when called upon by a representative of that union, which is not being done; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention this fall to demand from the American Federation of Labor that they turn over to this International Union men who come under our jurisdiction now organized under Federal Charters of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the American Federation of Labor at once; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be instructed to inform the various Internationals when they organize a Federal Labor Union of any craft coming under the jurisdiction of these Internationals, stating the place, name and address of the officers of the labor union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GENERAL STRIKE

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin and Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, In the past it has been the policy of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to prevent rather than to encourage general strikes of industries organized within the Federation; and

WHEREAS, This lack of a united front has caused organized labor to lose considerable ground as well as to discourage organization on a larger level; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in the future the American Federation of Labor instead of discouraging these general industrial strikes use every means in carrying them to a successful conclusion, including a call to all of organized labor, if necessary.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin and Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, Industrial production is ever being concentrated into ever larger units with centralized financial control; and

WHEREAS, This industrial trend tends to weaken craft lines and make the individual worker a mere cog in the large machinery; and

WHEREAS, The craft form of organization divides the labor ranks, creating petty jealousies and craft consciousness, as well as diverting the worker from the larger issue of class struggle; and

WHEREAS, Strikes are often lost and numerous animosities incurred because one craft remains at work performing vital services while the other strikes; and

WHEREAS, Industrial workers organized on craft lines find it hard to present a united front to the attacks of the capitalist class; and

WHEREAS, The surest weapon of the working class is their unified economic strength as manifested by industrial unionism; and

WHEREAS, Industrial unionism is the only manner of organization to bring the whole labor movement to a perfect and effective whole; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it shall be the policy of the American Federation of Labor in the immediate future to supersede the present form of organization by crafts—that is, to organize all workers engaged and affecting one particular industry, regardless of craft affiliation, into one body, that the full strength of labor may be thrown in the rapidly consolidating capitalist institutions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin and Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, The labor movement is confronted with the necessity of much closer cooperation and a much more compact and unified form of organization than at present prevailing within the American Federation of Labor, if it would successfully combat the head-on relentless drive against wages, hours and working conditions now being waged by organized capital throughout the U. S. A.; and

WHEREAS, It is glaringly apparent that only by the obliteration of craft distinctions and the immediate reorganization of all

workers into Industrial Unions, under rank and file control, can Labor hope to resist this onslaught of predatory capitalism; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has professed to indorse and institute an innocuous form of Industrial Unionism, but has not even fulfilled its promises in this respect; and

WHEREAS, In some industries, notably the Brewing and Metal Mining, both of which are mass production industries, it would seem that the officials of the American Federation of Labor, so far from giving aid or encouragement to the principle of Industrial Unionism, are actually aiming at the complete dismemberment of the Brewery Workers' Union and the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, in the year 1911, was granted by the American Federation of Labor jurisdiction over all workers employed in and around mines, mills and smelters in the metal mining industry; and

WHEREAS, The officials of the American Federation of Labor have viciously and traitorously refused to permit the formation of an Industrial Union and have consistently plotted to keep the workers divided and consequently helpless in their fight against miserable working conditions and peon wages; and

WHEREAS, These same officials have continually and cunningly striven to thwart any and all attempts of the rank and file in the Montana district to form a mining council and consolidate the various crafts into one cohesive body for mutual assistance and protection against a greedy corporation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in convention assembled, does hereby demand the immediate merging of all distinctive crafts in the metal mining industry into one mass organization—the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor immediately reorganize on an industrial basis by merging the various craft unions in each industry, the Industrial Unions so formed to be based on a program which rejects cooperation with employers and the false and dangerous theories of identity of interests of capital and labor, the theory that is mainly responsible for existing corruption in the organized labor movement and pursue a policy of militant class struggle.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INTERCHANGEABLE TRANSFER
CARDS

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin and Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, Due provision is not made for the transfer of members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers on the terms of the International Constitution to other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The effort of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in contacting other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and trying to get them to accept our membership cards as interchangeable on the same basis would add very much in improving our organization; and

WHEREAS, Carquinez Local No. 51 finds that the uncertainty of being employed in this Smelter at Selby is a large factor in a workman hesitating to join our union; and

WHEREAS, The plan of contacting all vertical and Federal Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in regards to getting interchangeable card privileges would benefit Labor immeasurably, especially in the vicinities of large cities and in plants where there is a large labor turnover; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in convention assembled August 7, 1935, go on record as contacting all Federal and vertical unions in an endeavor to provide for the privileges of interchangeable transfer cards and thus do away with the answer our present efforts bring when we are told, "see our International Officers."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FASCISM

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin, Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, The International situation is such that nations are, if not directly involved in open warfare, arming and preparing for war as never witnessed since the last world war; Italy is now preparing for an attack on Ethiopia, the last remaining independent Negro nation; and Japan is advancing daily into China with intentions of making greater the burden of the Chinese masses; and

WHEREAS, The entire capitalist world is approaching another world slaughter which will kill off millions of the world's best workers who will be called upon to fight this war; and

WHEREAS, War is always in the interest of the rich, as during the last war when 25,000 millionaires were made in the United States at the expense of millions killed and wounded, many who were members of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Fascism is the open dictatorship of finance, Capital is the forerunner of war as seen today in Italian and German Fascism and their attacks on the Trade Unions, Workers Organizations, Jews and Churches with the intention of throttling any gatherings of organizations of workers or masses in general; and

WHEREAS, President Green of the American Federation of Labor has recommended a boycott of all German Fascist made goods; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this organization heartily endorse the recommendation of President Green; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this thirty-second annual Convention of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers go on record as being unalterably opposed to War and Fascism; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this organization will actively support and cooperate with all workers or any other organization or individual in a genuine movement against war and Fascism, and will endeavor to impress on all locals and individual members the necessity of a united front movement against war and Fascism; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event that this Nation becomes involved in any imperialistic war, we call upon President William Green to immediately call a general strike of all workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. OF L. ORGANIZERS TO ASSIST
INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF
TECHNICAL ENGINEERS' ARCHITECTS' AND DRAFTSMEN'S
UNIONS

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects' and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, It is agreed that organized effort is essential not only to prevent reduction of wages and living standards, but of even greater importance in seeking to

regain the salary losses as a result of wage slashing during the depression; and

WHEREAS, The technical employees of the engineering and architectural offices have been most shamefully abused in the way of salary reductions and adverse employment conditions; and

WHEREAS, In our present day complex social order it is impossible to place any individual groups of employees at a disadvantage without at the same time injuring the cause of other groups; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render every possible assistance in organizing this group of employees by calling on all voluntary organizers to carry on an aggressive and sustained organizing campaign and to assign competent and experienced organizers intimately acquainted with the problems confronting this particular group.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

URGING THE PREPARATION OF ALL DRAWING AND DESIGN CONSTRUCTION TO BE PREPARED BY THE GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL OF THE NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund, of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The 1930 convention of the American Federation of Labor and succeeding conventions have gone on record favoring the manufacture of war munitions and naval construction in the arsenals and naval establishments of the Government so as to overcome the baneful influence of private concerns who otherwise would profit by the disturbance of world peace; and

WHEREAS, Testimony before the Senate Munitions Investigation Committee has revealed actual evidence that some of these munitions manufacturers and private shipbuilders, through newspaper publicity and other methods, have sought to fan the flames of racial and national prejudice to secure large Congressional appropriations for their own personal profit; and

WHEREAS, It was further revealed at these same hearings that responsible naval officials were quoted as placing their complete dependence on the private constructors and designers for their contract and detail drawings; and

WHEREAS, The safety and welfare of the Nation is a Governmental function of such serious import that it is suicidal to continue placing reliance in such uncertain and unreliable sources for these vital plans and designs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge upon the President, the Secretary of the Navy and the appropriate Congressional committees, the necessary Executive and Legislative action having for its purpose the inauguration of the policy of having all designs and plans for naval construction performed directly by employees of the Federal Government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL RUBBER WORKERS' UNION

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate M. E. Shacklette, United Rubber Workers, No. 18616, Barberton, Ohio.

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor formulate an Industrial Rubber Workers' Union, whereby the organization shall have full jurisdiction over all employees in and around the respective factories without segregation of the employees in the Industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COLUMBIAN ENAMELING AND STAMPING COMPANY, TERRE HAUTE, IND.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Lee Roy Musgrave, Vigo County, Indiana, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Employees of the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company, located in Terre Haute, Ind., have been on strike for the past seven months trying to force the company to recognize their union; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, through its representatives, exhausted all honorable means to bring about a settlement of the controversy by enlisting the support of the Bankers, Newspaper Editors, Representatives of the Churches, Department of Labor, Mayor and Governor without any success; and

WHEREAS, This company is now attempting to operate with non-union labor under the protection of a large number of special policemen and National Guards, operating under a Proclamation of Martial Law by the Governor which sets aside the Provisions of the Constitution, the right of free speech and free assemblage; and

WHEREAS, This Military Dictatorship acting under authority of the Governor of Indiana and with his knowledge have and are acting as protectors of strike-breakers by arresting large numbers of our members without cause or reason, with no charges of any kind preferred against them, holding them in jail without bond or counsel and suggesting to them that they may be released from jail if they will agree to

return to work at the Stamping Mill regardless of the Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Governor of Indiana, Paul V. McNutt, be censored for his un-American, unconstitutional usurpation of power in the Proclamation issued declaring Martial Law which in effect has put National Guards in the role of strike-breaking agencies; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Products of the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company now operating with strike-breakers under the protection of a strike-breaking militia be declared unfair to organized labor in the United States and Canada; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to every directly affiliated Local to the American Federation of Labor asking their cooperation.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

RETAIL CLERKS

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates W. G. Desepte and C. C. Coulter, Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Since the termination of the Code for the Retail Trade as a result of the adverse decision of the United States Supreme Court on the National Recovery Act, there has developed a widespread movement in the retailing industry to increase the working hours of store employees; and

WHEREAS, The hours for unorganized retail clerks have been increased as high as twenty-five per cent without a corresponding increase in wages; and

WHEREAS, This represents a direct cut in wages in proportion to the number of additional hours imposed; and

WHEREAS, This movement also tends to increase unemployment by reducing the number of employes required under the shorter schedule of working hours; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled earnestly protest against any movement tending to establish the longer work week or a reduction in wages; and, be it

RESOLVED, That the attention of the organizers and central bodies be directed to the importance of concentrating their efforts to organize all retail store employes so that their working conditions may be fairly determined and suitably regulated by collective bargaining methods; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all members of organized labor are hereby urged to support such a campaign by pledging themselves to patronize union stores displaying the Retail

Clerks' Union Store Card, and by consistently demanding the services of Union Clerks who are wearing the monthly working button.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

ORGANIZATION DRIVE IN ENAMELWARE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Tom Finnegan, Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The Enamelware Industry of this country is rapidly increasing and along with numerous Fabricated Metal Plants is employing a large number of men and women; and

WHEREAS, The workers in said industry are very poorly organized and receive, as a rule, very small wages; and

WHEREAS, We, the members of Federal Labor Union No. 18651, A. F. of L., are convinced that Federal Unions in said industry can be considerably strengthened and many new Unions formed in the unorganized plants, thereby greatly improving conditions for the workers and stabilizing the Industry as a whole; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of Federal Labor Union, No. 18651, A. F. of L., respectfully request the delegates to the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor to endorse an organization drive in said Enamelware Industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That President Green be instructed to consult with delegates from Locals representing Enamelware workers, with a view of selecting a competent organizer to supervise the organization of said industry.

Referred to Committee on Local and State Federated Bodies.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Isidore Nagler, Julius Hochman, Basilio Desti, Abraham Snyder, Nathan Margolies and Reuben Zuckerman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, We have learned from experience accumulated in past years and from recent political and economic developments that it is futile for the workers to depend for fundamental or permanent relief, for the protection of their economic rights, and for the advancement of their social aspirations upon the existing old-line political parties; and

WHEREAS, While either of these old political parties may occasionally sponsor legisla-

tion friendly to labor they are likely to turn their backs on the workers any time the reactionary elements which are part and parcel of them gain the upper hand; and

WHEREAS, We believe that an independent labor political organization, directed and controlled by the organized labor movement, and based on a program comprehensive enough to include all bona fide labor bodies and all groupings in sympathy with true labor aims and objectives, would prove of great advantage to the wage earners of America; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in 55th Convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., instruct the Executive Council to study the subject of independent labor political action with the view of taking the initiative in the formation of such a labor party.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO U. S. CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Isidore Nagler, Julius Hochman, Basilio Desti, Abraham Snyder, Nathan Margolles and Reuben Zuckerman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, Development of industry in the United States today transcends state barriers and creates problems affecting the vital interests of the American wage earners which could be effectively dealt with only through national legislation; and

WHEREAS, Every important attempt made heretofore by Congress to enact economic welfare and social security legislation, such as the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Child Labor Act, the Railway Employees' Pension Act, and many others, have been declared void by the Supreme Court either as being outside the scope of the Federal Constitution or as conflicting with the rights of the individual States; and

WHEREAS, These adverse judicial decisions are stifling the legitimate progress and aspirations of the American workers and are being utilized by the enemies of the trade union movement as a weapon of reaction in the struggle of the wage earning masses for the improvement of their economic and social status; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in 55th Convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., endorse the following amendment to the Federal Constitution and instruct the Executive Council to work energetically for its submission by Congress for ratification by the various States.

Amendment to the United States Constitution:

Article XXI

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws throughout the

United States to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age; to limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage earners and employees; to provide for the relief of aged, invalided, sick and unemployed wage earners and employees, in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation, or indemnities from the public treasury, from contributions of employers, wage earners and employees, or from one or more such sources, and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers of the United States.

Section 2. The power of the several states to enact social welfare legislation is unimpaired by this Article, but no such legislation shall abridge or conflict with any Act of Congress under this Article.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. OF L. AFFILIATION WITH INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Isidore Nagler, Julius Hochman, Basilio Desti, Abraham Snyder, Nathan Margolles and Reuben Zuckerman, of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions from 1910 to 1921; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council to this Convention, in dealing with this topic, substantiates the fact that the International Federation of Trade Unions has become the "spearhead of the free trade union movement in Europe," recounting its activities especially in disarmament action and the agitation against war, in the fight against reaction and Fascism, in workers' educational work and in trade union work among women; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has already displayed its sincere interest in worldwide economic and industrial conditions of the workers by affiliating with the International Labor Organization in Geneva and by taking an active part in its deliberations and purposes; and

WHEREAS, The international trade union movement, weakened by the practical destruction of the trade unions in Germany, Italy, Austria and other lands, would become immensely strengthened and encouraged in its fight against Fascism, Nazism and other influences which serve to demoralize the free trade union movement; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in 55th Convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., instruct the Execu-

tive Council to take steps for affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions on terms consonant with the general and special objectives of American organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING A. F. OF L. DEPARTMENT OF FOOD INDUSTRY EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveski and Chris Lane, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The food industry employees are largely unorganized, not because of a lack of effort on the part of the organizations holding that group within their jurisdiction, but due to a lack of coordination and their division into trade groups without a Department within the American Federation of Labor to guide their activity and unite their purpose; and

WHEREAS, The unorganized thousands of workers engaged in the production and distribution of food are a menace to the progress and advancement of the organized groups; and

WHEREAS, Due to lack of understanding and cooperation between organizations holding food workers within their jurisdiction; be it

RESOLVED, That within ninety days following the adjournment of this convention, the President of the American Federation of Labor stands instructed to call together at his office in Washington, D. C., the representatives of all International and National Unions, Local Trade and Federal Unions, that in any way have to do with the production and distribution of food, for the purpose of establishing a Food Department within the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FEDERAL AND STATE LEGISLATION TO REDUCE WORKING HOURS

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveski and Chris Lane, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, It is a reasonably established fact that continuous employment of the workers cannot be maintained under our present form of production and distribution; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the enactment of Federal and State legislation reducing working hours without reducing wages; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do everything possible to bring about the adoption of such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveski and Chris Lane, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Thousands of workers are unemployed and have no means of support and in many instances are forced to borrow money from loan sharks in order to buy information as to where a job may be procured through private employment agencies; and

WHEREAS, Private employment agencies are now functioning in competition with city, State and Federal free employment agencies, victimizing the poorest of the poor, especially in the catering industry, thereby hindering the progress of recovery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to sponsor legislation for the abolishment of private employment agencies.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN AMONG HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveski and Chris Lane, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to urge all International and National Locals, Trade and Federal Unions and City Central bodies to cooperate with the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America in the organization of all hotel, restaurant, tavern, dining car and drug store workers coming under the jurisdiction of said International Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to lend what assistance they can toward the organization of the employees named in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski and Chris Lane, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to elect its friends and defeat its enemies in the two major political parties in America; and

WHEREAS, As a result of this policy the workers comprising our American Federation of Labor are compelled to listen to the promises propounded by the politicians of both major political parties; and

WHEREAS, Past experiences of the American Federation of Labor have not proved sufficiently effective and as having often helped to elect to office men not in sympathy with the principles of trade unionism, thereby setting back the clock of progress and bringing about confusion and chaos within the ranks of organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention, here assembled, approve the formation of a Labor Party in America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GERMAN FASCISM

Resolution No. 91—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski and Chris Lane, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, During the brief period since Hitler's advent to power, he has already wiped out the free trade unions, imprisoned, tortured and murdered trade union leaders and thousands of the working population and completely destroyed all vestiges of democratic rights; and

WHEREAS, The ruthless campaign of extermination of the trade unions has been extended against the Jewish population, the Catholics, Protestants, and others who dare to challenge this Fascist regime of brutality and suppression unparalleled in history; and

WHEREAS, It is a matter of the most vital concern to the workers throughout the world to aid in putting a stop to the bar-

barism and terror in Fascist Germany; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record to condemn the Fascist murder campaign and communicate this action to the German Embassy and to call upon the Government of the United States to officially protest this reign of terror; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call on all locals to intensify the boycott of German goods, to oppose the holding of Olympic games in Germany in 1936 and to send protests to the German Embassy and that we pledge to do all in our power to assist our trade union brothers and all other victims of German Fascism in their struggle to overthrow the Fascist regime; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the delegates to demand the immediate and unconditional release from Hitler's prisons and concentration camps of all imprisoned trade unionists and all other anti-Fascists.

This Resolution was unanimously adopted at our Regular Meeting, September 13th, 1935.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REQUEST FOR ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN AMONG ALUMINUM AND TIN FOIL WORKERS

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate J. T. Myles, United Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers, No. 19388, Louisville, Kentucky.

WHEREAS, The Reynolds Metals Company, of Louisville, Kentucky, manufacturers of tin foil, with headquarters in New York City, New York, and with plants in a number of cities; and

WHEREAS, The plant at Louisville, Kentucky, is the only one organized and the relations existing with the firm and Local No. 19388 are threatened by the competition of the unorganized plants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to give all possible assistance through the American Federation of Labor organizers to organize the workers in the other plants of the Reynolds Metals Company.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

NATIONAL CHARTER FOR RADIO WORKERS

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate C. H. Schillinger, Radio and Television Workers, Federal Labor Union, Local No. 18368, Philadelphia, Pa.

WHEREAS, Article IX, of Section 2, of the American Federation of Labor Constitution, reads:

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions and connect them with the American Federation of Labor, until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the American Federation of Labor to see that such organization is formed"; and

WHEREAS, The previous action delegated to the Executive Council at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention at San Francisco, to meet a new condition in the organization, formation and issuing of International charters to Federal Labor Unions in any given mass production industry, has not been done in the Radio Industry; and

WHEREAS, The National Radio and Allied Trades, composed of Federal Labor Unions in the Radio Industry who have been members in good standing for nearly three years and who were organized into a National Council under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor in 1934, have repeatedly since January 24, 1934, applied to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a National charter which has not been issued to the National Radio and Allied Trades; and

WHEREAS, During this period many non-affiliated unions have been formed and in many cases have retarded the progress of organizing the wage earners in this industry into affiliated American Federation of Labor unions; and

WHEREAS, The workers' weekly earnings vary sharply in the entire industry and with a national organization, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, it is possible that uniform rates of pay, better working conditions and reductions in hours of labor can be established; and

WHEREAS, Many strongly organized unions are being retarded in their efforts to secure further gains because of the lower wage levels and greater number of hours worked by other organized groups in this highly competitive industry; and

WHEREAS, No concerted organization plan is being carried on in this industry and it is evident that organizing activities can only produce maximum results when there is proper co-ordination among the unions of the industry and closer unity is essential to the end that the workers in the Radio Industry and allied groups may proceed to the task of forming a complete organization of their industry; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this assembled Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the President of the

American Federation of Labor to call a convention of delegates from all Federal Labor Unions in the Radio Industry and install a National Union charter in accordance with Article IX, Section 2, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN IN SOUTHERN STATES

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate J. R. Tucker, Cement Plant Workers' Union, 19714, Tarrant, Ala.

WHEREAS, The masses of Southern Workers have demonstrated that they want to be organized into Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and if afforded the necessary experienced leadership will fight for better wages and improved conditions of employment; and

WHEREAS, President Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have established and financed an Organization Staff in the South and have given every possible aid to this staff in its efforts to conduct organization work throughout this wide area; and

WHEREAS, That the work this organization has been able to do has proven beneficial and has resulted in the establishment of many strong and active Unions; and

WHEREAS, The depressed economic and social conditions of the southern workers have in the past held back the entire Labor movement in this country; and

WHEREAS, There are still enormous opportunities for forming new and stronger Unions in almost every section of the South and opportunities daily present themselves to increase the influence and reputation of the American Federation of Labor in this section by participation in every form of Civic and Governmental activities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, members of Federal Locals Numbers 18387, 19714 and 19877 thank President Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for what has been done up to this time and we recommend and request that the field staff be increased as soon as possible so that more can be accomplished for the advancement of Organized Labor in the Southland.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees, moved that the convention adjourn to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning. The motion was seconded and carried.

At 4 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, October 8th.

SECOND DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.

October 8, 1935.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

ABSENTEES

Hamilton, Bambrick, Leonard, Beardsley, Leon Williams, Hannah, John C. Lawson, Olander, Reznick, Billet, Rosqvist, Morgan, Graham, Lawrence, Palmer, Osborne, Nord, Patterson, M. B. Egan, Crawford, Shave, Mayer, Owens, Bamford, Al Flynn, Reinhart, Nadelhoffer, Jeffries, Komaroff, Cushing, Humphrey Mitchell, Katz, Dewitt, Eardley, Slich, Regan, David, Hanoway, Swetland, Rivin, Nevil, Heinbach, Howat, Sager Dahlager, Edmundson, Hymes, Sandefur, Saltus, Bender, Long, Rundle, Merritt, Caraway, Dahl, Doane, Wise, Dance, Sigman, Dallas, Bradley, M. J. Burke, Henderson, Weinberg, Ratkin, Lovell, McCloskey.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Gillooly, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gillooly, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association—Michael J. McDonough, 45 votes.

Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union—James Bamford, 1 vote.

Photographic and Photo Finishing Employees' Union No. 19893, New York, N. Y.—Norman Ratkin, 1 vote.

Radio and Refrigerator Workers' Union No. 19214, Cincinnati, Ohio—Monta Pearl Barr, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19393, Hartford, Conn.—William E. Kuehnle, 1 vote.

Coshocton, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council—James R. McCormick, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, Va., Central Labor Union—M. L. McCarty, 1 vote.

Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 19374, Detroit, Mich.—Tom S. Johnson, 1 vote.

Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 18432, Cleveland, Ohio—John Soltis, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union—Harry A. Russell, 1 vote.

Balboa, C. Z., Canal Zone Central Labor Union—Lee R. Biel, 1 vote.

Delegate Gillooly moved that the report of the committee be adopted and the delegates named therein seated. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, Delegate Kugler.

Delegate Kugler, Brewery Workers: The Committee on Rules and Order of Business met and elected Delegate Alifas Secretary, and he is now prepared to submit the report for the Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Alifas, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greetings:

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in Atlantic City, N. J., October 7th, 1935, beg leave to make the following report for your approval, correction or change, and adoption:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30 p. m. Reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 6:30 p. m., on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday. This convention, however, will meet on Saturday of next week if the business of the convention is not completed.

Rule 2. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to raise a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12. Motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate form.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Order of Business

1. Reading of Minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Reports of Committees on Credentials.
3. Reports of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,
A. J. KUGLER, Chairman,
N. P. ALIFAS, Secretary,
JAMES HATCH,

DAISY A. HOUCK,
EDWARD RYAN,
J. J. MCKENNA,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
JOHN B. ROBINSON,
MATTHEW TAYLOR,
JOHN E. ROONEY,
M. F. BRENNAN,
MARX LEWIS,
J. R. DECKARD,
H. W. SULLIVAN,
GEORGE W. JONES,
ISADORE NAGLER,
STEVE NANCE,
FRANK KASTEN,
H. T. MORNINGSTAR,
EMIL RIEVE,
Committee on Rules and Order
of Business.

The report of the Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

San Francisco, California,
October 6, 1935.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Ambassador Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.

Kindly convey to the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor the earnest greetings and well wishes of the San Francisco Labor Council. We congratulate each component unit on its fine organizing record during the past year and we express our sincere hopes for concord and strength of determination on the part of the delegates to claim and carry into effect measures for the benefit and protection of all who toil and who look upon the organized labor movement as the chief agency to promote the ideals and aspirations of the American working people.

EDWARD D. VANDELEUR, President,
San Francisco Labor Council.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT SECRETARY OF LABOR PERKINS

President Green: The Chair desires to appoint a committee to meet the Secretary of Labor and escort her to the convention hall this afternoon, where she is scheduled to speak to the convention. The Chair will appoint upon that committee Brother A. O. Wharton, of the Machinists; Brother W. D. Mahon, of the Street and Electric Railway Employees, and Sister Selma Borchardt, of the American Federation of Teachers. I ask that this committee arrange to meet and escort the Secretary to the hall when it is convenient for her to address the convention.

(Miss Daisy Houck, Garment Workers, was named by President Green as a member of this committee, but was not in attendance at the convention.)

President Green: The Chair now desires to appoint the following named delegates as members of the convention committees. Secretary Morrison will read the list.

APPOINTMENTS

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committees:

Committee on Executive Council's Report—A. O. Wharton, Harvey Fremming, Matthew J. McLaughlin, Thomas Kennedy, William L. Hutcheson, F. H. Knight, J. J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, James C. Shanessy, John J. Stretch, Henry F. Schmal, Charles Sumner, Henry W. Strickland, Charles Rau, Louis Leonard, John McGillivray, James H. Kennedy, Edward Flore.

Committee on Resolutions—Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, John L. Lewis, Thomas L. Hughes, John Posschl, P. J. Morrin, Victor A. Olander, Charles P. Howard, Clarence E. Swick, M. J. Colleran, David Dubinsky, J. C. Lewis, John J. Mars, Fred Baer, Frank B. Powers.

Committee on Laws—Daniel J. Tobin, Dennis Lane, Thomas F. Broderick, Pietro Lucchi, Thomas F. McMahon, Charles Anderson, Louis Vogland, Thomas Flynn, Wm. P. Walsh, John Conway, Fred J. Dempsey, W. J. Gorman, Dan Haggerty, E. J. Volz, Vincent J. Kane, Paul M. Peterson, Wm. A. Collins.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, Sid Tiller, Paul Dulzell, Patrick H. Reagan, J. O. Jackson, George Meany, Oscar F. Nelson, Frank B. Field, Andrew J. Kennedy, A. C. D'Andrea, Chris Lane, Edward G. Hamilton, Henry Koch, John J. Scully, John B. Prewitt.

Committee on Labels—Joseph Obergfell, C. W. Weaver, William Reznicek, Jack Gill, Wm. J. Kelly, Peter Beisel, W. W. Campbell, Anthony Merlino, Robert Bruck, Michael J. Kelly, Israel H. Goldberg, Nathan Margolies, I. W. Haskins, W. G. Desepte, Joseph Schlossberg, Matthew Burns, James A. Taylor, Selma Borchardt.

Committee on Adjustment—T. A. Rickert, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, Philip Murray, W. D. Mahon, E. J. Fljoldal, George E. Browne, J. P. McLaughlin, M. F. Greene, D. W. Tracy, C. E. Leighty, John Barnett, W. F. Robinson, George W. Lawson.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—Joseph N. Weber, J. C. Holmgren, Jos. M. Marshall, Thomas C. Cashin, Joseph Hewitt, E. D. Blerets, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, C. C. Coulter, Alexander McKeon, R. E. Woodmansee, Andrew R.

Armstrong, Wm. C. Birthright, Alfred H. Billett, Abraham Chatman, William J. Moran, George Q. Lynch.

Committee on Education—George M. Harrison, E. E. Millman, L. P. Lindelof, Thomas E. Burke, Wm. R. Trotter, L. E. Swartz, John B. Haggerty, Walter V. Price, Leo E. George, Robert Watt, William Wilson, P. T. Fagan, Otto J. Kapl, R. G. Soderstrom, Neil McLellan, Charles Hanson, John J. Dempsey.

Committee on State Organizations—G. M. Bugnizet, Patrick Gorman, John Kmetz, Jerry Horan, Herbert Rivers, Wm. E. Walter, Chas. A. Sigmund, T. E. Cunningham, Frank X. Martel, J. Gladstone, Adolph J. Fritz, Reuben Zuckerman, Abraham Miller, Joseph A. Mullaney, John Clinton, Glen W. McCabe, Wm. F. Kelly, John B. Easton.

Committee on Industrial Relations—John Coefield, Charles D. Duffy, Joseph S. Fay, Charles J. Case, Harry Milton, H. W. Smith, L. G. Goudie, Joseph J. Kohoe, R. A. Henning, Joseph B. McDonagh, James J. Doyle, James Close, Abraham Snyder, Walter C. Brooks, H. D. Ulrich, Samuel E. Beardsley, W. W. Britton.

Committee on Shorter Workday—E. J. Gainer, Robert Macrorie, John Simons, Van A. Bittner, James P. Meehan, Lawrence O'Keefe, Francis J. Gorman, Robert B. Heske, Claude T. Carroll, Joseph McInerney, W. G. Fowlesland, John J. Sampson, George Scalise, Israel Feinberg, Adam E. Zusi, John L. Coulter, Joseph F. Kelley.

Committee on Legislation—I. M. Ornburn, Gilbert E. Hyatt, Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, C. L. Rosemund, William Collins, Sidney Hillman, James M. Duffy, Richard J. Gray, J. N. Davis, James T. Moriarty, John Donlin, E. C. Babcock, Thomas V. Green, Raymond F. Lowry, James H. Windsor, M. T. Finnan.

Committee on International Labor Relations—Thomas E. Burke, Matthew Woll, Andrew Furuseth, Martin Lawlor, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Wm. J. Bowen, John Coefield, Edward J. Gainer, Albert Adamski, Michael Greene, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Millman, J. A. Franklin, John P. Frey, Christian M. Madson, Michael J. Colleran, Edward Flore, Henry F. Schmal, Lennis Lane, William Green.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move that the name of William Green be added to the Committee on Industrial Labor Relations.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

REFERENCE OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

The following list of subjects in the report of the Executive Council, assigned by

President Green to the appropriate committees, was read by Secretary Morrison:

October 7, 1935.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
Assigned to Committee on Executive
Council's Report**

Building Trades Department.
Trade Union Benefits.
Death of Treasurer Martin Francis Ryan.
Flint Glass Workers — Glass Bottle
Blowers.
Foundry Employees—Molders.
Masters, Mates and Pilots—Seamen.
Change of Title—Laundry Workers.
Change of Title—Hotel and Restaurant
Employees.
Observance of Contracts.
Out-of-Work Stamps for Unemployed.
Anti-Injunctions Laws.
Workmen's Compensation.
Conclusion.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
Assigned to Committee on Resolutions
Introduction.**

The National Recovery Administration:
Organization of Industry.
United Action of Labor and Manage-
ment.
Unfair Competitive Practice.
Fullest Possible Utilization of Present
Productive Capacity.
Summary of Achievements.
Insufficient Formulation of Policy.
Insufficient Labor Participation.
Insufficient Statistics.
Insufficient Powers of Enforcement.

The National Labor Relations Board:
Right of Appeal.
Principles Established.
Elections.
Special Boards Established Under Reso-
lution No. 44.
Limitations.

The National Labor Relations Act.
Apprenticeship Training.
Reported Shortage of Skilled Workers.
Re-employment.
United States Employment Service.
Relief.
Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of
1935.

Labor Policy of the WPA.
National Youth Administration.
Social Security:

The Social Security Board.
Title I—Old-Age Assistance.
Title II—Federal Old-Age Benefits.
Death Benefits.
Payment to Aged Persons Not Qualified
for Benefits.

Taxes.
Titles III and IX — Unemployment
Insurance.
Title IV—Grants to States for Aid to
Dependent Children.
Title V—Grants to States for Maternal
and Child Welfare.
Title VI—Public Health Work.
Title X—Grants to States for Aid to
the Blind.

Need For Medical Care and Its Cost.

Legislation:

National Labor Relations Act.
National Security Act.
Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of
1935.
Railroad Retirement Act.
Immigration.
Economy Act.
Filipinos Exodous.

State Compacts.

Non-Partisan Political Policy.
Communist Opposition to the American
Labor Movement.
German Boycott.
Protests of Officers of Mine, Mill and
Smelter Workers.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
Assigned to Committee on Organization**

Progress of Organization in Mass Produc-
tion Industries.
Organization Campaign.
Loggers, Lumbermen, Sawmill Workers.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
Assigned To Committee on Education**

Child Labor Amendment.
Education.
Federal Emergency Workers' Education.
Workers' Education Bureau.
Enlarged Support for the Workers'
Education Bureau.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
Assigned To Committee on State
Organizations**

Puerto Rico.
Convention.
Agreements and Strikes.
NRA.
Legislative Achievements.
Federal Measures.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
Assigned To Committee on Shorter
Workday**

The Thirty-Hour Week:
Legislation:
Thirty-Hour Week.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
Assigned To Committee on Legislation
National Legislation:**

Government Contracts.
Bituminous Coal Industry.
Forty-Hour Week for Postal Employees.
Convict Labor.
Petition Rule Changed.
Minimum Wage Laws.

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
Assigned To Committee on Laws
Constitutional Amendments.**

**Subjects of Executive Council's Report
Assigned To Committee on International
Labor Relations**

International Labor Organization.
International Federation of Trade Unions.
Development of International Labor
Organization.
War Changes.
After Versailles.
Structure and Functions of the I.F.T.U.
Dues.
Membership of the I.F.T.U.
Pan-American Federation of Labor:
International Conference in Chile.
Labor Delegation Needed.
Cuba.
Mexico.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Opportunity was given the various committee chairmen to make announcements as to when and where meetings of the committees would be held.

State Federations Conference

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: I would like to call to the attention of the convention that it has been the custom over a period of years, while the conventions of the American Federation of Labor are in session, to hold conferences of the delegates and officers of the various State Federations of Labor in attendance. We are about to proceed to the holding of such conferences this year in Atlantic City of the regularly elected delegates of the various State Federations of Labor, together with any officers of the State Federations of Labor who may be in attendance at this convention. I take this opportunity to call to the particular attention of the delegates from the State Federations the very great importance of attending these conferences for the purpose of discussing and formulating plans and exchanging experiences having to do with legislation, workers' education, and the program of the State Federation of Labor as it relates to State legislation. The first meeting will be held at the table over there immediately upon adjournment of this morning's session.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention recess until 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon. The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted, and the convention recessed at 10:45 a. m. to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

SECOND DAY—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

ABSENTEES

Hamilton, Bambrick, Leonard, Beardsley, Leon Williams, Hannah, John C. Lawson, Olander, Reznicek, Billet, Rosqvist, Morgan, Graham, Lawrence, Palmer, Osborne, Nord, Patterson, M. B. Egan, Crawford, Shave, Mayer, Owens, Bamford, Al Flynn, Reinhart, Nadelhoffer, Jeffries, Komaroff, Cushing, Humphrey Mitchell, Katz, Dewitt, Eardley, Silch, Regan, David, Hanoway, Swetland, Rivin, Nevil, Heimbach, Howat, Sager, Dahlager, Edmundson, Hymes, Sandefur, Saltus, Bender, Long, Rundle, Merritt, Caraway, Dahl, Doane, Wise, Dance, Sigman, Dallas, Bradley, M. J. Burke, Henderson, Weinberg, Ratkin, Lovell, McCloskey, Nicholson, Beedie, Hein, Burns, Matlin, Dougherty, Malkovitch, Makman, John C. Taylor, Haley, Mack.

Delegate John B. Easton, Charleston, W. Va., stated that he was absent at the afternoon session of Monday by reason of attending a conference at Asheville, N. C., with the Secretary of Labor, and requested that he be so recorded.

The request was complied with.

President Green: We have all been waiting with feelings of pleasant anticipation and interest the visit of the distinguished Secretary of Labor to this, the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. She is here this afternoon, prepared to deliver an address to the officers, delegates, and visitors in attendance at the convention. I recall with feelings of pleasure and satisfaction that when I extended to the Secretary of Labor a cordial invitation to attend and address this convention, she accepted it promptly and with every evidence of a deep and sincere interest in this convention and in all its deliberations. I interpret her presence here this afternoon as evidence of that fact, and I wish her to know that we, the officers and delegates and the millions of workers whom we represent are peculiarly and deeply interested in the department of our Government over which she so discreetly presides.

The Department of Labor of the United States Government means much to the men and women of Labor. We regard that as our Department—a Department, I repeat again, in which we are tremendously interested. The Secretary of Labor has given her services and her talent and her time to the work of that Department, and recently, when Congress enacted the Social Security Bill, the Wagner Disputes Act, we joined with her and her associates in an effort to have the Boards created under these statutes established within the Department of Labor and under its jurisdiction. While we failed in the first instance we are not dismayed, because along with the Department of Labor we propose to center our efforts at the next session of Congress in trying to secure the creation of a Social Security Board within the Department of Labor.

I wish to assure Madam Secretary on this occasion that we shall co-operate with her very fully in all the efforts put forth to achieve this laudable purpose. And now it affords me the greatest pleasure to present to this great convention of the American Federation of Labor the Honorable Secretary of Labor, Madam Frances Perkins.

MISS FRANCES PERKINS

(Secretary, Department of Labor)

Mr. President, Fraternal Delegates, and members of this great organization—I cannot tell you with what pleasure I accepted the invitation of your President and your Executive Council to be present at this convention, nor can I really say to you in words with what sincerity and good will I really offer you the assistance of the Department of Labor in every activity which is essential to the progress of organized labor in this country, nor with what good will I wish you wisdom, insight, and a sound program for your deliberations in this important and significant convention. I am interested to recognize, as I think are all Americans, the progress which organized labor has made in this country in the public mind and the public sense of its significance.

Among other things that I have noticed in regard to this convention is that never before was a Labor Federation convention

covered so completely by the newspapers of the United States of America—a very important and significant recognition of the people of the United States of the importance which this group of citizens has in the development, not only of its political and economic policy, but in the development of its thinking, of its social and its spiritual relations within the whole system of American life. And so I have had great satisfaction and I want to thank you and your officers profoundly for that satisfaction, in the last two or three years, in the growing strength and honesty and validity of the relationships between the Department of Labor and its officials and the officials of the American Federation of Labor. We have come to recognize in the officials, not only of the Federation and of its Executive Council but in the officers of the great international unions and in the officers of the State Federations of Labor, that there is a possibility of real cooperation between the Government unit set aside to serve the interests of labor and the interests of labor itself. And those relationships, I am proud and happy to say, have, during the last three years, been honest, significant, and constantly growing in importance. I have begun to be among that group of people who believe that the possibility of cooperation between Government and organized labor is perhaps one of the great improvements which our democracy has seen in the last ten years, and that that increase in cooperation between Government and organized labor will perhaps be the way out of which we shall find the answers to our profound economic and social problems in the United States of America.

Whereas, as an official of the Government, I should be delighted to say that everything that is good and true and useful has been done by the Government, I know that is not true, that primarily those programs which have been developed in the interests of labor have sprung from the group of organized labor itself, and that the function of Government has been to cooperate with labor for the bringing about of improvements which are in the true interests of the whole body politic.

And when one begins to try to assess the relative value and the relative merit of any one group in the community, one is of course completely confused. As a matter of fact, there has been co-operation and mutuality at every point in order to get as far as we have gone in a sound program of Government and labor cooperation.

I am often reminded of the situation of a man whom I knew who was hard pressed during this depression, a man who had been able to make some money before the depression, but during the depression, along with the other Chicago meat packers, had found it very difficult to make any money, and he decided. He had racked his brain for a novelty and as a meat packer and one who had been making sausages all his

life, he thought the thing to do was to have a novelty sausage. So he thought of a rabbit sausage and put it on the market. When I met him in the market I said, "That's very nice; I am so glad you are doing well and your place is working full time and your people are all working. But, dear me, how do you get enough rabbits for your sausage?" He said, "That is very simple; out here in Illinois we have lots of fields and woods. People shoot them and snare them and the farmers catch a few, and in recent months they have taken to raising them on rabbit farms. They bring them in and we buy the rabbits." I said, "That is interesting; I'm glad to know it, but still rabbit meat is pretty light and there isn't much of it. Don't you have to dilute it or mix it with something else in order to make a good substantial sausage?" "Yes," he said, "we do." I said, "What kind of meat do you use?" "We use a little horse meat," he said. I said, "Oh, that's interesting." And then out of sheer interest I said, "What are the proportions, how much do you have to use?" He said, "We make it fifty-fifty, one horse to one rabbit."

So I am a little aware of the difficulty of assessing either the praise or the blame for all of the good results that we in America hope to effect out of our system of mutuality and cooperation. Nevertheless, I do think and believe that as the months have gone on, there has been a very definite acceptance of the idea that the American commonwealth will not fulfill its whole obligation to world civilization, will not realize itself completely unless we do develop these principles of mutuality and cooperation.

But of course what every laboring man sees, what every right-thinking citizen sees is that mutuality and cooperation cannot begin until there is a recognition and an acceptance of the principle of equality of bargaining power. That is why it is important for us to insist that prior to the real and spiritual purposes of mutuality and cooperation, there must be a realization and an acceptance of the idea of equality in advantage, when it comes to bargaining power. That, of course, is a problem which is concerning the minds of all people who are interested not only in the progress of labor in the United States, but who are interested in the progress of the United States of America toward the completion of that ideal of democracy in which we were brought forth and for which all of the right thinking people of any generation since the founding of this country have been laboring. That is one of the things which it is given to our generation to bring forth into an actuality, into not only an expression of purpose, but into a realization in actual practice.

That is why it is that some of the legislation which has, we know, seemed to many people purely academic, that is why it is that that legislation which defines the right and the power and the obliga-

tions of those who represent the working people of the United States is significant and why it will be more and more significant as the years go on and as the working people of America make good under that kind of legislative protection and opportunity. That is a very real opportunity to develop upon this continent, a new kind of democracy, a democracy which recognizes not only the right of every man in his place to work for his own individual opportunity and for the solution of his own individual program of life, but which recognizes as well and also the opportunity of men to band themselves together and associate themselves together for mutual and cooperative action, for collective action, as we call it, to improve their total condition. This is one of the vital things of the development of democracy today.

I can't tell you how glad I am to be here at a time when there is behind us a certain amount of accomplishment and achievement in this field. I have just been thinking as I came in this noon about the strange contrast between this convention and last year's convention, when I traveled across the whole United States and practically put my feet in the Pacific Ocean, after a five-day trip, and then this convention where, with almost no trouble at all for those of us who reside in Washington we come down and put our feet in the Atlantic Ocean, literally, to hold this convention. For this American Federation of Labor movement is as broad as the continent—and this is a very large continent, as only those who have traveled across it can testify. It is a long way from Atlantic City to San Francisco. It is a long way in mileage and sometimes I think it is a long way in thinking, and the great obligation of the people who live in this generation is to bring about unity between the people of all the United States, to bring about unity between the people who work for wages and all of the groups so that all of the East and the West and the North and the South will cease to have special meanings and that we may develop a national and democratic consciousness—conscious not of power in competition with other nations, but conscious of the power of the people of the community to cooperate with each other for the enhancement and development of a civilization in which they all can share.

It is a great satisfaction to realize that in these two or three years in which I have had the honor to be the Secretary of Labor and to say to you that I have been aware of the courtesy, of the consideration, and of the helpfulness with which the members of your organization have treated me personally and have treated all of the officers of the Department of Labor. Speaking as one human being to another, may I say that without your help and your assistance and the help and assistance of your members we could not have accomplished what has been accomplished. I am very grateful for the help

which you have given to organized Government in the achievement of a minimum program of improvement in labor conditions in the United States of America. I want to emphasize that, of course, it is a minimum program. It is a minimum program entered into, however, sensibly and consciously and recognizing the fact that as we build step by step we may approach a better standard of living for all the people of the United States of America.

In these last two or three years I think we are entitled to say that in the United States of America there has been a solid improvement in the status of labor. I say this advisedly, after having thought over clearly the obligations and the handicaps which all of you who are in charge of particular unions or particular industries or particular localities must realize. Nevertheless there has been a steady improvement in the status of labor.

In the last year, from strange sources, there has been a recognition not only of the right of labor to collective bargaining, but a recognition of the wholesomeness in the body politic of bringing in the labor element and the labor forces of the community into the thinking out of the general social and economic problems of that community. I think there has even been improvement in the status of labor within the year. I was astonished, as I think many of those of your Executive Council and your legislative committees who were in Washington this winter were astonished at the lack of real resistance to the program of the Social Security Act, which embodied as far-reaching a program of social insurance as the world has ever seen in any one people. I think we were all astonished at the lack of real political resistance. A large amount of debate, a good many speeches, a lot of bulletins were issued, but when the vote was taken I think in the Senate of the United States there were only six or seven members who voted against the measure which provided a systematic insurance against unemployment, against old age, against childhood dependency and against dependency of the crippled and the handicapped. In fact, there was no real, no basic, no fundamental objection and antagonism. Those of you who were in Washington may have regretted that the debate took so long, but that is not important. It was important that those who had questions, those who had modifications should express themselves completely. That is a part of the technique in Government in democracy. The significant thing was that when it came to the decision as to which side of this question do we stand on, the members of the Senate and the members of the House of Representatives overwhelmingly put themselves on record as in favor of this legislation, which is one of the greatest boons that labor has ever had in the United States of America—a protection against the adversities of old age, and a protection against the horrors

of unemployment—not a great protection, but still a little bit of an anchor to windward against those situations, which in the past have been so devastating to the people and the groups who got their income from the sale of their labor for wages.

I think it is characteristic of American life that that opposition was so slight, when all of the people of the United States came to understand what were the means and the purposes and the programs involved in this kind of protection. Then again, I was astonished, as I think Mr. Green was astonished, at the rather slight opposition to the passage of the Wagner Labor Disputes Act. Because of the speech-making and the propaganda, the tremendous amount of theoretical opposition which we had heard, we had expected a much closer vote. On the whole there was a unanimity of opinion on the part of the members of Congress as to the wisdom of trying by some legislative device to give reality to the conception that the bargaining power of labor should be equal to the bargaining power of the employers in these vital matters of the fixing of wages and hours, and the general terms and conditions of work. For I think that no two measures were ever written onto the statute books with a more real acceptance of the principles by the Congress of the United States of America.

This is one of the things that heartens me for the future of our political life in the United States of America. I am confident the great mass of Americans want this nation to hew to the policy which will increase the purchasing power of all classes, so that all may profit and live better and at the same time provide greater security for the individual. This is really the great aspiration of American life and this is the one thing which we are all intent upon, no matter how confused are our expressions on the matter, no matter how partisan is the expression of political leaders. This is the one thing to which we are all aspiring, that we can raise the standard of living of every human being so that we can bring forth upon this continent a nation which is dedicated to the idea that human beings and their continual improvement, their continual better adjustment of life is the principal objective of a democratic Government.

Such a policy, once it was inaugurated by President Roosevelt, brought a rapid response in the spring boom of 1933 and last fall's recovery. For the purpose of the Recovery measure and the Recovery Act was, after all, not only a mere temporary recovery, but it was also, as all of us have always known, a program of reform, a program of recovery and reform, based upon the conception that we could only have recovery insofar as we maintained and increased the purchasing power of the farmers and the working people, and that we could only have reform of Government and reform of economic life in America insofar as we maintained these gains. This

policy, which had so many responses, has continued in spite of the ups and downs since the great period when there was so rapid an improvement in labor and working conditions in the autumn of 1933 and the winter of 1934. Further improvement has been noted in recent months, as you know, and this applies to farmers as well as to manufacturers and to labor.

The present acceleration is nation-wide and industry-wide and is marked by the highly significant fact that the durable-goods industries are forging to the front, both in their rate of employment and pay-rolls and in their rate of orders. These industries, as a rule, are the first to suffer from a depression and the last to recover. The latest reports to the United States Department of Labor on construction activity, steel production, automobiles, machinery and machine tools, in particular, leave no doubt that these industries, which are so significant in the entire picture of any recovery, have actually made the turn.

Take, for instance, the machine tool industry, which takes the first step in building up new machinery and equipment to reflect production increases. Those of you who know the terms of American industry know that machine tools are ordered only when the great production industries of consumer goods are on the up-grade. It is only when they have orders that they dare to order more tools and more machinery and equipment for their plant. So that the machine tool industry is a very important industry to study in order to gauge the extent to which there is real recovery. In August the index of machine tool orders to the plants was 125.8 compared with 100 in 1926. That is, it is above the machine tool orders in the year 1926. That represents, of course, I know the pent-up orders of several years of depression, when practically no orders had been presented, but it does indicate the revival of that peculiar and very important industry. The average for the eight months in this year in this industry is eighty-two per cent, or nearly double the average for all of last year. As a matter of fact, business reported for the eight months is eighteen per cent. above the twelve months figure of 1934.

As to steel production—and that again is one of the great durable-goods industries, which in our country represents a basic supply for other industries, the steel production amounted to 2,919,000 tons for August. This was an increase of 649,000 tons over the previous month and a rise of 1,538,000 over August of the previous year.

Automobile production of 240,000 units for the month was an increase of 5,200 over the previous August.

The production of electric power in August last was estimated at 8,125,000 kilowatt hours per week—51,000,000 per week more than in July and 172,000,000 per week more than in August, 1934.

Car loadings of 623,000 per week in August were 62,000 greater than in July and 11,000 above the corresponding period in 1934. I cite these figures to recall to your mind that in spite of a program, which by some ultra-conservatives is regarded as doubtful wisdom—I cite these figures to bring to your mind sharply what you know in your own hearts, and all of us do, that this improvement has been for those who own the industries as well as for those who work in them, and that there has been a real and a basic improvement in American life based upon the assumption that in raising the standard of living and the purchasing power of those who work for wages and those who work for income on the farms, in their particular activity there is a clew to industrial and economic prosperity which those in charge of the economic and Governmental life of this country must never overlook again.

Building permits in August were very much up over July, contrary to the general trend. In 748 cities of identical experience the increase was \$87,000,000, which was \$13,000,000 more than in July and twice as much as in August of 1934. Those of you who work either in the building industries or in any of the trades which supply building supplies to the building industry know how significant to American life is even a slight improvement in the building industry, and although August, 1934, represented perhaps the dead low in this particular industry, the recognition that August 1935 showed twice as many building permits shows definitely there is an improvement, and an improvement that is taken at the same time that labor standards have been improved and that we have accepted the idea that the purchasing power of the masses, the purchasing power of the great groups of people who are on low incomes in this country is the clew to a steady economic life in this community.

Department of Labor employment and payroll figures for August also indicate the upward trend in the durable-goods industries—and these are very generalized, scattered over many industries. The preliminary employment index for the durable-goods industries in August is 79.4 compared with 69.3 in July and 66.1 in August 1934. In other words, for every one thousand workers employed in durable-goods industries in 1923-1925, there were 794 who had jobs in August of this year, compared with 693 in July last and 661 in August of 1934.

What is true of employment is also true of the average weekly earnings of the workers employed. In the five selected durable-goods industries, the weekly earnings in August advanced over the corresponding earnings in August, 1934, as follows: \$5.65 in blast furnaces; \$3.40 in saw mills; \$2.70 in foundries and machine shops; \$2.30 in automobiles and \$2.25 in brick manufacturing. These things mean a good deal in the sum total of American life. Those who have recently been across

the country and come back report their astonishment at seeing so many brand new shiny automobiles and so many little boys and girls riding around on brand new bicycles, and we have in this report some of the reasons why it is possible today to show at least in some parts of the country a revival of the life to which the working people and the farmers of the United States believe they are entitled and which it is our great privilege and our duty, not only as political entities, but as citizens of a great commonwealth, based upon certain spiritual undertakings, to subscribe and which it is our duty to bring about.

There are millions of men and women still out of work, and we know there are some people, a relatively small number who have been steadily employed for a period of one, two or three years. I always think it is wise for us to remind ourselves that in Great Britain, a commonwealth whose basic life and inspiration is so close to ours, we can judge some of the trends of life by their experience. I think it is always worth while to remind ourselves that even in the worst year of their depression, when they had 2,225,000 people out of work, an examination of the people out of work at that time showed that only 125,000 of them as individuals had been out of work for more than one year. So while we speak of large numbers who are out of work completely in any one week at a given time in this country, we have to remind ourselves that there has been intermittent employment of even those who are unemployed and under-employed, and that the number of people who have been totally unemployed for a long time, that is, for so long a time as one or two years, is very much smaller than are the figures of unemployment in one particular day. This is what accounts for the apparent comfort and ease of certain parts of the country—and I feel we ought to say this to our fraternal delegates, who I know are astonished at the fact, as are all visitors to this country, that when they go through certain parts of the country they see evidences of life going on as usual and yet are told that there is a large residue of unemployment in this country. There is a large residue of unemployment but it is related to particular industries and to particular places. There has been, as we all know, movement in most of the industries and in most of the localities—not complete absorption of the people who are out of work, but movement to partial employment in the course of the last year. This is one of the things which we need to study, because it is true that the plight of that smaller proportion who are totally unemployed and have been totally unemployed for a long period of time is very desperate and must not be overlooked. They are a special charge, not only upon their brothers in the labor unions and upon their unrelated brothers who are in the labor movement if they themselves are outside of it, but they are a special charge upon the conscience and the obligation of those who are elected to high office in this

country and will, I predict, be a special charge until life resumes its normal rhythms again.

But in spite of these millions still out of work and still under-employed as distinguished from unemployed, we have had on the whole a considerable improvement within the period since there has begun to be a trace of recovery. I think it is significant to realize that when the recovery began in April, 1933, there seemed to be a rapid zooming upward of the curve of employment and payrolls, and thereafter in the autumn a slight recession of the improvement as shown by the chart of employment and payrolls. I think it is significant to notice that the picture of the chart which is published by the Department of Labor, which is in the hands of everybody here, or can be in the hands of everyone here, shows a rapid increase in payroll and employment from March, 1933, to October, 1933, then a slight recession, a slight going up, but when they went up, going up a little bit higher than before, and when they came down, not coming down quite so low as before, and then going up a little higher, then coming down again, but never quite so low as on the previous drop, and then going up and this time going a little higher than they have before.

No one can predict, and I least of anyone am entitled to predict, what will happen in the United States of America with regard to employment payrolls in the next six or eight months, but the fact is that with the recovery going up and down in a saw-tooth picture for the last year, it has not gone up and down in a saw-tooth picture as it did at the bottom of the depression. Rather, we zoomed up for a period which can be said to be about seventy-five per cent, and there we have saw-toothed up and down, but have never gone down to the bottom of the depression. We have gone a little above seventy-five, up into the eighties, as we are now, and down a little bit, but never below seventy. That's pretty good, and that means we are making progress without losing our grip upon this essential moral and economic principle that the purchasing power of the wage earners and the farmers of the United States is the market which will support our mass production system, and that we must keep up this market and that we cannot lose it, both for our economic position and our social, spiritual and political position. We mean to make and to keep a good standard of living for all the people of the United States of America, and by that conception we modify and we revise our whole concept of democracy, for this is the thing which is important to us in this country in the year 1935.

Under the President's inspiring leadership, and with a spirit of unity and action continuing among wage earners and among employers and consumers alike—for we have to realize that many employers

have grasped this principle in the last few years—we should be able to consolidate the considerable gains already made and move forward to rout the forces which in the past have brought want, despair and misery into so many homes and affected so many of our people. The great majority of American men and women are united in the acceptance of the idea that the prosperity of this great nation depends upon the prosperity of the wage earners who make up such a great bulk of our national purchasing power, co-operatively with the great farm purchasing power of this country. By having the character and the patience and the persistence necessary to carry out such a program we are bound, I think, to win our way to greater economic security for ourselves and for future generations.

As we strive toward the goal of greater security for the individual we will find aid in its attainment, and likewise a very powerful instrument with which to combat future economic vicissitudes, in the Social Security Act, one of the most useful and fundamental pieces of legislation in the interest of wage-earners in the history of the United States, a program of legislation which was devised and endorsed at one of your great conventions, and which rapidly won the support of other elements of the community—I think very largely under the lash and impetus of the horrors which all people in society have seen in the last three years, but which was nevertheless a part of the fundamental program of the American Federation of Labor and those who aspired to represent the working people of America. In this act I think we find an instrument which, although today imperfect and although today needing undoubtedly considerable revision in the light of experience does make a basic, underlying principle on which those who are interested in the welfare and in the protection of working men and women and their dependents can build in the future. For this great principle of the insurance of social hazards by social means, not only gives to every man and woman who comes after us in the program of American industry a certain security for his old age, it gives to those who are now aged and in poverty a certain competence with which to maintain a limited but steady purchasing power in the course of the next ten years. Moreover, it does this—and I think that every working man who looks his problem and the problem of his fellows honestly in the face sees this—it gives opportunity for honorable retirement from the competition for jobs of people who have already reached the age of sixty-five, so that they will not be competing with middle-aged men and younger men with families for such limited jobs as there are. It gives that assurance through its pension system, to those who are sixty-five years of age and in poverty of a pension which will be paid through co-operation between the Federal and State Governments, and it provides further that all of us who are still of middle

age and still in working years, by contributing and having contributed on our behalf by the employers a certain percentage of the payroll each month, will build up gradually a regular insurance fund, out of which when we become sixty-five years of age, we will draw automatically, and as a matter of right, not as a matter of charity, not with a Means Test, not with any inquiry into our want or poverty, an allowance which is proportioned to the amount of our wages during our earning period and in proportion to the number of years we have been earning those wages and contributing to this insurance fund. That is going to do more than anybody now realizes to equalize the contest in American life by making possible the retirement of the older workers when they come to retirement age, and leaving the struggle for such jobs as there are to those who are at the height of their working capacity and the height of their responsibilities which they bear to themselves and to their families and to their generation. By making possible through State and Federal co-operation a particular program of unemployment insurance modified in some of its principles by some of the States, making it possible for those of you who are primarily interested in the life of your unions and of your organization in the State, to develop an experimental basis in the State, by making it possible, making it necessary practically, through the Federal law, which equalizes the cost to manufacturers in the States, by imposing a tax on all manufacturers which is remitted only insofar as they have contributed to a compulsory State Employment Insurance Fund, it lays the basis whereby men may look forward to periods of involuntary unemployment, not with perfect and complete protection against all of its hazards, but at least with a knowledge that the worst hazard of the period of unemployment will not be upon them, immediately the mill, mine or factory closes down. It makes it possible for these men to stand up as human beings, and as citizens and to think out their programs of life, their problems and the relationships of the working people and all the wage earners to the management of the industries in which they have an equal stake with the employers and the community generally.

We have discovered as a people that nothing is worse for us than to have a long period of unemployment. We have discovered that the spiritual fortunes as well as the material fortunes of all of the people are bound up with the working people of the United States of America. Then when a mill closes down in a community it means not only the laying off and lack of income of the people who work for wages in that mill, but it means the closing down and lack of income to the merchants, the doctors, the lawyers, the school teachers and everybody who serves that community, so intricately interlaced

have become the sources of life in our American commonwealth.

And so today as we look forward to what this principle of social insurance may mean in American life we ought to admit quite frankly and quite modestly that we have not reached the millennium, that the system which has been devised is not perfect, that it has not yet been submitted to the test of experience, but we have laid a solid underpinning and upon that we can build and the generations coming after us can build a program based upon experience which is sound and valid and strong enough to carry the load.

I want to congratulate the American Federation of Labor and the State Federations of Labor and the International organizations who have co-operated in carrying that program to its full completion in an actual basic law from which we can expect. I think, in the near future, a very great improvement in the conditions of labor in this country.

The Act establishes unemployment insurance as a substitute for the haphazard methods of the system in periods when men and women, willing and able to work, are unable to hold jobs. It has been estimated by those who know our population that ultimately some thirty million American people will be benefited by this legislation. In this way the Government is encouraging mutuality between wage earners and employers in development in both groups of a philosophy of co-operation and a philosophy of self rule, for there is no doubt that the necessity for co-operation in a concrete, substantial program is one of the first items for real co-operation between employers and employees on the basis of equal rights and equal interests. Nothing is so good an exercise in co-operation as the opportunity to co-operate in a specific program in which both are recognized as having an equal interest, and so I am considerably hopeful that there will be, out of the development of the Social Security program, a real co-operation based upon mutuality and upon equality.

At this moment I want to invite the co-operation of the members of the American Federation of Labor in the development of the administrative techniques of the Social Security Board. It is true, as your President has said, that the Social Security Board was not located in the United States Department of Labor, as it was my opinion and his opinion that it should have been. We are fortunate, however, that all three members of the Social Security Board are people who believe that the co-operation between the Department of Labor and the organized workers of America is vital to the success of their program, and I am free to tell you today that they have invited the Department of Labor to co-operate with them in the most intimate relationships in the development of their administrative system. I charge you that among the most important duties you will have in the next five years is to see to it that through that co-opera-

tion the administration of the Social Security Act is based upon sound labor principles. This is an essential duty and if you do not carry it out in the first years of this Act I am sure that those who follow you and me in office will be sorry and will curse rather than bless us. Fortunately we have a Board initiating the first years of this great administrative function who want the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor and who want the co-operation of the Department of Labor. And so I charge you to develop committees and sub-committees and organization techniques which will make it possible for you to be close to this Board and to assist it in the development of this fine and important ministerial function.

As President Roosevelt said when he signed the measure: "If the Senate and House of Representatives in their long and arduous session had done nothing more than pass this bill, the session would be regarded as historic for all time." The passage of this Act with so few dissenting votes and so much intelligent public support is further evidence of the progress we have made in recognizing the value of using co-operation through Government to overcome social hazards against which the individual alone is inadequate. The principle of social co-operation to meet social hazards is, I think, firmly established.

The passage of the Wagner Labor Disputes Act, creating a National Labor Relations Board, is, as you are all aware, another important piece of legislation put on the statute books since your last convention. It aims to bring about a better relation between labor and management, and I am confident that it will accomplish its purpose. I know this is not considered orthodox in these days, but I am predicting that in the long run the American employers will benefit just as much from this legislation as will the American workers. American employers have spent untold sums of money in setting up organizations and methods and techniques to prevent and oppose the free association of organizations of labor for the purpose of improving their conditions and for the purpose of taking their proper role in the development of American industry. If they will but co-operate with this kind of legislation they will be spared that expense and they will find that they have, by co-operation with a group in their community equal in responsibility and equal in skill, and equal in recognition, an opportunity to build their industries with the co-operation of their labor and improve not only their own status but the status of their communities as well.

There are many of you here who know individual employers of labor, as I do, who have always co-operated with the Unions in their plant or in their industry and who are always willing to bear testimony to the fact that it has worked very well for them. There is a great railroad president whom many of us know who has stood up in public every now and then and said, "The

only way I can run my railroad is to co-operate with the men who work on it and who really run it." And over and over again he has had the honor and respect of the American people because he runs a very good railroad and is committed to the idea that he could not run it without the honest and wholesome and free participation of his workers—and he recognizes that their freedom and their honest participation is based upon their equality of bargaining power.

There are other employers who tell me they never have any trouble because if they see any storm clouds or dissatisfaction arising they send for the leaders of the union and say, "What about this?" And they settle it then and there by some kind of factual consideration of the problems involved and a mutual agreement upon what is the best way to solve the particular problem for the whole industry.

There is no way by which employers can achieve their ideals of having the workmen in their plants devoted to the success of the industry, unless they recognize the equality of those employees, unless they realize their equal interest and significance in the industry and recognize their co-operation and give their own to them in the achievement of their ideals. That is what our American life in the last few years has shown us, and it is the hope of all those who are committed to this principle of collective bargaining, as described by the Wagner Labor Relations Act, that through realistic and consistent co-operation with the terms of this Act, the employers and workers of the United States of America may really find the technique of the development of our industries on a democratic basis and a continuation of the principles to which this audience is devoted—a higher standard of living and a sound and constant purchasing power for all of the people of the United States of America.

This does not necessarily mean that strikes and lockouts are abolished forever. The establishment of the National Labor Relations Board does not necessarily mean that there will be no struggle between employers and workers, for we are not yet entering the millennium and most of us know it. It means simply this, that here is a method which can be used instead of the strike; it is an alternative to a strike when a strike would not be as useful, as wise, or as direct or as just as the method of collective bargaining. I have never found any band of honest, thoughtful laboring people who wanted the strike for its own sake. There is nothing that the average labor organization dislikes worse than having to go on strike, but they must have justice, and the important thing is to set up methods by which they can obtain justice without the necessity of a long and costly strike. Without that there can be no real co-operation in the development of our economic life.

And so as we look back upon what has been accomplished in the last few years we

cannot help but look forward to what can be accomplished in the relatively near future. Labor is qualified and competent to define its obligations and to impose such discipline as may be necessary from time to time, and that, I think, is a thing which should be constantly kept in mind in American life. There should never be any giving way upon the conception that labor will impose its own disciplines. Ideas of compulsory arbitration and compulsory co-operation are not only self-destroying, they are repugnant to the total American point of view. Discipline should be imposed from within and not from without. There should be no requirement by Government, there should be rather a requirement within the rules and regulations of the Union itself and within the rules and regulations of the Federation into which these Unions go. Self-imposition of discipline is the basis of all professional codes of ethics in modern society. Labor is now imposing upon itself those rules of discipline and self-government so necessary for the maintenance of its improved status in the community.

It should be emphasized that labor problems and labor policy in a democracy are not a program conceived by the Government and applied by the Government. Rather, it is a program of action which the people who earn their living by working for wages and those who employ them and are willing to assume leadership in the investment of their capital and in their participation in a profit-making enterprise must work out together in a society which develops naturally out of the work that they do and the life that they lead, in response to the needs and the demands of their work. The function of Government is only to serve as a stimulating agent to facilitate the formation of such a policy, which will be just and fair to all the people and in the line of human progress.

Industrial relations are not improved nor is the public interest best served when one side or the other takes a prejudice and selfish stand in opposition to the use of an honest, sincere and scientific method designed for the cure of industrial sores, but industrial relations are improved when the Government offers a method for equal representation and for equal meeting around a table.

I think you will be interested to learn that in the last few days we have been holding in Asheville, N. C., a conference of the Second Annual National Meeting on Labor Legislation, to which the Governors of forty-four States sent delegates, consisting of their Labor Commissioners of the State and one representative of organized labor of that State to discuss with the Federal Government desirable standards of labor legislation. I am greatly of the belief that labor legislation in the various States can be improved tremendously by the co-operation of all those who recognize how important it is to have basic State legislation which controls maximum hours

of labor, which controls child labor, which controls even the minimum wages that can be paid, which controls the conditions of work so that people may work under conditions which are healthful and which are relatively protected against accidents.

I was greatly heartened by the very strong and steady response of those who came to this convention and who are charged with responsibility, by their response to the idea that the program of labor legislation in the States must go forward. The Federation of Labor has always taken, in every State with which I am familiar, a broad and progressive position with regard to the enactment of workmen's compensation laws, with regard to the enactment of an occupational disease law to be covered within that, with regard to programs of accident prevention, with regard to programs of prevention of child labor, with regard to programs for the enactment of methods within the States for the collection of unpaid wages, and for the regulation of the hours of labor of women and minimum wage procedure for women. Perhaps we have got to go further in our State legislation. Certainly we have to think out a method of co-operation between the States, which undoubtedly have the police power in their sovereign capacity and the Federal government which represents the nationalized and unified interests between these States.

Certainly the Federation of Labor, in its State organizations and in its national organizations is whole-heartedly in favor of the improvement of conditions of living for working people by every device at the disposal of the workers themselves or at the disposal of the Government. As citizens, as well as workers, we go forward with the firm belief that the terms and conditions of life can be made better for all the working people of the United States of America.

I thank you.

President Green: You have just shown your appreciation of the very interesting address delivered by the Secretary of Labor. In your name and in your behalf I thank the Secretary most sincerely for her visit this afternoon and for the most educational and instructive address which she delivered. We extend to her a most cordial welcome. The address which she delivered this afternoon will become a part of the permanent records of this convention of the American Federation of Labor. We invite her to remain with us as our guest for as long as time and opportunity will permit, and I express the hope, in behalf of the officers and delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention, that she may be privileged to carry back to Washington with

her the fondest memory of a delightful visit spent with the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

PRESENTATION OF BADGES TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: Those of you who have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor for, lo, these many years, will recall that it has been a beautiful custom to present to the fraternal delegates special badges. These badges are prepared especially for the fraternal delegates from the British Trade Union Congress, our friends and our guests, and for the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, who occupies exactly the same position in our hearts and minds and in our affection. I think it is appropriate that we should pause just for a moment now while I present to the fraternal delegates these beautiful badges, made especially for them.

Brother Naesmith, I first of all present you this beautiful special badge, gold plated, with the esteem of the American Federation of Labor, especially selected for you. You can keep it as a remembrance of your visit to this convention.

And we have the same sort of badge for Brother Conley, who comes along with Brother Naesmith as his colleague. I present to you this special badge, Brother Conley. Perhaps the delegates have seen these badges before. If not, they will see them when they greet our guests.

And, last of all, but not least, I present this beautiful badge to our friend Captain J. A. P. Haydon, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. His badge is the same as the badges presented to the fraternal delegates from Great Britain. These badges are presented to the fraternal delegates from the officers of this convention. I am sure they carry with them fraternal greetings and good wishes.

The Chair desires to announce the names of a committee on good will and friendly relations, A. Adamski and Frank Weikel. This is a committee that will call upon you. Treat them kindly.

The Chair desires to submit a Supplemental Report of the Executive Council.

The supplemental report will contain within it the report of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor. This report will be included in the proceedings of today's convention and will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Report of The Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor

September 19, 1935.

Inspired by the unusual gains made through the previous year, the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., and its affiliated International Organizations, together with the other Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, have been exceptionally active during the past year in their efforts to protect these gains and to further improve the well-being of the employees they represent. As a necessary means of carrying this program forward more effectively, the influence of these organizations was greatly extended, particularly after the amendments to the Railway Labor Act became law in June, 1934, and thus a sound ground work has been established to actively promote the best interests of the railway workers in the future.

WAGES

The value of organization, i.e., the Standard Organizations, was most effectively demonstrated not only to railway workers but to all workers by the restoration of the ten per cent wage deduction which was finally consummated on April 1, 1935. This deduction agreement which was originally entered into on January 31, 1932, with the understanding that the railways would make "an earnest and sympathetic effort to maintain and increase railroad employment" ostensibly from the savings to be anticipated from the wage deductions, was twice extended—on December 21, 1932, and again on June 21, 1933, or until July 1, 1934. Inasmuch as employment was on the decline rather than increasing, vigorous efforts were made to terminate the agreement which by its own terms would restore the basic rates of pay. Finally as a result of an agreement entered into on April 26, 1934, superseding the existing deduction agreement, arrangements were made to restore 2½ per cent of the deduction on July 1, 1934, 2½ per cent on January 1, 1935, and the remaining 5 per cent on April 1, 1935.

The full basic rates as they were prior to the depression are now in full force and effect.

In recent months, our organizations have been extended to a considerable number of former so-called company union roads as the result of elections conducted by the National Mediation Board and negotiations with management. In many instances wages and working conditions were found to be below standard. In most cases, however, these were either brought up to standard or arrangements were made to do so as soon as conditions would permit.

THE CANADIAN WAGE SITUATION

Notwithstanding progress made in the United States restoring the ten per cent wage deduction, the Canadian Railways, under date of September 25, 1934, addressed a communication to the Train Service Organizations, whose agreements were due to expire on October 31, 1934, which read in part:

To avoid any possible cause for misunderstanding we would ask you to accept this communication as notice under our wage agreement and the agreement of October 28, 1933, above referred to, that unless and until an agreement with respect to the deduction is reached, the railway desires to change the percentage of deduction to be in effect from and after November 1, 1934, from 10 per cent to 15 per cent.

Subsequently similar notice was served on the other Organizations with which the carriers had agreements as the dates of expiration of their agreements approached.

Generally, these agreements provided for a 15 per cent deduction in the pay checks of each employe to continue for one year from the effective date of the agreement, after which the deduction would be reduced to 10 per cent with the provision that either party could serve 30 days' notice of a desire to change this percentage. Some of the agreements exempted employes on short time from the added 5 per cent deduction as was the case of the Mechanical Trades whose agreement read as follows:

The parties hereto agree—

(a) That effective from December 16, 1933, and until December 15, 1934, fifteen per cent shall be deducted from each employe's pay check, calculated on existing basic rates of pay, provided that the existing ten (10) per cent shall continue in effect for those staffs for which the bulletined working time is less than forty hours per week.

(b) That effective from December 16, 1934, ten per cent shall be deducted from each employe's pay check, calculated on existing basic rates of pay, provided that either party may, after October 16, 1934,

serve thirty days' notice, as required by Wage Agreement now in effect, of a desire to change such percentage to become effective December 16, 1934.

With all of the Organizations involved in a wage reduction movement, steps were taken to deal with the matter co-operatively as was done in the previous wage conference and accordingly, a conference committee composed of General Chairmen, Grand Lodge Officers and Negotiating Committees of the following International Organizations was formed and arrangements made to handle all pending wage agreements jointly and collectively:

- Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers,
- Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen,
- Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen,
- Order of Railway Conductors,
- Order of Railroad Telegraphers,
- Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes,
- Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks,
- Commercial Telegraphers Union of America,
- Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers,
- Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen,
- Railway Employes Department, Division No. 4, A. F. of L.

Conferences were arranged and on October 11, 1934, the Railways proposed that existing agreements and deductions be extended for a period of six months which the Conference Committee representing the employes declined, based on the improvement in business and instead made a counter proposal providing for the restoration of 5 per cent on the expiration dates of the various agreements and the restoration of the remaining 10 per cent not later than July 1, 1935.

The Railways stated that they were unable to comply with this request and made a counter proposal providing for changes in the percentage of deductions in wages based on the changes in operating revenues from an established base. Their letter of October 25th which confirmed the above proposal read in part:

At our conference on Monday last the Railways submitted a proposal that contemplated making changes in the percentage rate of deduction from basic rates of pay in proportion to the change in operating revenue from an established base.

In effect, the proposal applied to the 15 per cent deduction means that for every 1-15 of the difference in operating revenues between the average of the years 1926 and 1927 and those of the year 1933, by which the operating revenues increased over the 1933 figures, the rate of deduction would be decreased

by 1 per cent; for example, if the operating revenues in the last quarter of 1934 increase 3-15 of the difference mentioned over the operating revenues of the corresponding period of 1933, the deductions from compensation calculated on existing basic rates of pay during the first quarter of 1935 would be 12 per cent; a further adjustment would be made April 1st, 1935, for the succeeding quarter on the basis of the comparison of operating revenues of the first three months of 1935 and the same period of 1933.

The Railways' proposal does not go beyond the existing deductions from the basic rates of pay. It is suggested that the plan should be effective for a specified time to be agreed upon, and subject to notice for revision from either the Railways or the employees at the conclusion of the specified period.

Recognizing the desire of the Employees to have a definite figure stated, the Railways are prepared, subject to the adoption of such plan, to restore 2½ per cent of the existing 15 per cent deduction on January 1st, 1935, and to undertake that the deduction from compensation calculated on existing basic rates of pay will not exceed 12½ per cent during the first six months of 1935, this arrangement if made effective to be subject to notice from either the Railways or the Employees for revision after June 30th, 1935.

Fearing that it would create a most undesirable precedent, the Conference Committee declined to consider this proposal of the railways and in an effort to bring about a settlement of the controversy proposed the following:

1. The 15 per cent deduction now in effect be reduced to 10 per cent on the expiry dates specified in the various agreements.

2. The compensation of employees now subject to less than 15 per cent deduction be adjusted to reflect a like degree of restoration.

3. Effective July 1st, 1935, 5 per cent will be deducted from employees' pay checks.

4. Effective from and after November 1st, 1935, there shall be no deductions made from employees' pay checks.

In reply to the above proposal the Railways wrote the Committee under date of October 29th, in part, as follows:

The matter at issue at this time is the change from 15 per cent to 10 per cent in the rate of deduction from compensation of employees calculated on existing basic rates of pay. Consideration of deductions from compensation at any rate less than 10 per cent is only involved because the proposal of the Railways, if adopted,

would bring about a restoration of deductions of compensation of more than 5 per cent from the 15 per cent deductions now in effect if the hoped for improvement in operating revenues materializes. The Railways at this time are unable to agree to a restoration of deductions beyond 12½ per cent except on the basis provided for in their proposal.

As stated in our letter of October 25th the Railways believe that the last proposal they submitted is equitable, that its adoption would have beneficial results for both the Railways and the Employees and that it has valuable possibilities in the maintenance and development of mutual relationships.

If, however, the employees have definitely concluded that they cannot accept the Railways' proposal and have no other proposal to submit for consideration within the limitations indicated to which the Railways must adhere, the Railways will be required to make application for the establishment of Boards of Conciliation and Investigation in regard to the agreements for the different classes of employees, as it becomes necessary to do so under the terms of the several agreements.

In the meantime it is understood, of course, in accordance with the arrangement between the Railways and the Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, Trainmen and Telegraphers as covered by memorandum dated October 27th, 1933, confirmed by the letter from the employees dated October 28th, 1933, that if a dispute should develop resulting in an application for the establishment of a Board of Conciliation and Investigation the existing condition, namely the 15 per cent deduction, shall continue in effect pending the receipt of the Board's report, this being in accord with the provisions of Section 58 of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act.

In conference later the same day, the Railways assured the Conference Committee that in the event an agreement was not reached they would be compelled to apply for the establishment of a series of Boards under the Industrial Disputes Act to deal with each agreement as it expired, and that such applications would be based on the dispute with respect to the change in deduction from 15 to 10 per cent, as they maintained a restoration of the final 10 per cent was not involved.

In an effort to break the deadlock and with the thought that some settlement might better be reached the Conference Committee appointed a sub-committee, composed of seven representatives of the various groups, to meet with the Railways. As the result of their deliberations extending from October 31st to November 2nd, 1934, it was

recommended that a settlement be agreed to on the following basis:

(a) Effective January 1st, 1935, and continuing until April 30th, 1935, 12 per cent shall be deducted from employees' pay cheques. Effective May 1st, 1935, and thereafter 10 per cent shall be deducted from employees' pay cheques, provided that after July 1st, 1935, 30 days' notice may be served by either the Railways or the Employees of a desire to change such percentage.

(b) Compensation of employees now subject to less than 15 per cent deduction but more than 10 per cent deduction to be adjusted on the same proportion as in Clause A.

(c) Compensation of employees now subject to 10 per cent deduction to be adjusted on the basis of 7 per cent deduction from January 1st to April 30th and on the basis of 5 per cent deduction after May 1st, subject to provision of notice as in Clause A.

Unless an agreement was reached, it was quite apparent that the Railways were determined to force the issue before a series of Boards of Conciliation and Investigation, and after considering that such a move would mean the continuation of the 15 per cent deduction pending the decisions of the Boards, the separation of the employees into individual groups, preventing concerted action, and the grave possibility that the Boards would recommend a percentage deduction based on railroad revenues, it was unanimously agreed by the Conference Committee that the present and future interests of the employees could best be protected by making the settlement with the Railways based on the foregoing recommendations.

As a result the following blanket agreement covering all groups represented by the Conference Committee was drawn up and signed on November 3, 1934, and was the basis upon which the various groups subsequently entered into agreements with the Railways.

Basis of agreements to be as follows:

(a) That effective from January 1st, 1935, and continuing until April 30th, 1935, twelve (12) per cent shall be deducted from each employee's pay cheque, calculated on existing basic rates of pay, and that effective from May 1st, 1935, ten (10) percent shall be deducted from each employee's pay cheque, calculated on existing basic rates of pay, and this deduction shall continue in effect thereafter, subject to the right of either party, after July 1st, 1935, to serve thirty days' notice, as required by wage agreements now in effect, of a desire to change such percentage of deduction.

(b) Except as provided in Clause (c), for those classes of employees for which there is now in effect deductions from compensation calculated on existing basic rates of pay at rates less than 15 percent, effective from January 1st, 1935, and from May

1st, 1935, the rate of deductions shall be reduced in the same proportion as under the provisions of Clause (a) they are to be reduced from those classes for which the fifteen (15) percent deduction is now in effect, and those deductions shall continue in effect thereafter on the same basis as provided for in Clause (a).

(c) For those classes of employees for whom, under existing agreements, the ten (10) percent deduction was continued in effect, it will be arranged under the same conditions as provided for in such agreements that effective from January 1st, 1935, and continuing until April 30th, 1935, seven (7) percent shall be deducted from each employee's pay cheque calculated on existing basic rates of pay, and that effective from May 1st, 1935, five (5) percent shall be deducted from each employee's pay cheque calculated on existing basic rates of pay and these deductions shall continue in effect thereafter on the same basis as provided in Clause (a).

On June 27, 1935, the Conference Committee met in Montreal for the purpose of giving consideration to the wage question. In view of conditions as they then existed, it was decided that the time was not opportune to press this matter to a conclusion and, therefore, a sub-committee was appointed to keep in touch with the situation and to call a meeting of the Conference Committee when it was deemed desirable, the understanding being that a meeting would be called upon request of five or more Organizations, parties to the Conference Committee, and that the Conference Committee would reconvene in any event not later than September 30, 1935.

EMPLOYMENT

Employment in the railroad industry during the past year has continued to remain at approximately a million employees, having declined to that level after the onset of the depression, while the total compensation of these employees has shown some increase as the result of the restoration of the ten per cent wage deduction.

According to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the number of employees on Class I Railroads (including officials) was 1,686,769 in the year 1929. In 1933, employment declined to 970,893 employees or 42.4 per cent and was the first time in many years that the average employment for the year fell below the million mark. Employment in 1934 increased to 1,008,995, or 3.9 per cent over that of the year 1933, but during the first six months of 1935 declined to 982,598 employees which is a decrease of 2.7 per cent under 1,009,481 employees reported for the first six months of 1934.

Total compensation in 1929 was \$2,940,868,690 and declined to \$1,403,881,664 in 1933, or 52.3 per cent. In 1934 a total of \$1.

519,225,601 was paid to employees on Class I railroads which is an increase of 8.2 per cent over that paid in 1933. During the first six months of 1935, this increase continued with total compensation of \$798,813,766 as compared to \$748,109,640 during the same period in 1934, representing an increase of 6.8 per cent.

Employment in the railroad industry generally is governed largely by the amount of traffic hauled, which is measured in terms of revenue ton miles and revenue passenger miles by the Interstate Commerce Commission. From 1929 to 1933, revenue ton miles declined from 447,822 million to 249,223 million or 44.3 per cent while revenue passenger miles declined from 31,074 million to 16,341 million or 47.4 per cent. In 1934 revenue ton miles increased to 269,006 million and revenue passenger miles to 18,036 million which is an increase over 1933 of 7.9 per cent and 10.4 per cent respectively. Unlike employment, traffic continued to increase during the first six months of 1935, when it totaled 135,233 million revenue ton miles and 8,560 million revenue passenger miles which is an increase of 1.0 per cent and 3.8 per cent respectively over the same period in 1934 with 133,863 million revenue ton miles and 8,250 million revenue passenger miles. The decline in employment during recent months cannot be accounted for except perhaps that those employed have become more efficient and therefore the smaller force handles the larger volume of traffic.

While traffic hauled has some bearing on employment in the Maintenance of Equipment Department it does not necessarily hold in the case of these employees because when it becomes necessary to cut down expenses the carriers can use their available surplus equipment in good order and thus reduce equipment maintenance to a minimum. Any substantial increase in the bad order situation, or in railroad traffic, of course, necessitates the employment of additional maintenance of equipment forces.

The number of employees in the Mechanical Department declined from 455,858 in 1929 to 262,550 in 1933 or 42.4 per cent. In 1934 there were 276,976 employed which is an increase of 5.5 per cent over the number employed in 1933. During the first six months of 1935 employment declined to 270,591 as compared to 282,525 during the same period in 1934, a decrease of 4.2 per cent.

The bad order situation, which is the worst it has been in many years, reflects the severe retrenchment policy of the carriers during the depression and its effect on employment. Considered in relation with traffic during 1934 it explains why it became necessary to increase maintenance of equipment forces at that time.

In 1929 only 6.0 per cent of the total freight cars and 16.3 per cent of the total locomotives on line were in bad order and awaiting repairs according to Reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In 1933 this percentage increased to 14.1 per cent and 31.6 per cent respectively representing an increase in bad order freight cars of 135.0 per cent and in bad order locomotives of 93.9 per cent. The situation became even worse in 1934 when 14.6 per cent of the freight cars and 32.6 per cent of the locomotives were reported in bad order which is an increase over 1933 of 3.5 per cent and 3.2 per cent respectively, and showed no substantial change during the first six months of 1935 when 14.0 per cent of the freight cars and 32.8 per cent of the locomotives were in bad order, as compared to 14.4 per cent of the freight cars and 32.9 per cent of the locomotives in bad order during the first six months of 1934.

The retrenchment policy of the carriers from 1929 to 1933 made possible a substantial reduction in maintenance of equipment expenses which came largely out of the pay envelopes of the employees in the form of part-time work and unemployment and is shown in the reduction in total compensation received by the maintenance of equipment forces.

Because of the bad order situation, both maintenance of equipment expenses and compensation increased during 1934, and compensation has continued to increase in recent months due to the restoration of the 10 per cent wage deduction. The increase in maintenance of equipment expenses, however, was only slight, it having been absorbed by a reduction in employment.

The total compensation paid to maintenance of equipment employees in 1929 was \$760,472,016, which declined in 1933 to \$329,538,488 or 56.7 per cent. In 1934 it increased to \$371,817,474 or 12.7 per cent above that of 1933. During the first six months of 1935 the compensation paid to maintenance of equipment employees continued to increase totalling \$195,589,527, which is an increase of 4.5 per cent over the like period for 1934, when \$187,096,093 was paid.

Maintenance of equipment expenses declined from \$1,211,342,962 in 1929 to \$598,704,469 in 1933 or 50.6 per cent. In 1934 they increased to \$637,896,970, which is an increase of 6.5 per cent over those for 1933. During the first six months of 1935 maintenance of equipment expenses remained at substantially the same level, increasing only 1.6 per cent to \$333,443,620 as compared to \$328,157,803 during the same period in 1934.

It is quite clear from the foregoing that railroad managements have been striving to keep their expenses at a minimum in

order to meet the demands of Wall Street even though it be at the expense of neglecting to bring up their maintenance which is in a deplorable state of disrepair and causing unemployment among their employes most of whom have devoted many years of faithful service in their employ.

Realizing the necessity of maintaining their competitive advantage the carriers have begun to improve their service by installing air-conditioning, building modern stream-line passenger trains and maintaining more frequent and faster schedules. Already it has greatly improved their passenger traffic. Similar efforts are also being made to improve freight service. With the prospect that traffic will continue to improve and there will be need for more new or improved equipment and facilities it appears as though an increase in employment can be anticipated providing, of course, it is not offset as a result of consolidations and abandonments.

LEGISLATION

For a number of years the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations have fostered legislation designed to relieve unemployment and to safeguard and improve the well-being of railroad workers particularly and all workers generally. During the Second Session of the 73d Congress they were successful in securing amendments to the Railway Labor Act and a Pension Law which was later declared unconstitutional. Continuing with their past policies these Organizations adopted and have pursued the following legislative program during the First Session of the 74th Congress:

- Six Hour Day Bill
- Full Crew Bill
- Train Limit Bill
- Amendment to Federal Employers' Liability Law
- Amendment to Hours of Service Law
- Track and Bridge Inspection Bill
- Signal Inspection Bill
- Pension and Tax Bills (new)

Meanwhile, the Honorable Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Co-ordinator of Transportation, having substantially completed his investigation and studies on a number of matters pertaining to the transportation problem, recommended the following legislation in the report which he submitted under date of January 21, 1935, to the Interstate Commerce Commission in accordance with Section 13, Title I of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act:

1. A bill for the Federal regulation of water carriers and wharfingers, in both interstate and foreign commerce, by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

2. A bill for the Federal regulation of highway motor carriers and brokers by the

3. A bill for the reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission, including the establishment of a Co-ordinator of Transportation.

4. A bill providing dismissal compensation for railroad employees displaced through co-ordination projects.

5. A bill for the revision of Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act, relating to railroad bankruptcies and reorganizations.

6. Four bills amending the Interstate Commerce Act:

- (a) To enable the Commission to prescribe minimum as well as maximum joint rail-water rates, and to establish through railroad routes regardless of the "short-hauling" of any carrier.

- (b) To include ports and gateways in the protection of Section 3 against undue preference or prejudice.

- (c) To restore Section 4 to substantially the form which it had prior to 1920.

- (d) To limit further the right to reparation for damages due to violations of the Act.

In transmitting the Co-ordinator's report to the President and Congress the Interstate Commerce Commission endorsed recommendations (1), (2), (5) and (6) except that two Commissioners did not concur in (6) (c). No opinion was expressed on (4) while all but Commissioner Miller disapproved (3).

On January 12, 1935, at a meeting held in Chicago, the Co-ordinator took up his program with a representative group of Executives and General Chairmen of the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations and explained its scope and purpose. Inasmuch as it was apparent that his program would reduce rather than increase work opportunities it was decided by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations to pursue their own legislative program and to endeavor to secure such safeguards in the legislation proposed by the Co-ordinator as would protect the interests of the employes.

EMERGENCY RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION ACT

Title I of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act which contained numerous provisions for the protection of railroad labor was due to expire on June 16, 1935. This portion of the law was originally enacted for a period of one year and in accordance with its provisions was extended for another year by a proclamation of the President.

Although the Co-ordinator in his recommendation for new legislation proposed a permanent substitute for this portion of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act which provided that the Interstate Commerce Commission be enlarged and divided into several sections so as to regulate all forms of transportation more effectively, and that the office of Co-ordinator be perpetuated by designating

a member of the Commission to perform much the same duties as were performed by the Co-ordinator under the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, it did not appear that this legislation would be enacted in time to supersede the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act and offer to railway employees the protection contained therein. Therefore, steps were immediately taken to have Title I of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act extended, and accordingly a resolution was introduced in the Senate by Senator Wheeler and passed without debate on June 10, 1935. Congressman Crosser then introduced it in the House where it was passed on June 14th and later the same day President Roosevelt signed it. This resolution extended Title I of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act for another year or until June 17, 1936. Meanwhile efforts were made by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations to secure proper safe-guards in the legislation proposed by the Co-ordinator.

BUS AND TRUCK LEGISLATION

One part of the Co-ordinator's program which was successful of enactment at the last Session of Congress was his bill for the regulation of buses and trucks by the Interstate Commerce Commission, which is a part of his comprehensive plan to bring under government regulation all land, water and air transportation. The bill, S-1629, was passed by the Senate on April 16, and by the House with some amendments on August 1, 1935. The Senate accepted the House amendments on August 5, thereby avoiding the necessity for a conference to harmonize the two bills, and it was approved by the President on August 9, 1935.

The bill as finally approved is substantially in the form recommended by Mr. Eastman, except that the House amendments provide for certain exemptions, from the regulatory features of the bill.

Only two classes of trucks are covered, those operating as common carriers in interstate commerce, with established schedules and running between fixed terminals, and trucks for contract or hire. Common carriers must obtain certificates of convenience and necessity and will be subject to rates fixed by the Commission. Trucks for hire must obtain permits and maintain minimum rates. Motor vehicles engaged exclusively in carrying livestock, fish or agricultural commodities excepting manufactured articles thereof, those engaged exclusively in the distribution of newspapers, or controlled and operated by any farmer and used in the transportation of his agricultural products or supplies or those operated by agricultural co-operative associations are exempt from the regulatory features of the bill, although the Commission is authorized to prescribe "reasonable rules for qualifications of employees," maximum hours of service and standards of equipment, which must be observed by

all vehicles in interstate service, regardless of their classification.

For the purpose of administering this law, which is known as the "Motor Carrier Act, 1935" (Part II of the amended Interstate Commerce Act) the Interstate Commerce Commission ordered that an additional Division of the Commission be created to be composed of three commissioners and for the time being called Division—7 Motor Carriers, which will have assigned to it all matters arising under the Motor Carrier Act.

FEDERAL BANKRUPTCY ACT

Another portion of the Co-ordinator's program which was successful of enactment during the last Session of Congress was his bill providing for a revision of Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act of 1933 relating to railroad bankruptcies and reorganizations. This measure is designed to reduce burdensome capital structures with their heavy fixed charges and to prevent the blocking of reorganization plans by recalcitrant minorities.

The chief purpose of Section 77 of the Bankruptcy Law of 1933 was to provide the means by which a plan of reorganization could be worked out by agreement with the creditors but the dissent of one-third of any class of creditors was sufficient to prevent the carrying out of a reorganization plan and consequently no reorganizations were consummated. In an effort to make this provision of the Bankruptcy Act workable, Mr. Eastman's staff gave considerable study to the problem and at his suggestion an amendment was introduced in Congress which was passed by the House on August 15th. The Senate did likewise on August 20th and the measure was approved by the President on August 29, 1935.

Under this law the Interstate Commerce Commission will first tentatively approve the plan of reorganization after hearing the objections of all parties of interest and then pass it on to the court of appropriate jurisdiction for approval. The plan if approved by the court will then be submitted to the creditors and shareholders, and unlike the old law which required acceptance by two-thirds of all creditors in each class, the consent of two-thirds of the creditors in each class who vote on the plan will bind the remainder in that class. Moreover, the court is authorized to make the plan effective even though it is not accepted if it finds that the plan conforms to the requirements and that rejection by the creditors is not reasonably justified in the light of their respective rights and interests.

It would appear that this Law should prove helpful in effecting some much needed reorganizations which have heretofore been impossible under the old law and as a mat-

ter of fact a number of roads have already submitted plans to the Interstate Commerce Commission for approval.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT

After the Supreme Court declared the Railroad Retirement Act unconstitutional by a 5 to 4 decision, the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations with the aid and advice of able constitutional lawyers immediately drew up a new pension bill which was designed to meet the objections of the Supreme Court. It provided for the payment of annuities to railroad workers by the Federal Government, the revenues for which would be raised by a companion tax measure providing for an excise tax of 4 per cent on the payrolls of the carriers and an income tax of 2 per cent on their employes. Because of the broad powers of Congress to levy taxes it was thought that such a retirement system would withstand all constitutional tests.

On June 25, 1935, the bill to establish the retirement system was introduced in the Senate by Senator Wagner and designated as S. 3151 and the House by Congressman Crosser and designated as H. R. 8651. The bill to levy an excise tax on carriers and an income tax on their employes was likewise introduced in the Senate by Senator Wagner as S. 3150 and in the House by Congressman Crosser as H. R. 8652. The retirement bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, while the tax bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Finance and the House Committee on Ways and Means, for hearings.

Meanwhile a resolution (H. J. Res. 314) had been introduced in the House on June 7 at the suggestion of Mr. Jos. B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator of Transportation, which would in effect postpone the consideration of pension legislation for railroad employes until the next session. It provided for the setting up of a special commission to investigate the pension question and make a report to Congress not later than March 1, 1936. It was the position of the standard Railroad Labor Organizations that such a commission would develop nothing that was not already known and presented to the Committees of Congress in connection with the Retirement Act (old) and the pending bills and therefore urged that this resolution be abandoned and consideration be given to the immediate enactment of the pension bill proposed by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, as well as the tax measure to raise the necessary revenue.

Because of the leanings of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce toward such an investigation considerable difficulty was experienced in getting a favorable report on H. R. 8651 (Railroad Retirement Bill). While the subcommittee

of which Congressman Crosser was Chairman submitted a favorable report to the full Committee on this measure, many members of the full Committee were inclined to support H. J. Res. 314 with the result that the Retirement Bill as finally reported out on August 3 was amended to provide for the appointment of a commission to study retirement legislation and to make a report to the President and Congress not later than January 1, 1936.

On August 19th, the House Rules Committee authorized Congressman Greenwood, of Indiana, to present a special rule to the House for immediate consideration of this bill. The special rule was adopted without opposition and the bill was passed without a record vote.

Meanwhile the Senate was considering a report of the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate on S. 3151 (Railroad Retirement Bill). Following the action taken by the House of Representatives, the House bill was substituted for the Senate bill and on a roll call vote was passed by a vote of 76 to 5. The bill was amended so as to remove railroad employes from Social Security Act and place them under the Railroad Retirement Bill.

Hearings were held on H. R. 8652 (Railroad Retirement Tax Bill) by the Ways and Means Committee of the House on August 15, 16 and 21, after which the bill was reported out with the tax provision amended so as to provide for a 3½ percent tax on the carriers and a 3½ per cent tax on the employes and passed by the House in this form on August 22, 1935.

Following hearings on S. 3150 (Railroad Retirement Tax Bill) which were conducted on August 22nd and 23rd, the Finance Committee of the Senate went into executive session and agreed to report out H. R. 8652 (Railroad Retirement Tax Bill) as a substitute for the Senate bill. It was passed by the Senate without a record vote on August 23, 1935.

The President signed both the Retirement Insurance and Tax Bills on August 29, 1935, and thus again assured railroad employes that they would be cared for in their later years after completing a life of faithful service for the carriers when old age would interfere with a continuation of their earning power as active workers.

The retirement measure which is known as the "Railroad Retirement Insurance Act of 1935" will become effective on March 1, 1936, and retirements will be permitted 90 days thereafter as follows: (1) employes age 65 or over, (2) employes age 50 or over with 30 years' service in which case certain deductions are made from annuity rate, and (3) employes at any age with 30 years of service retired for mental or physical disabilities. It applies to employes of rail-

roads, express companies and sleeping-car companies which are subject to the Interstate Commerce Act and to electric railways which are "part of general steam railroad systems." Employees affected are those who were in the "employment relation" to such carriers on or after its enactment which according to the Act includes employees on furlough or leave of absence, and subject to call for service and ready and willing to serve.

Annuities are based on length of service and monthly compensation and are determined by multiplying the total years of service, not exceeding thirty years, by the following percentages of the monthly compensation: 2 per centum of the first \$50; 1½ per centum of the next \$100; and 1 per centum of the compensation in excess of \$150. "Monthly compensation" is the average compensation paid to the employee by the carrier, except that for past service it is the average monthly compensation for the eight year period ending December 31, 1931, excluding all payroll periods during which the employee received no compensation. No part of any monthly compensation in excess of \$300 is recognized in determining an annuity. All service for any carrier whether or not performed continuously is counted in determining retirement age and annuities and includes as one month every calendar month during which an employee has rendered service to a carrier for compensation. Twelve such months or an ultimate fraction of six months or more constitute a year. A maximum of thirty years is all that may be used in the calculation of an annuity.

Retirement is compulsory at age 65 except that it may be extended at one year intervals until age 70 by agreement between carrier and employee. If an employee continues in service beyond 65 years of age, the annuity of such employee is reduced 1-15 for each year beyond age 65. Likewise, the annuity of an employee who retires before age 65 is reduced 1-15 for each year he lacks of being 65 years old. This reduction does not apply, however, where employees are retired at any age due to mental or physical disability provided they have 30 years of service.

The maximum monthly pension under the Act is \$120.00. An annuity amounting to a total of less than \$300.00 will be paid in a lump sum. In the event of death of an employee who is receiving or entitled to an annuity one-half of such amount will be paid to his widow or dependent next of kin for a period of one year. In applying for an annuity an employee may elect to have the present value of the annuity apply to the payment of a reduced annuity to himself during his life time and an annuity during the life of his wife. The present values and amounts of the annuity payments under this option are determined on the basis of

the combined annuity tables with interest at 3 per cent per annum.

Officers and other official representatives of employees' organizations are included under the term "employee" for the purposes of the Act and are eligible for annuities determined according to such rules and regulations as may be deemed proper by the Retirement Board with a view of providing the same annuity as if the representative were still in the employ of his last former carrier.

The Act provides for a Retirement Board composed of three members to be selected by the President; one on the recommendation of the employees, one on the recommendation of the carriers and one member to be the Chairman and appointed without recommendation of either the employees or carriers who will be charged with the administration of the Retirement System and make such investigations as to assure its adequacy and permanency. The Retirement Act also provides that the necessary funds will be distributed from the United States Treasury, and in order that the Treasury will be able to make such funds available the companion Tax Measure provides for an excise tax of 3½ per cent of the payrolls of carriers and 3½ per cent on the incomes of their employees which will not be payable, however, until March 1, 1936, the effective date of the Act, and shall continue for only one year with the understanding that it will be amended as experience determines. It should be observed that there is no direct connection between the Retirement Act and the Tax Measure.

Meanwhile, the Retirement Act provides for the appointment of a special commission composed of three members of the Senate designated by the President of the Senate, three members of the House of Representatives designated by the Speaker and three members designated by the President of the United States, which is authorized and directed to make and report through the President to Congress not later than January 1, 1936, "the results of a thorough investigation of all pertinent facts relating to a retirement annuity system applicable by law to carriers by railroad" and "make recommendation for legislation, if any, as it may deem necessary to give effect to its conclusion."

The original tax bill proposed by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations provided for a 4 per cent tax on the carriers and a 2 per cent tax on the employees on the theory that the carriers are obligated to pay the differential for past service while employees and carriers would pay equal amounts for present service. The House Ways and Means Committee saw fit to increase the total tax to 7 per cent with carriers and employees contributing equal amounts of 3½

per cent, and it was so enacted, but at the next Session of Congress an effort will be made to secure the differential in addition to such changes as the Retirement Board or the special commission may develop which will insure the establishment of a sound and permanent National pension plan for railroad employees. While no money was appropriated to put the Retirement System in operation due to the failure of Congress to enact the Third Deficiency Appropriation Bill, the President felt confident that funds could be made available from some other source until an appropriation is enacted at the next Session of Congress for this purpose.

SIX-HOUR DAY BILL

During the last Session of Congress another effort was made to secure the enactment of a Six-Hour Day Bill for railroad employees. This measure sponsored by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations was introduced in the Senate as S. 1518 and in the House as H. R. 2749 and referred to the respective Interstate Commerce Committees, but owing to the legislative jam this bill was not reported out before Congress adjourned. Efforts to secure its enactment will be continued when Congress reconvenes.

RAILROAD INVESTIGATION

By Senate Joint Resolution No. 71, which was introduced by Senator Wheeler and passed by the Senate on May 20, 1935, the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce with the assistance of the Federal Coordinator of Transportation, the Interstate Commerce Commission and other agencies of the government is authorized to make an inquiry into the financial affairs of the railroads. The Committee is directed "to make, and to report to the Senate the results of a thorough and complete investigation of the financing, reorganization, mergers, acquisitions and dispositions, insolvency, credit, securities operations and activities, financial policies and intercorporate relationships—in respect of interstate railroads, railroad holding companies, railroad affiliates, and subsidiaries—any corporation or person which is or has been affiliated with any of the foregoing, banking, legal, engineering, accounting, and other professional corporations, persons, or groups occupying a fiduciary or contractual position or relation with any of the foregoing, and any member of the family of any such person and any officer, agent or director of any such corporation or group."

The following eighteen roads have been selected for investigation by Mr. Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator of Transportation:

St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Co., Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific, Missouri Pacific, Chicago & Northwestern, Chi-

cago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific; the Kansas City Southern, Chesapeake & Ohio, Erie, New York, Chicago and St. Louis; Pere Marquette, Chicago & Eastern Illinois, Pennsylvania Railroad Co., Wabash, Delaware & Hudson, Illinois Central, Southern Railway Co., Central of Georgia and the Florida East Coast Railway Co.

Concerning this investigation Mr. Eastman said:

The object of the investigation is not merely to exploit certain possible malodorous or questionable transactions, but to appraise general railroad conditions with a special reference to the conduct of financial matters and the part which financial influence plays in railroad management, purposes and policies, all with a view to correcting any conditions, either by legislation or otherwise, which may be found to be in need of correction.

Inasmuch as the financial affairs of the railroads and their relations with financial interests are apparently to play an important part in the investigation it is desirable if fairly typical conditions are to be considered that the railroads selected should be representative of financial interests which have been most closely associated with the railroads.

The two leading interests to be considered in this connection are J. P. Morgan & Co. and Kuhn, Loeb & Co., affiliated financial institutions. There are others such as Speyer & Co., J. & W. Seligman & Co., Hayden, Stone & Co., and Dillon, Read & Co., which have played lesser parts.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS

Following our entry into the World War, the railroads were in such a chaotic state and unable under private management to meet the emergency which existed that it became necessary for the Federal Government to take them over and operate them for the duration of the War. They were returned completely rehabilitated to their private owners by the Transportation Act of 1920.

Since then and particularly in recent years the railroads have been faced with many serious problems growing out of years of high finance and abuse by the absentee owners, the financial interests of Wall Street, which to gain their selfish interests have burdened the railroads with a debt far beyond their ability to pay and in order to meet the fixed charges on that debt, have pursued a short-sighted policy of curtailing transportation facilities and deferring necessary maintenance, thereby destroying many communities and throwing hundreds of thousands of their employees out of work. The mad paradox of attempting to reap greater profits by rendering less service threatens the very existence of the carriers themselves. By failing to

maintain progress in the railroad industry, the financiers have placed the carriers at a competitive disadvantage and, therefore, their earning power has been seriously impaired by other competing forms of transportation, making it necessary for them to depend largely on government assistance to maintain their facilities and meet their obligations. Over 42,000 miles of road operated are now in receivership or undergoing reorganization. Efforts have been made to deal with this situation piece-meal by various means, none of which has reached the heart of the problem. Under these circumstances it is inevitable that the Government will again be forced to take over the operation of the railroads.

The Standard Railroad Labor Organizations have given a great deal of study to this problem and have with but few exceptions come to the conclusion that nothing that might be done can effectively prevent the recurrence of the past and present abuses in the railroad industry except Government Ownership and accordingly the following Resolution was adopted by the Railway Labor Executives' Association at a meeting held in Washington, D. C., on June 20, 1935:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, It has become increasingly clear, since the beginning of the depression, that a fundamental revision of the public policy respecting the railways of the United States is necessary. Isolated problems have been given the attention of Congress and of the various regulatory bureaus concerned with railway affairs; emergency measures of several kinds have been taken, dealing with different aspects of railway difficulties; new regulatory agencies have been established, old agencies have been revamped, and new duties have been given to existing bodies. But the continuance of the basic abuses of the industry, and the reappearance of old problems under new forms as regulation was evaded, indicate that none of the proposals adopted has reached to the causes of the general railway distress; and

WHEREAS, Study of the many problems of the industry shows conclusively that the responsibility for most of its major difficulties is to be found in the fact that the railways have come under the practically complete domination of the banking and financial interests of the country. Control by these interests, which center in a few powerful Wall Street banking houses, is exerted largely through their representation upon the Boards of Directors of the Railway Corporations. In many cases, ownership by financial institutions of large amounts of railway bonds has given to them the power to control railway managements. Because of the wide distribution of railway stocks among individual investors, it has also been possible for banking institu-

tions by ownership of a relatively small proportion of the total railway capital, to exert an unduly great influence upon railway managements. By these and other means such as the creation of highly questionable holding companies, the banks have riveted their control upon this, our most vital industry; and

WHEREAS, Railway financiers had, during the decade preceding the depression, pursued in an especially reckless manner their general policy of taking for themselves as large a proportion of railway revenue as possible, while they loaded the industry down with a heavy and unjustified burden of debt. The growth of competing transportation agencies and the need for improved managerial methods to meet that competition were neglected by the railways under the urge of this purely financial control. The demand for increased returns to railway financiers and the efforts to unify specific properties along the lines which haphazard intercorporate relationships dictated, resulted in relocations of facilities and various types of unifications and mergers which had no relationship whatever to the transportation needs of the country. Hundreds of thousands of railway workers were thus thrown out of employment and a large number of communities throughout the country were destroyed to increase the returns to the wholly irresponsible groups controlling the railways. These short-sighted policies planned only to produce immediate gains for railway financiers inflicted upon the industry very serious injury; and

WHEREAS, The effects of the depression which would have been serious even had the industry been properly financed, were, under the circumstances, disastrous. Railway revenues naturally declined, until the net income was in many cases barely sufficient to meet the swollen fixed charges brought about by pre-depression finance. The railway industry, which had been so rich a harvest for these financiers, and which merited their forbearance and protection, was now not only to be abandoned, so far as further financing was concerned, but was to feel a demand for a continuance of payments to its security owners, which has brought the industry to the verge of complete collapse. Necessary new financing has been denied. Refinancing of maturing obligations has been denied. Railway managements throughout the country have been forced to reduce expenditures for operating purposes not only to the minimum, but far below the lowest level consistent with proper operations. Railway facilities have been allowed to deteriorate to the point where the efficiency of railway service has been seriously impaired and where its safety has been greatly reduced. Railway

workers absolutely necessary to a proper maintenance and operation of the railways have been thrown out of employment in order that the money which should have been paid in wages might be diverted to satisfy the demands of the railway financiers. The conditions thus brought about, already grave enough, will become even more dangerous unless they are immediately corrected. Railway road beds and equipment, already badly under-maintained, must show in future months in still greater degree, the results of these years of neglect; and

WHEREAS, It has become clear neither railway revenues nor new private financing within any reasonable time in the future will permit the restoring of proper conditions upon the railroads. Any future increase in revenues will certainly be diverted as past revenues have been, to the satisfaction of the demands of railway financiers. The United States Government has, during the depression, taken over the duties and the responsibilities of these financial groups to the railway industry. Refinancing of maturing obligations and the financing of necessary maintenance and improvement of equipment has had to be undertaken by the Federal Government. Whatever advantages may come to the industry as a result of such public financing will certainly be taken by private financial groups if they are permitted to do so. It is evident that the industry will be dependent upon public financing for a long time to come; as a result of that financing, the holdings of private financial groups will increase in value; and

WHEREAS, A multiplicity of abuses which developed in the industry as a result of private ownership and operation had brought about in the half century preceding the depression, a complex and chaotic body of regulatory laws, both State and National. These laws were in large part designed to check the abuses of private financing and operation of the roads. Of necessity, they were almost entirely negative in character. The railway corporations, by the diversion of railway revenues for the employment of an army of attorneys, persistently sought methods by which Governmental regulation could be evaded or could be turned to the advantage of railway corporations. The real purposes of regulation were thus defeated; and

WHEREAS, The railway industry faces the necessity not alone of restoring its equipment and service to normal, but also of adapting itself to the new conditions brought about by the development of other transportation facilities. The chaotic operating and management conditions caused by the peculiarities of fi-

nancial relationships must be corrected. All of these conditions will require constructive and positive measures in the public interest; and

WHEREAS, Governmental regulation by its very character is unfitted for such positive and constructive measures and there is every reason to believe that the financial interests controlling the railways will endeavor to thwart rather than to foster the public interest in the era of re-organization which confronts the industry; and

WHEREAS, Public ownership and operation of the railways under the Federal government will permit the integration of the railways in the manner most conducive to safe, efficient and economical operation. Federal financing under Federal ownership will cost much less and can be much more wisely directed than either private or public financing under private ownership and operation. The necessary co-ordination of railways with other types of transportation can be done in a manner to safeguard public interests only if there is complete Governmental control of the railways. The immediate rehabilitation of railway facilities, which is absolutely essential to the safe and efficient operation of the railways, is not possible excepting through Federal financing, and will be very difficult unless with Federal financing, there is also Federal ownership and operation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Railway Labor Executives' Association hereby declare themselves as favoring the immediate taking over of the railways of the United States by the Federal Government and the creation of agencies within the Federal Government to manage and operate the railways.

ELECTRIC RAILROADS

In amending the Railway Labor Act, particular care was given to revising the definition of a "carrier" so as to definitely include all electric railroads which operate as "a part of a general steam-railroad system of transportation." The Railway Labor Act of 1926 contained an exemption clause which excluded from the law the purely street, suburban and interurban electric lines but because there was no effective means of determining this question, many electric railroads which properly came within the provisions of the law claimed exemption with the result that their employees were denied the benefit thereof. In the amended law provision is made for a review by the Interstate Commerce Commission "upon request of the Mediation Board, or upon complaint of any party interested to determine after hearing whether any line operated by electric power falls within the terms of this proviso."

The Board has received numerous requests for its services in representation disputes involving electric carriers. In most instances, on complaint of the carriers, it has been necessary for the Board to defer taking jurisdiction until a decision was rendered by the Interstate Commerce Commission after hearings on the question of whether or not these roads were covered by the Railway Labor Act.

Early this year nine such cases were submitted to the Interstate Commerce Commission by the Board. The Commission announced that hearings would be held on three of them, namely, the Texas Electric, Sacramento Northern, and Waterloo, Cedar Falls & Northern Railways, and suggested that the decisions regarding these three lines would aid the Board in determining the status of other electric carriers and perhaps avoid the necessity of hearings on all of them.

The Commission decided on March 16, 1935, that all three roads came within the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, and in addition clearly set out the principles governing the definition of an electric carrier which it was understood would be used by the Board to claim jurisdiction where it appeared warranted and if its authority was disputed the matter would be referred to the Commission for decision.

While a number of representation disputes involving electric carriers were settled by the Board without the necessity of first referring them to the Commission there were many others where the authority of the Board was challenged with the result that the Commission was asked to pass on them. Hearings were scheduled on eleven properties and are now in the process of completion. It is anticipated that decisions on all of them will be rendered at the same time.

LITIGATION INVOLVING RAILWAY LABOR ACT

The efforts of the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations to establish representation for their various crafts in accordance with the provisions of the Railway Labor Act have been met with very stubborn opposition on the part of certain company unions, who have sought, undoubtedly at the behest of their managements, to postpone their ultimate demise by resorting to their last but certainly false hope—litigation which so far has proved unavailing of any permanent results insofar as they are concerned, and has served only to cause the needless spending of time and money which might otherwise have been used to improve the welfare of railroad employees. But such litigation must not go unchallenged lest the fruits of years of effort on the part of the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations go for naught, and, therefore, no

effort has been spared to pursue such litigation with every means at hand, first in order to protect the interests of the membership involved, and secondly to set clear precedents which will once and for all remove the threat of attack from this quarter by company unions in the future.

CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND & PACIFIC

Among the first roads which the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L. and its affiliated organizations sought to organize was the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific. Considerable difficulty was experienced because of the coercive activities of the management, but by enlisting the support of the Federal Coordinator of Transportation and later the National Mediation Board under the Railway Labor Act such practices were reduced to a minimum and ultimately an election was conducted by the Board to determine representation which resulted in the respective Standard Railroad Labor Organizations affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., being designated to represent the machinists, boilermakers, sheet metal workers, carmen and roundhouse and shop and car department laborers by the certification of the Board dated October 13, 1934. The Rock Island Association of Mechanical & Power Plant Employees (Company Union) won the blacksmiths, electrical workers and telegraph and telephone linemen, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, the water service mechanics and helpers, while certification for the power plant employees was withheld pending the receipt by the Board of briefs from the parties to the dispute on the question of whether or not power house employees should be combined with shop laborers in counting the vote. Such a brief was filed subsequently by the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., and on January 9, 1935, the Board issued a supplemental certification designating the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers to represent both the shop laborers and power plant employees. Meanwhile the existing agreement covering the other crafts won was taken over by System Federation No. 6 of the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L.

Shortly thereafter the Rock Island Association of Mechanical & Power Plant Employees brought two suits in the District Court of the United States for the Division of Kansas, one to restrain the Company from ceasing to collect their dues by means of the check-off, and the other to prevent management from recognizing the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers as the duly elected representative of the laborers and power plant employees and were successful in getting a temporary injunction in both instances pending hearings and final disposition of these matters by the Court.

The first of these suits is an attack on the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act which specifically prohibits the collection of dues by means of the check-off system. The Company Union alleges that it deprives them of their contractual rights with the Company, and thus deprives them of property without due process of law in violation of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution. Following the enactment of the amendments to the Railway Labor Act, management had served thirty days' notice terminating their check-off agreement with the Company Union in accordance with its terms. The Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., filed a motion to dismiss on the grounds that the Company had fulfilled its obligation by terminating the agreement in accordance with its terms.

The suit to prevent the Company from recognizing the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers was filed when an effort was made to negotiate an agreement to cover the employees this organization was designated to represent by the National Mediation Board. A motion to dismiss was also filed in this case.

As this is written, the motion to dismiss was denied in the case involving the check-off, and hearings are pending to decide the matter on its merits while no action has as yet been taken on the representation case involving the Firemen and Oilers.

ST. LOUIS & SOUTHWESTERN RAILWAY

On the St. Louis & Southwestern Railway the National Mediation Board made a check of authorizations in a representation dispute filed by the Mechanical Trades through the Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor, but before the certification was issued the Association of Car Department Employees of the St. Louis & Southwestern Railway (Company Union) filed a bill of complaint with the United States District Court, Eastern District of Arkansas, Western Division, in which it was alleged that the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations had used coercion in obtaining the authorizations on which representation would be based and prayed for an injunction to restrain the Company from entering into an agreement for the Carmen with System Federation No. 45 of the Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor.

After becoming a party to the suit by filing an interplea, System Federation No. 45 on January 24, 1935, filed a motion to dismiss the complaint for want of jurisdiction of the Court. The motion was sustained, but the Association was granted leave to amend its complaint within thirty days, without prejudice to intervenors objecting to any amendments being filed.

On January 31, 1935, the Board issued its certification by which System Federation No. 45 was designated to represent the employees

in the mechanical department following which the Association filed an amended bill of complaint. Another motion to dismiss was filed by System Federation No. 45. Pending hearings a conference was arranged with management to take over the existing agreements, but before any progress could be made, Judge E. Marteneau issued a temporary injunction restraining management from entering into any agreement with System Federation No. 45. This was later amended, however, so as to affect the carmen only, and the agreements covering the other crafts were taken over. Hearings were finally held on May 16, 1935, and the motion to dismiss was sustained whereupon the agreement for the carmen was taken over by System Federation No. 45.

VIRGINIAN RAILWAY COMPANY

Perhaps the most important case which has arisen is that involving the Virginian Railway Company, inasmuch as the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act as amended on June 21, 1934, was sustained by the decision handed down on July 24, 1935, by Judge Luther B. Way of the United States Court for the Eastern District of Virginia.

The situation in this case was somewhat reversed in that the suit was filed by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations through System Federation No. 40 of the Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor, when the management refused to recognize and deal with the Federation as the duly elected representative of the employees in the mechanical department in accordance with the Railway Labor Act and the certification of the National Mediation Board.

A representation dispute was filed with the National Mediation Board on August 8, 1934, by the Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor, following unsuccessful efforts to secure a conference with management to establish representation and negotiate an agreement for the employees in the mechanical department. An election was conducted under the supervision of a mediator and resulted in the issuance of a certification by the Board under date of September 13, 1934, designating System Federation No. 40 of the Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor, as the representative of these employees.

An earnest effort was made by the duly elected representatives of System Federation No. 40 to secure a conference with management to negotiate an agreement covering wages and working conditions, but management refused to meet them on the pretext that there was some question as to the legality of the election and that they desired to take it up with the Board.

The Board's attention was called to this situation and accordingly management was notified on October 15, 1934, that under date of September 13, 1934, System Federation No. 40 had been certified as the

duly accredited representative of the employees in the mechanical department.

Further efforts were made to arrange a conference, but management persisted in its refusal to meet with the representatives of System Federation No. 40, this time on the basis of information furnished them by the officers of the Mechanical Department Association that a majority of the employees did not desire representation through the System Federation, and that the Association desired to participate in any conferences which might be arranged.

With management obstinate in its refusal to meet with the representatives of System Federation No. 40, there remained but one course to follow, and that was to file suit to secure compliance with the Railway Labor Act. Accordingly a bill of complaint was filed in the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Virginia for an order to compel the Company to recognize and deal with the Federation as provided in the Railway Labor Act.

On July 1935, Judge Luther B. Way handed down a decision holding the Virginian Railway was violating the Railway Labor Act by refusing to recognize the right of employees to choose representatives free of influence or intimidation by the Railway Company. An injunction was granted by the Court prohibiting the Company from threatening or coercing the employees.

In sustaining the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act, Judge Way not only ruled out the Company Union set-up and held that management had to confer with System Federation No. 40 but made the flat declaration that "the right of self organization and representation in the matters of rates of pay, hours of labor and working conditions is a property right, the loss of which would result in irreparable damages to complainants." Furthermore, he upheld and clarified the majority rule for determining representation.

The carrier has ninety days in which to make an appeal and it is said that they will do so before the expiration of this period.

WESTERN MARYLAND RAILWAY COMPANY

When the National Mediation Board undertook to conduct an election of the employees in the mechanical department of the Western Maryland Railway, following invocation of its services by the Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor, on April 15, 1935, management not only refused to co-operate by refusing to make available its payroll lists so that the mediator could make up an eligible list of voters, but in addition favored the Company Union in its program

of intimidation to get employees to sign authorizations for representation by the Company Union. On May 14, 1935, the Board advised that the Western Maryland Employees' Association, i.e., the Company Union, had filed suit in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia seeking to restrain the Board from conducting an election. A motion to intervene was filed by the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., and hearings are now pending.

ATLANTIC COAST LINE RAILROAD

The outstanding feature of the case on the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad is the fact that the Railroad Company has made no effort to conceal its preference for their company union which it has supported openly in the face of all law or government.

On August 27, 1934, the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., invoked the services of the National Mediation Board to investigate a representation dispute and determine, in accordance with the Railway Labor Act, who represented the employees performing the work of the six mechanical trades, coach cleaners, power-house employees and shop laborers. As the result of an election, ordered by the Board, the mediator reported in favor of the Shopmen's Association of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad. One of the representatives of the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., who acted as an observer during the election, refused to sign the mediator's report, and immediately filed a protest with the Board alleging that the Company had used intimidation and coercion to influence the employees to vote for the company union. He requested that the Board investigate the charges, and if found to be true, order that a new election be held, and in the meantime withhold certification of the representatives shown to have been elected.

The Board withheld its certification and conducted extensive hearings at various points along the railroad. In its order directing that hearings be held, the Board cited the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad in order that it might have an opportunity to answer the charges made, but did not make the carrier a party to the dispute. At the hearings, the Company Union (Atlantic Coast Line Shopmen's Association) was not represented by counsel, but did offer some witnesses who stated that the Board should certify the representatives designated at the election which was held. Otherwise the burden of its case was left to management.

On February 19, 1935, the Board rendered its report and ordered that a new election be held. Two mediators were assigned, who after making an effort to conduct an election, advised the Board that neither the

Company nor the Company Union would co-operate because the latter had filed a petition in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia on March 12, 1935, seeking an injunction to restrain the Board from conducting an election in accordance with their report of February 19, 1935. In addition to the members of the Board, the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company and the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., were made party defendants to the bill of complaint. Moreover, it was prayed that the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., its officers and agents be enjoined from interfering with the existing relationship between the Shopmen's Association and the Company, and that the Company be compelled to deal with the Shopmen's Association.

The Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., filed a motion to dismiss and hearings were begun on March 26, 1935. By consent of all parties, the hearing was combined upon the motion to show cause and the motion to dismiss the bill of complaint. The outstanding feature of this litigation was the fact that the Railroad Company was made a party defendant and filed an answer to the bill admitting the allegations contained therein, and praying for an injunction as asked for in the bill filed by the Shopmen's Association. Much was made of this action to show collusion between the Company Union and management.

On April 25, 1935, Justice O. R. Lurhing, before whom the case was heard, handed down his decision which in effect maintained the status quo pending a further hearing at which time a final decision would be rendered. The order for another election could not be carried out, but both the Association and the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations were permitted to carry on their organizing activities as before while the Company was required to deal with the Company Union pending the final decision of the Court.

PROGRESS OF ORGANIZATION

Continuing with the good progress which was made during the previous year, the organizing activities of the International Organizations comprising six Mechanical Trades and the Firemen and Oilers affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., have shown a remarkable increase during the past year, while so-called company unions are rapidly becoming a thing of the past.

Since June, 1933, when the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act became law, recognition has been established on a total of 76 new roads. The existing agreement has been taken over on 26 roads while new agreements have been negotiated on 42 roads, making a total of 68 roads upon

which agreements have been entered into with the System Federations affiliated to the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L. It should be observed that it has been the practice of these organizations to take over the company union agreement after representation has been established so that their membership would have a set of rules to work under pending the negotiation of a new agreement.

The Railway Labor Act was amended in a number of important respects in June, 1934, and gave great impetus to the organizing activities of the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L., and its affiliated Organizations. Since August, 1934, when the law was functioning in full force following the appointment and active participation of the new National Mediation Board, recognition was established on 52 roads, existing agreements were taken over on 26 roads and new agreements negotiated on 31 roads, making a total of 57 roads where contractual relations have been established during the past year. In addition, as this is being written, mediation has been invoked on 4 new roads, a check of authorizations to establish representation is being made on 3 roads by agreement, while negotiations on new agreements are in progress on 14 roads.

There can be no mistake about this record. Given an opportunity to express their desires in the matter of representation without influence, coercion or intimidation as is provided under the Railway Labor Act, railroad employees have overwhelmingly chosen the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations to represent them. We have here also an indication of the effectiveness of the Railway Labor Act and its administration by the National Mediation Board in protecting the Constitutional rights of railroad employees which may well serve as a model for similar legislation affecting all workers. The answer to this tremendous wave of sentiment for the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, however, may be found in the effective manner in which they have performed their functions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Secretary Gillooly submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials begs to report receipt of communication from B. A. Albert, of the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers'

Union No. 17742, Chicago, Ill., requesting the seating of I. J. Fitzgerald in his place, as he is unable to attend.

We recommend the seating of Delegate-elect I. J. Fitzgerald in place of B. A. Albert with 7 votes.

In accordance with communications received from President I. M. Ornburn, of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America, we recommend the seating of John Van Vaerenyck, with 70 votes, in place of Delegate-elect I. M. Ornburn, who will represent the Union Label Trades Department.

We further recommend the seating of Frank Burch in place of Delegate-elect Adolph Hirschberg, of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, Pa., who will be unable to attend the convention due to ill health.

We have examined the credential of John J. Egan, representing the Connecticut State Federation of Labor, and recommend that the delegate be seated with one vote.

Secretary Gillooly moved that the report be adopted and the delegates seated. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green announced the following additions to convention committees:

Add the name of A. Gordon, United Garment Workers, to Committee on Laws.

Add the name of W. E. Bryan, Leather Workers, to Committee on Labels.

Add the name of John B. Easton, West Virginia State Federation of Labor, to the Committee on State Organizations.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication, written on the stationery of "Our Lady, Star of the Sea" church, Atlantic and California Avenues, dated October 8th:

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary;
American Federation of Labor,
Ambassador Hotel,
Atlantic City.

Dear Mr. Morrison:

At the suggestion of some of the delegates to the Convention, we have made special arrangements for the delegates to attend Mass at this Church on Sunday morning, October 13th, at 10 a. m.

The centre aisle of the Church will be reserved for them at this Mass. If the delegates do not wear their badges, they are requested to mention to the usher the fact that they are delegates of the Federation of Labor, so they may be properly seated.

Sincerely yours,

(Rt. Rev.) MAURICE R. SPILLANE,
Vicar General of Diocese of Trenton.

MEMORIAL TO DECEASED MEMBERS

President Green: It is always customary for the officers and delegates in attendance at conventions of the American Federation of Labor, at some time during the convention, to pause for a few minutes in their deliberations for the purpose of paying a silent tribute of respect to our brothers of the trade union movement who have passed away during the past year. It occurs to me that this would be a very proper time for us to carry out and conform to that beautiful custom. I will submit to Secretary Morrison the names of the officers and members of organized labor, many of whom you all knew and others whom some of you knew. We will have these names read at this time, and if there are names of others who have passed away and are not included, I ask those present to arise and give their names. After the names are read, the Chair will call upon the officers and delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention to rise and stand for a moment while we pay a solemn tribute of respect to our departed brothers.

Secretary Morrison read the following list:

LIST OF LABOR OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR DECEASED SINCE THE 1934 CONVENTION, WITH DATE OF DEATH:

1934 - 1935

CHARLES M. MOORE, General Vice-President, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada. Died, October 21, 1934.

THOMAS S. FARRELL, Secretary, Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor; Vice-President Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' League of America. Died, December 18, 1934.

MARTIN F. RYAN, Treasurer, American Federation of Labor; also President, Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America. Died, January 17, 1935.

J. P. HUNTER, Vice-President, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America. Died January 20, 1935.

GEORGE T. THORNTON, President, International Union of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers of America. Died, January 21, 1935.

THOMAS E. MALOY, Business Representative, Local 110, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, in Chicago, Illinois. Died, February 4, 1935.

HUGH V. REILLY, General Organizer for the American Federation of Labor. Died, February 16, 1935.

FRANK MCKENNA, Vice-President, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America. Died, February 17, 1935.

ALBERT AHLSTRAND, Charter member of the Carpenters' Union in Monmouth, Ohio. Died, March, 1935.

HERMAN JOHNSON, President of the Electrical Workers' Local Union, No. 184, for many years. Died, March, 1935.

CORNELIUS FORD, Member of Columbia Typographical Union, No. 101. Died, March 20, 1935.

LOUIS P. MARQUARDT, Former Secretary, Georgia State Federation of Labor. Died, April 9, 1935.

WADE SHURTLEFF, Legislative Representative, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. Died, April 9, 1935.

THOMAS J. CONBOY, General Organizer, American Federation of Labor. Died, April 22, 1935.

FREDERICK N. ZIHLMAN, Member of the Executive Board of the American Flint Glass Workers; served for five years as President of the Cumberland, Maryland, Central Labor Union; first President of the Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor. Died, May, 1935.

LOUIS C. HERDER, Charter member of the Bartenders' Union in Portsmouth, Ohio; president of the Central Labor Council for many years. Died, May, 1935.

JOSEPH F. MURPHY, Secretary, International Union of Elevator Constructors. Died, May 21, 1935.

JOHN M. MACAULEY, President, Quarry Workers' International Union of North America. Died, May 27, 1935.

E. J. ROACH, Member of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. Died, June 28, 1935.

HENRY McANARENY, General Organizer for the American Federation of Labor. Died, August 8, 1935.

PETER DALNELL, International Representative, International Union of Operating Engineers. Died, August 15, 1935.

WILLIAM B. FITZGERALD, First Vice-President of Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America. Died, August 16, 1935.

WILLIAM LAWRENCE HOGAN, Representative, American Federation of Hosiery Workers. Died, August 22, 1935.

JOSEPH SILVERBERG, Member, Columbia Typographical Union, No. 101. Died, August 28, 1935.

WILLIAM M. MORGAN, Past President, Ohio State Federation of Labor; was president of the Newark, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly. Died, September 17, 1935.

J. M. ELLIS, Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America. Died, September 18, 1935.

J. P. O'DONNELL, Vice-President International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. Died, May 25, 1935.

JAMES H. BOWMAN, former President, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, Chicago. Died, September 24, 1935.

IRVING KNOTT, Representative L. U. No. 9, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers. Died, January 3, 1935.

WILLIAM W. BROCIUS, Secretary, Central Labor Union, Member of Carpenters' Union, Scranton, Pa.

SOL PALAKOFF, Former Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Died, August 7, 1935.

JOHN J. DRAN, Brooklyn, N. Y., Member United Textile Workers. Died, April, 1935.

C. J. GOLDEN, Secretary Anthracite Board of Conciliation. Died, July, 1935.

DAVID HICKEY, Compensation Officer, District No. 5, United Mine Workers of America. Died, April, 1935.

BERNARD HOLLANDER, Member Executive Board United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers. Died, September 18, 1935.

FRANK PERRY, Vice-President Maine State Federation of Labor. Died, March, 1935.

EDWARD DEMENT, Vice-President Plasterers and Cement Workers. Died, March, 1935.

FRED WAYMAN, Official of Lathers' Union, Chicago. Died July 9, 1935.

M. J. McCLUSKY, Lathers' Union, New York City. Died, January 6, 1935.

W. A. SHILLINGFORD, General Chairman Western Pacific Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. Died, September 2, 1935.

A. F. J. STEFFES, General Chairman Michigan Central Railroad Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. Died, September 15, 1935.

FREDERICK K. HARRIES, Secretary-Treasurer International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local No. 58, Detroit, Mich. Died, August 11, 1935.

G. HARRY DUNDERDOLE, Boston Newspaper Writers' Union. Died, July 25, 1935.

FRED C. GASSMAN, Grand Lodge Vice-President, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees. Died, July 18, 1935.

BEN PITTS, Vice-President Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers. Died, October 2, 1935.

GEORGE F. GREENE, Boston, Representative of International Typographical Union.

JOHN A. McLOGAN, Detroit, Representative of International Typographical Union.

CHARLES N. SMITH, New York, Third Vice-President of International Typographical Union.

AL SHIPPAUGH, Past President Nevada State Federation of Labor.

The delegates and visitors, at the request of President Green, arose and stood in silence for one minute in tribute to the deceased members.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: The delegates and officers of the State federations in attendance at this convention held a meeting in the convention hall at noon today. It was the largest assemblage of that kind that has taken place at a first meeting since the representatives of State federations have been meeting in that way. We will meet tonight and again tomorrow night in the Venetian Room of the Ambassador Hotel at 7:30 o'clock, and urge all delegates and officers of State federations to attend.

President Green: The time limit for the introduction of resolutions by duly accredited delegates will expire at midnight tonight. All of those who desire to introduce resolutions before the time limit expires will present them to the Secretary at his desk here on the platform or at his office on the first floor of the Ambassador Hotel.

KOHLER MANUFACTURING COMPANY,
KOHLER, WIS.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and Charles Heymanns, Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, Members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545, employed by the Kohler Manufacturing Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, manufacturers of plumbing fixtures, bathtubs, sinks, pottery ware, lavatories, heating plants, radiators, electric light plants, and brass plumbing fittings, were forced to go on strike on July 16, 1934, in order to enforce their rights for collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, On July 27, 1934, special police of the village of Kohler, armed with tear gas, gas bombs, riot guns, pistols, rifles, machine guns, and armored trucks, under orders of village officials, who are also high officials of the Kohler Company, fired into a mass of people who had gathered for the purpose of a demonstration before the company's plant, killing two union men and seriously wounding forty-three other men and women, besides gassing scores of men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, At the time the employees of this company started their movement to organize into a labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, officials of the Kohler Company, in an attempt to break up this movement, organized a company union known as the Kohler Workers' Association, and the Kohler Company refused to deal with our union for minimum wages and working conditions to prevail in the plant and insisted that it would deal with the company union, regardless of the strength of our A. F. of L. Union; and

WHEREAS, After the strike of the A. F. of L. Union had been in progress for weeks, completely closing the plant, and the case having been taken before the National Labor Relations Board, the Board found that the company union had been organized in violation of Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act, but instead of ordering this illegal company union dissolved, it ordered that a vote be taken among the employees of the company to determine whether they wished to be represented by the A. F. of L. union or by the illegal company union, and over the protest of the A. F. of L. union, allowed the name of the illegal company union on the election ballot; and

WHEREAS, Just prior to the holding of this election, the Kohler Company over a period of fourteen months, took advantage of the numerous delays of NRA machinery to intimidate, coerce and bribe many workers to desert by promises of life-long jobs, etc., while the company union, with the aid of the

company, circularized letters among the employees, intimating that the ending of the strike and the resumption of work depended on the company union winning the vote and further intimating that the company would give preference in employment to members of the company union; and

WHEREAS, Because of the ruling of the National Labor Relations Board, allowing the name of the company union which it itself had declared to be an illegal organization, to appear on the ballot while hundreds of union men laid off during the campaign against our union were refused to vote, and because of the corrupt practices of the company and the company union, the A. F. of L. union had no chance in the election; and

WHEREAS, Members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545, conscious of the fact that they have been unfairly dealt with, and that a deep principle of genuine collective bargaining is involved in this struggle, are determined to continue the fight against the Kohler Company; that because of the prominence of the Kohler Company, the defeat of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 will have the most dire and dangerous effect upon the entire organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Federal Labor Union No. 18545 has declared the Kohler Company unfair to labor and has requested all organized labor and its friends to refrain from buying or using Kohler products, which include plumbing fixtures, bathtubs, sinks, lavatories, pottery ware, heating plants, radiators, electric light plants, brass fittings, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor at its annual convention in Appleton, Wisconsin, July 16 to 19, 1935, after considering all phases of this controversy, took action declaring this firm as unfair to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention, assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 7th to 21st, 1935, goes on record extending to these striking members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 cordial greetings and expressions of appreciation for the splendid and courageous battle they have put up for justice in the face of tremendous odds; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, considering all facts in connection with this controversy, hereby declares that the Kohler Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, is extremely unfair to the organized labor movement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the Federation be requested to report on this matter to this convention in accordance

with Section 4 of Article IX of the Constitution of the Federation, so that official action on placing a boycott against this company may be taken.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS — PANAMA CANAL ZONE EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate Lee R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to the improvement of working conditions of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, relating particularly to the employment of American citizens by the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company and other agencies of the United States Government performing functions on the Isthmus of Panama, and contractors performing work for the above agencies; that the chosen representatives of Organized Labor on the Canal Zone be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions, regardless of position, leave or quarters status; that Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees be allowed to retire after 25 years of service at age 55; that widows of retired annuitants of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees shall receive two-thirds of the annuity received by the retired annuitant; that a more equitable method of handling disability fault cases under the Canal Zone retirement laws be enacted; that a local agent representing the Public Works Administration be assigned to the Canal Zone; that a resident commissioner similar to those now in effect for Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands be established for the Canal Zone; and that the Panama Railroad Steamship Line be continued in operation on account of the undoubted benefits which result therefrom to the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad and the employees thereof; and

WHEREAS, These policies are in accord with the policy of the American Federation of Labor that the United States Government should establish employment standards which will be a model for private industry to emulate; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of the above policies; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to continue their cooperation with the Canal Zone Central Labor Union to bring about the accomplishment of these objectives.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

EMPLOYMENT OF AMERICAN CITIZENS ON EMERGENCY RELIEF PROJECTS ON PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Lee R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 was enacted for the purpose of providing relief, work relief, and to increase employment by providing for useful projects; and

WHEREAS, If sums appropriated under the Act are allotted to the Canal Zone relatively few American citizens will be employed thereon, as the major portion of the work will be performed by aliens; and

WHEREAS, This practice would appear to be defeating the purpose of the Act; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the employment of American citizens on such Emergency Relief projects on the Canal Zone, at wage scales commensurate with those prevailing on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to cooperate with the Panama Metal Trades Council on the program as outlined above.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Charles F. Holloper, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized that the dwellings available to the majority of workers are sub-standard, obsolete, and grossly inadequate, particularly when contrasted with our country's vast resources of land, labor, materials, and skill; and

WHEREAS, In spite of an acute impending housing shortage and rising rents, the building industry remains idle and the great majority of building workers are still unemployed; and this paralysis of the building industry, even in face of an acute housing shortage, is largely due to the long standing inability of private enterprise to supply new or modern dwellings at a price within reach of the average worker; and

WHEREAS, It has been officially recognized by Congress, by the Administration, and by many state legislatures that public aid and initiative are necessary if the housing problem is to be attacked effectively, and the Administration has repeatedly promised and even attempted to undertake an extensive program of planned large-scale housing projects; and

WHEREAS, The Government's housing program has thus far been steadily compromised by the lack of a clear-cut long-term policy and legislation to effect it, and by the treatment of housing as a mere adjunct to a temporary, emergency relief program; and the entire public works program has now been reduced almost to the vanishing point, while vast funds are allocated to "make-work" projects of no permanent value at starvation wages; and

WHEREAS, An active, unified, and informed demand on the part of workers and consumers, led by organized labor, is the only force which can animate and promote a permanent public housing policy, and compel the Administration to put its promises into effect; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That a long-term public housing policy must be adopted in order to guarantee a minimum standard of decency in housing for all families; and that by "housing" is meant not merely dwellings but planned neighborhoods, including adequate educational and recreational facilities and suitable meeting halls for community and social life; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the construction of sufficient low and medium rental housing to meet the present shortage and replace existing unfit habitations, whether on present sites or elsewhere, must be undertaken or assisted by public agencies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in locating public-aided housing, preference should be given to communities having a decent labor policy and offering a variety of employment opportunities, to avoid any extension of the feudal conditions now prevalent in one-industry towns; and that all public-aided housing must be built by labor working at union rates and under union conditions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That permanent Federal, State, and local housing authorities, implemented with adequate funds and the power to acquire land and to construct and manage large-scale community housing projects, are the first requirements of an effective long-term program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That there must be bona fide labor and consumer representation on all housing authorities, and that sponsoring and management committees of all specific projects must include a majority of representatives from the groups for whom the housing is intended; and be it further

RESOLVED, That broad Federal, State, and local legislation, establishing workers' housing as a public responsibility, setting up permanent machinery to effectuate the ends herein set forth, and providing adequate sources of funds, must be enacted as quickly as possible; and that all labor organizations should actively sponsor and promote such legislation, and should investigate and publicize the stand on housing

of all candidates for office; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, authorize the appointment of a committee to aid, direct and collaborate with the Labor Housing Conference or other suitable agency in providing information, promoting legislation, developing projects, and protecting the interests of labor and consumers in the housing movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CHARTER APPLICATION—NATIONAL MARINE ENGINEERS' BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association was organized in 1875, headquarters now located in Washington, D. C., local associations located in all principal ports of the United States, including the Great Lakes, River Districts and Canal Zone; and

WHEREAS, The National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association did apply for and was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor in 1917, which charter was subsequently surrendered as a result of a controversy regarding Federal legislation arising in 1922; and

WHEREAS, In accordance with resolution adopted by the 58th Annual Convention of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association an application for charter was made through the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Formal hearing on the application was held by the Executive Council, at which time a claim of jurisdictional trespass was made by the International Union of Operating Engineers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association does hereby make application for charter from the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor is respectfully requested to give earnest consideration to this application and that a charter be granted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PER CAPITA TAX OF FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Jack Rand, Display Fixture and Figure Workers'

Union No. 20039, New York City, New York.

WHEREAS, The per capita tax which Federal locals pay is thirty-five cents (35c) per month; and

WHEREAS, Such a per capita tax necessitates charging relatively high monthly dues; and

WHEREAS, Such high monthly dues constitute a real hardship to the membership of Federal locals, which are for the most part low paid and recently organized; and

WHEREAS, This acts to retard the growth of the Federal unions and the organization of the unorganized by causing a terrific financial drain upon the local treasuries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor carefully consider the advisability of lowering the per capita tax of Federal locals to twenty-five cents (25c) as their direct assistance in the drive toward unionization.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate Wyndam Mortimer, Automobile Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18463 and Automobile Workers, United, Federal Labor Union No. 18614, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The non-partisan political policy pursued to date by the American Federation of Labor has resulted in dividing labor's vote between the two parties of big business; and

WHEREAS, The two major political parties are financed by and function in the interest of finance capital, which is responsible for the present crisis with its mass unemployment and resultant misery and hardship; and

WHEREAS, In all strikes and struggles of the workers to better their conditions they must fight not only the employer, but the police, national guard, courts, and all other agencies of a supposed impartial government; and

WHEREAS, The conditions of the American worker have grown steadily worse as a result of this non-partisan policy, as is evident by the continued use of injunctions in labor disputes, the defeat of the prevailing wage amendment, and the uncurbed use of private thugs and vigilance committees to terrorize striking workers and force them back to work on the employer's terms; and

WHEREAS, Labor to date has confined its struggles for improvement in its living standards on the economic field, with little attention given to its vast political strength,

with the result that its economic gains are too often lost through its political backwardness; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs is intolerable and must not continue among a free people possessing the right of franchise, and the power to determine who shall and shall not sit in places of power and judgment over us; and

WHEREAS, There is at the present time no political party expressing the will and aspirations of the vast army of wage earners, small salaried workers, and farmers on whose welfare the future of America depends; now be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby endorses the formation of a Labor Party organized on the basis of trade unions and working class and farming organizations, for the purpose of carrying on in the political field, the struggle for economic and social legislation such as old age insurance, unemployment and sick insurance, etc.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to do everything necessary to bring about the formation of said labor party, in collaboration with all other working class and farming organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ORGANIZATION DRIVE IN AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Tom S. Johnson, United Automobile Federal Labor Union No. 19374, Detroit, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The automobile workers of this country, particularly since the abolition of the NRA, have been and are now subject to constant attacks by the employers on wages, hours and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, In their efforts to organize to resist these aggressions of the employers the automobile workers are forced to encounter and overcome the most efficient labor spy system maintained in any industry, as well as the several varieties of company and semi-company unions fostered by the employers to prevent the organization of the industry by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The whole future of organized labor in America depends in the last analysis on the ability of the American Federation of Labor to organize the basic mass production industries of which the automobile is an outstanding example; and

WHEREAS, Despite all the difficulties with which they are faced the automobile workers have demonstrated their determination to build a powerful union in their industry by the organization of several local unions with shop control and membership ranging upward into the thousands and by the recent formation of their own international Union, the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reiterate the decision of the 54th Convention to launch an aggressive organization campaign in the automobile industry and does hereby instruct the Executive Council to immediately work out plans for providing adequate financial and organizational assistance to the United Automobile Workers of America for a nation-wide union drive in the industry during the coming production season, backed by the full power of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has set up Federal labor unions, considered a valuable asset to the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Many of these Federal labor unions are composed of numerous members who in all probability could be drafted into craft unions; and

WHEREAS, Craft unions have been demanding that members of Federal labor unions leave their unions and become members of the craft unions, which dismemberment of Federal labor unions, if permitted, would in time abolish all Federal labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That any movement designed to break up Federal labor unions after they have successfully organized such union be immediately discouraged; and be it further

RESOLVED, That wherever Federal labor unions exist, their membership shall remain under the jurisdiction of said Federal labor unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record favoring Federal labor unions, insofar as such organization does not conflict with the jurisdictional rights of any union now in existence.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO U. S. CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, a joint resolution, H. J. Res. 327, which calls for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, said amendment reads as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of said Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States as provided in the Constitution:

"Article—

"Section 1. The Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws throughout the United States to regulate, limit, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age; to limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage earners; to provide for the relief of the aged, invalided, sick, and unemployed wage earners and employees in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation, or indemnities from the Public Treasury, from contributions of employers, wage earners, and employees, or from one or more of such sources; to establish and take over natural resources, properties, and enterprises in manufacture, mining, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities, and other business to be owned and operated by the Government of the United States or agencies thereof for the benefit of the people, and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers, farmers and consumers.

"Section 2. The power of the several States to enact social-welfare legislation is unimpaired by this article, but no such legislation shall abridge or conflict with any Act of Congress under this article;" therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby goes on record favoring this amendment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The invention and introduction of modern machinery in all basic industries has revolutionized and specialized all work therein to the extent that practically all crafts are being eliminated; and

WHEREAS, Such elimination of specific crafts in said industries has caused many

severe jurisdictional frictions between the concerned craft unions, to their utter detriment and the organized labor movement as well; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention at Atlantic City, N. J., declare in favor of a system of organization by a product instead of a system of organization by tool as heretofore practiced.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LEGISLATION TO CONTROL INTEREST RATES AND PROFIT IN MONEY

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, On March 4, 1933, the American people were in the depths of despair and confidence was shaken in the safety of all our financial institutions. Banks were closing by the thousands and despondency was almost universal; and

WHEREAS, The first official act of our great President was to allay the fear of our people by closing all financial institutions until a sound program of finance could be developed; and

WHEREAS, The Administration promptly put the financial strength of the United States Government behind the banking structure and restored confidence to our people; and

WHEREAS, Hundreds of millions of dollars were advanced to financial institutions so they could open their doors for business in a normal way; and

WHEREAS, Through the enactment of compulsory deposit insurance by the National Congress, billions of dollars of hoarded money has been returned to the financial institutions. Deposits increased eight billion dollars during 1934; and

WHEREAS, The financial institutions having received government protection, have not reciprocated in a constructive way to assist in national recovery but on the contrary have pursued a policy of hoarding; and

WHEREAS, Money is, or should be, but a commodity in the marts of trade and should be sold on prices based on its cost the same as other merchandise; and

WHEREAS, Through the effective operation of the Federal Land Bank and the reduction of interest based on the cost of money at the source, farmers are today paying 3½ per cent interest on their loans; and

WHEREAS, Home-owners and small industries are still paying interest rates 100

per cent greater than farm mortgage loans which is materially throttling employment and discouraging ownership of homes; and

WHEREAS, Banks are paying an average of less than 2 per cent for money and selling it at a gross profit of more than 200 per cent as against a normal profit of from 50 per cent to 60 per cent prior to March, 1933; and

WHEREAS, The greatest safety to our country is the home-owner and as such he should have the lowest possible interest rate to encourage every man to own his home; home-owners do not become reds; and

WHEREAS, History reveals the greatest danger to government is the uncontrolled "Money Changer" and he is still in the Temple in spite of the heroic efforts of President Roosevelt; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at Atlantic City, N. J., condemn the present practice of charging excessive rates of interest as being unfair and un-American, which is largely responsible for present lack of employment and is of political significance in embarrassing the Administration; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct their legislative committee to memorialize Congress of the United States to introduce the necessary legislation to control the profit in money to a maximum of 60 per cent above the base price paid the depositor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The 1934 convention of the American Federation of Labor took the following position on Industrial Unionism and the organization of new unions, "The Executive Council is directed to issue charters for National or International Unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation"; and

WHEREAS, The Agricultural Canning and Packing Industry, although the largest industry in California, is woefully lacking in organization. The thorough organization of which is of vital importance, but yet presents one of the most difficult organizational problems confronting us unless handled on a state wide basis; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In conformity with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as quoted above, that a setup suitable to the organization requirements of the industry be adopted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMMUNISTS

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is being made an insidious effort by Communistic and allied organizations, acting under orders from Moscow, Russia, to undermine the confidence of working men and women who are organized under the banner of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In a statement issued by William Green, President of the A. F. of L., that the American delegation to the Communistic Congress in Moscow, reported that there are now in this country 30,000 Communists and while this number in comparison with the membership of the A. F. of L. is inconsequential, nevertheless they are distributed among our trade unions and each is assigned to a special task therein; and

WHEREAS, Believing as we do, in this our country, its constitution and its institutions, and the principle of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, As loyal American citizens and loyal members of the American Federation of Labor we energetically use all means at our command to purge our membership of proven Red termites who are endeavoring to destroy our government and the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it would be highly desirable if Central Labor Councils in the State of California would declare that they are the judge of their own membership and refuse to seat delegates-elect of proven membership from the Communist Party or active supporters of that party and its program and to expel already seated delegates of the same qualifications, and that the delegate-elect from this Federation to the American Federation of Labor convention be instructed to seek the approval of the American Federation of Labor for such action by Central Labor Councils; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention declare that it would be highly desirable if National and International Unions would adopt a policy for their Local Unions along the same lines.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

DRIVE FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, CANTON, OHIO

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate Tom Finnegan, Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio.

WHEREAS, Canton, Ohio, is an important industrial city, situated in the heart of the most important steel producing section of the country, so that a strongly organized Canton would affect favorably a large area and

WHEREAS, Canton is not well organized, as shown by the following facts:

The steel industry, employing nearly half the workers in Canton, is totally unorganized.

There are nearly one hundred industrial plants in and near Canton, where Federal Unions should be organized, yet there were only twelve at the peak, and now but five.

All Unions, craft and industrial, have declined in numbers from their peak, and the decline is continuing at an increasing rate; and

WHEREAS, The violent breaking and total failure of the strike against Republic Steel Corporation has not only wiped out the steel unions, but has had a very bad effect on the morale of all workers, making organization in all lines extremely difficult; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a Special Committee be appointed by the President of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to confer with the Canton delegate on the situation in Canton; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if the Committee find the facts as set forth above, they shall report and recommend to the convention that a full-time A. F. of L. organizer, who shall be of proven ability, progressive in ideas, and have had experience in organizing industrial unions, shall be sent to Canton to assist existing unions, re-organize weak unions, and organize new unions in industries where none exist.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

OVERTIME PAY FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates E. Claude Babcock, John F. Daniels, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, Thousands of employees of the Government of the United States are required to work excessive hours, up to 84 hours a week; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to insist that no employees of the Government be required to work in excess of forty hours in any week unless he be granted overtime pay or compensatory time off.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

SUBSISTENCE COSTS FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates E. Claude Babcock, John F. Daniels, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States required thousands of its civilian employees to pay for quarters, subsistence, and laundry which are not actually used by these employees; and

WHEREAS, The charges referred to are, in thousands of cases, greatly in excess of the cost to the Government, of the materials and services; and

WHEREAS, Many of the employees submitted to the above practices receive cash salaries as low as \$50.00 a month and are required to work excessive hours (9,904 of them actually being required to work 84 hours a week); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled deplores the above practices; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. supports the principle that quarters, subsistence, and laundry should be furnished to civilian employees of the Government, only optionally and at cost.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate E. P. Hanlon, Federal Labor Union No. 18872, Lester, Pa.

WHEREAS, It has been recognized by the American Federation of Labor that the mass productive form of manufacture requires the formation of Plant Unions (Industrial Unions) in order to enable organized labor to successfully advance and represent the interest of labor therein; and

WHEREAS, Those Plant Unions in the initial setup by the American Federation of Labor have been organized as Federal Labor Unions with a monthly per capita tax levy on each member; and

WHEREAS, It is apparent to all that the co-ordination of those Plant Unions into all embracing National Industrial Unions or Union would promote and evolve an unbreakable and unbeatable chain of Union Labor, as organized labor would then be able to contest the mass productive, Anti-Union, employer of labor, with complete unity of labor; be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates assembled at the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse Industrial Unionism and the President and the Secretary and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are instructed hereby to proceed forthwith, upon adjournment of this convention to convene within ninety (90) days thereafter, at Washington, D. C., a representative National Convention of all Federal Labor Unions, to be based upon one delegate for each five hundred (500) members or major fraction thereof, in good standing at the time of convention call, to organize such Industrial or Plant Unions as that convention and its initiated referenda may determine upon.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

JEWELRY WORKERS VS. DIEGES & CLUST, NEW YORK CITY

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Samuel E. Beardsley and Leon Williams, International Jewelry Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The firm of Dieges & Clust, of 15 John Street, New York City, New York, manufacturers of fraternity, scholastic and emblematic jewelry and sports goods, after operating their factory under an agreement with Local No. 1, International Jewelry Workers' Union, from November 6, 1933, to June 30, 1935; and

WHEREAS, On June 28, 1935, the said firm of Dieges & Clust, without any notification to Local No. 1, International Jewelry Workers' Union, or its members, declared a lockout on its employees; and

WHEREAS, Numerous attempts having been made by the International Jewelry Workers' Union and Local No. 1, I. J. W. U., to settle this lockout with the firm, but without results; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declares the product of this concern unfair to organized labor and that it does not recommend the fraternity, scholastic, emblematic jewelry and sports goods manufactured by said firm to the members of organized labor and its friends until this firm terminates the lockout against the

members of Local No. 1, International Jewelry Workers' Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, be instructed to use its good offices in bringing about a satisfactory adjustment with the firm and, failing to do so, that every possible publicity be given to the attitude of this firm.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

MASSACHUSETTS SAVINGS BANK LIFE INSURANCE

Resolution No. 114—Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, With the help of organized workers and other public spirited citizens, a plan proposed by Mr. Louis D. Brandeis was established by act of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1907, known as the Massachusetts system of Savings Bank Life Insurance; and

WHEREAS, Under the Massachusetts Savings Bank system, wage earners are able to buy sound legal reserve life insurance at a cost less than half the cost of similar protection in the weekly premium companies; and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Department of Labor has just published a detailed report contained in Bulletin No. 615 of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, based upon an extended study of the Massachusetts system of Savings Bank Life Insurance; and

WHEREAS, This government report discloses that the Massachusetts system of Savings Bank Life Insurance is of great benefit to the wage earners of that State, and is now in its 27th year of successful operation; and

WHEREAS, The wage earners of the United States are expending each year for weekly premium insurance a sum approximating three-quarters of a billion dollars, a large portion of which is utterly wasted; and

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor in its 50th Annual Convention at Springfield, Massachusetts, on August 5th, 1935, unanimously directed its delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention to request that we consider the desirability of taking such action as will assist in bringing about the establishment of a system similar to the Massachusetts Savings Bank Life Insurance in every State in the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers and Delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, recommend that each State Federation of Labor take immediate steps, with the assistance of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to bring about the establishment in its own State of a system of life insurance similar to that available to Massachusetts wage earners under the Savings Bank Life Insurance System.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMPENSATION LEGISLATION TO COVER OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, The protection of Workmen's Compensation Laws, except in a very few instances, does not cover occupational diseases arising out of conditions of employment; and

WHEREAS, The recent extension of such benefits in a few states, to compensate workers who become afflicted with silicosis and other occupational diseases, immediately resulted in the removal of large firms to neighboring states where workers are totally unprotected by compensation except in the event of physical accident; and

WHEREAS, In many states, workers are forced to rely upon the expensive, dilatory, and uncertain processes of litigation under common law because of the refusal of private insurance companies to write compensation coverage for such employes; and

WHEREAS, States which recognize their responsibilities to afford humanitarian standards and honest compensation for employes in hazardous industries should be given federal assistance, so that decent employers within such states who fulfill their obligations to society shall not be penalized by the migration of conscienceless competitors to states which fail to afford decent standards of compensation to employes afflicted with occupational disease; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that Federal legislation be sought to provide:

1. That Federal grants in aid be established to match appropriations for the conduct of state-pooled funds for Workmen's Compensation to cover occupational accidents or diseases; and

2. That the U. S. Department of Labor be instructed to investigate the consequences of unrestricted competition of standards among the states, to determine whether the citizens of progressive states are being penalized in interstate commerce by the mining or manufacture within states which afford little or no protection to the employes; and

3. That the U. S. Department of Labor be instructed to set up adequate standards which will safeguard the health of the workers involved, and that they be empowered to devise legislative or trade agreements which will cause the effective use of such safeguards by all firms in occupations involving dust hazards; and

4. That no department of the Federal Government, including special relief agencies, shall purchase materials mined, quarried, manufactured or sold by firms which do not maintain adequate standards which will safeguard the workers involved.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

SLUM CLEARANCE AND LOW RENT HOUSING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates J. W. Williams and Herbert Rivers.

WHEREAS, The emergency program of slum clearance and low-rent housing which has been initiated by the Administration has given hope to many families now obliged to live in dwellings which are a constant hazard to health and life itself, for the ultimate provision of rehousing accommodations in homes which will conform to the high standards of living set by the people of the United States for all who dwell within our country; and

WHEREAS, The unemployment situation among all American workers is still ominous, no group has suffered more consistently through the depression than the building trades, and it is estimated that sixty per cent of workers in the building industry were unemployed in January, 1935, and in September, 1935, forty-nine per cent of these workers were still unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has given very careful consideration to the question of the unemployment situation with a view of being helpful in providing steady employment to all those engaged in building and construction thereby eliminating the necessity of providing relief for those who have been forced to accept relief; and

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has reviewed the efforts of the Federal Housing Administration, The National Public Housing Conference, and the Labor Housing Conference in their en-

deavor to correct the unemployment situation and in Convention adopted this resolution and calls upon the American Federation of Labor to endorse the action of the Building Trades Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as being in sympathy with the Slum Clearance and Low Rent Housing Program which has for its purpose provisions that will furnish employment to those engaged in the building and construction industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

HARRY L. HOPKINS, WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATOR

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates J. W. Williams and Herbert Rivers, Building Trades Department, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, As originally drafted the Works Relief Program was a menace to wage and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Harry L. Hopkins, Works Progress Administrator, in the exercise of power vested in him by the President, has so liberalized and rationalized the regulations as to make possible protection of our wages and working hours, and has shown every desire to deal fairly with organized labor; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention extend its thanks to the said Harry L. Hopkins and express its appreciation of his fair attitude.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

IMPORTATION OF NEWS PRINT PAPER

Resolution No. 118—By Delegates John P. Burke, John A. Bayha and H. W. Sullivan, of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, New York, and Matthew J. Burns and F. P. Barry, of International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

WHEREAS, The Fifth-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in San Francisco, Calif., October, 1934, adopted Resolution No. 196, referring to the importation of news print paper manufactured by underpaid labor in mills in foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, Since the date of the adoption of this resolution there has been a still further decline in the production of domestic news print paper and an increasing amount of tonnage imported from foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, This decline in the production of domestic news print paper threat-

ens the life of this great essential industry and menaces the jobs and the welfare of thousands of American wage earners employed in mills paying union wages and working under union shop agreements; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor most urgently petitions the State Department of the United States to write into the reciprocal trade treaties that are now being negotiated with foreign countries a provision that will place the importation of news print paper upon a quota basis; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist the affiliated unions in the pulp and paper industry in their effort to have news print paper imported on a restricted basis.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

HOUSING PROJECTS

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Frank Hughes, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized that the dwellings available to the majority of workers are sub-standard, obsolete, and grossly inadequate, particularly when contrasted with our country's vast resources of land, labor, materials and skill; and

WHEREAS, In spite of an acute impending housing shortage and rising rents, the building industry remains idle and the great majority of building workers are still unemployed; and this paralysis of the building industry, even in face of an acute housing shortage, is largely due to the long standing inability of private enterprise to supply new or modern dwellings at a price within reach of the average worker; and

WHEREAS, It has been officially recognized by Congress, by the Administration, and by many state legislatures that public aid and initiative are necessary if the housing problem is to be attacked effectively, and the Administration has repeatedly promised and even attempted to undertake an extensive program of planned large-scale housing projects; and

WHEREAS, The Government's housing program has thus far been steadily compromised by the lack of a clear-cut long-term policy and legislation to effect it, and by the treatment of housing as a mere adjunct to a temporary, emergency relief program; and the entire public works program has now been reduced almost to the vanishing point, while vast funds are allocated to "make-work" projects of no permanent value at starvation wages; and

WHEREAS, An active, unified and informed demand on the part of workers and consumers, led by organized labor, is the only force which can animate and promote a permanent public housing policy, and compel the Administration to put its promises into effect; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That a long-term public housing policy must be adopted in order to guarantee a minimum standard of decency in housing for all families; and that by "housing" is meant not merely dwellings but planned neighborhoods, including adequate educational and recreational facilities and suitable meeting halls for community and social life; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the construction of sufficient low and medium rental housing to meet the present shortage and replace existing unfit habitations, whether on present sites or elsewhere, must be undertaken or assisted by public agencies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in locating public-aided housing, preference should be given to communities having a decent labor policy and offering a variety of employment opportunities, to avoid any extension of the feudal conditions now prevalent in one industry towns; and that all public-aided housing must be built by labor working at union rates and under union conditions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That permanent Federal, State and Local housing authorities, implemented with adequate funds and the power to acquire land and to construct and manage large scale community housing projects, are the first requirements of an effective long-term program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That there must be bona fide labor and consumer representation on all housing authorities, and that sponsoring and management committees of all specific projects must include a majority of representatives from the groups for whom the housing is intended; and be it further

RESOLVED, That broad Federal, state and local legislation, establishing workers' housing as a public responsibility, setting up permanent machinery to effectuate the ends herein set forth, and providing adequate sources of funds, must be enacted as quickly as possible; and that all labor organizations should actively sponsor and promote such legislation, and should investigate and publicize the stand on housing of all candidates for office; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, authorize the appointment of a committee to aid, direct and collaborate with the Labor Housing Conference or other suitable agency in providing information, promoting legislation, developing projects, and pro-

tecting the interests of labor and consumers in the housing movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Howard H. Sticht, Gas Workers' Union No. 19243, Kenmore, N. Y.

For the purposes of strengthening the American Federation of Labor and creating harmony among its membership in line with national progress and recovery:

On October 1, 1935, at the regular meeting of the Gas Workers' Federal Union, No. 19243, of Buffalo, N. Y., it was unanimously concurred in that the following resolutions should be adopted by the American Federation of Labor at its national convention held in Atlantic City during October, 1935, and every possible effort made to enforce the same:

Therefore be it resolved that

(1) A maximum 30-hour work week with pay equivalent to the longer work week be made into the law of the state and nation.

(2) Labor employed by factories and plants will be organized into plant and vertical type of unions and that organizers favorable to this type of organization be assigned to this organization work.

(3) American Federation of Labor State and local Central Labor bodies be instructed to assist, co-operate and recognize Federal and plant unions in the American Federation of Labor and to instruct these same state and local bodies that it is against the policy of the American Federation of Labor to resolve against Federal and plant unions in the American Federation of Labor.

(4) The Executive body of the American Federation of Labor be increased to permit Federal plant unions greater representation thereon.

(5) Federal chartered unions in the American Federation of Labor be permitted to organize local Federal Labor Councils for mutual assistance, these to work in conjunction with their particular Central Labor bodies.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

UNION-MADE BRUSHES

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Herman Templeman, Brushmakers' Union, Local No. 16303.

WHEREAS, Brushmakers' Union Local No. 16303, New York City, New York, has

been successful in signing Union Label agreements with some of the Union employers in New York City, New York; and

WHEREAS, Brushmakers' Union Local No. 16303 wishes to apprise all organized labor, member unions of the American Federation of Labor, of the fact that Union Label paint brushes may be procured; and

WHEREAS, Brushmakers' Union Local No. 16303 wishes to secure the co-operation of the delegates assembled at this Convention in advocating the purchase of union-made brushes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled co-operate with Brushmakers' Union Local No. 16303, by reporting to their respective unions that union-made brushes may be procured from the firm of Marcus and Bennett Brush Company, 133 Wooster Street, New York City, New York.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

CONDEMNING ITALY'S ATTACK ON ETHIOPIA

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Paul I Topping, Central Labor Union, Newport News, Virginia.

WHEREAS, Organized Labor in the United States has been committed to the policy opposing war by an official pronouncement of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Italy has, through an aggressive unwarranted attack upon a peaceful and almost defenseless people—the Ethiopians—jeopardized the peace of the World; and

WHEREAS, Labor has nothing to gain and everything to lose as a result of war; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, reaffirm its stated opposition against an act of war by any nation against any other nation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor exert every honorable means to obviate the possibility of the United States becoming involved in another war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approve the invoking of sanctions against Italy by the member nations of the League of Nations to the end that the Italian conquest in Ethiopia may be stopped, and the peace of the world restored.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PER CAPITA TAX FOR AGRICULTURAL, FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PACKING WORKERS

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Leif Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, N. J.

WHEREAS, There are more than three million agricultural, cannery, fruit and vegetable packing house workers who are not now organized, many thousands of which could almost immediately be organized into the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of such workers have been taken into various Unions other than the American Federation of Labor, because, due to their very low wages, they cannot afford to pay the present per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The work is for the most part of such a migratory nature that it is practically impossible for a large number of them to receive the "American Federationist"; and

WHEREAS, Because of the highly perishable nature of most agricultural commodities, and because of the shortness of the seasons on the commodities in which they work, it is practically impossible to forecast the most opportune time for a strike, and for this reason it is virtually impossible to comply with the rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor as regards authorized strikes and strike benefits; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor so amends its Constitution and By-Laws as to provide a per capita tax not to exceed fifteen cents (15c) per member per month for all agricultural, cannery and fruit and vegetable packing house workers.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

PROTESTING EMPLOYMENT OF RELIEF WORKERS BY AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Leif Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, N. J.

WHEREAS, Local, State and Federal relief agencies and officials have in the past co-operated with large vegetable, cotton and other produce growers and agricultural interests to force unemployed workers off relief lists and onto farms,

canneries and packing houses at below union rates and in some cases even below relief rates; and

WHEREAS, Local and State relief projects have been delayed and shut down completely to carry through these forced labor practices in the interests of agricultural employers; and

WHEREAS, Studies by the Federal Government have completely exploded the specious excuse of a shortage of labor in these rural areas during harvest seasons used to justify these practices; and

WHEREAS, These forced labor practices if permitted in the agricultural field will spread to the industrial field to further enslave American labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as unalterably opposed to all forced labor practices, and specifically open operation of government agencies and private employers in the agricultural areas; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution or a statement embodying its content be sent to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in Washington and to all State Relief directors in the country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONSUMERS' RESEARCH INC., WASHINGTON, N. J.

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Susan Jenkins, Technical, Editorial and Office Assistants' Union No. 20055, Washington, N. J.

WHEREAS, Consumers' Research, Inc., of Washington, N. J., an organization supplying informational services on consumers' goods to over 50,000 consumer-subscribers throughout the United States, has followed policies injurious to the best interests of the organized labor movement by (1) Discharging three active members of the Union of their employes, one of them the President, on the day the Union applied for recognition (2) Intimidating Union members and forcing members out of the Union by false accusations of racketeering and dishonesty against Union leaders (3) Using such anti-labor tactics as an injunction against picketing, arrest of pickets and sympathizers, armed guards and a strike-breaking detective agency, firing on pickets, inciting vigilante action, during the strike forced upon the Union, and (4) Refusing to deal with or accept correspondence from the Union; and

WHEREAS, The Technical, Editorial and Office Assistants' Union, American Federation of Labor, No. 20055, its membership composed of the majority of Consumers' Research employes, is now in its sixth week of a

strike to win Union recognition and a Union agreement granting a minimum salary of \$16 a week, a maximum working week of 35 hours, and a statement of reasons for discharges; and

WHEREAS, Consumers' Research, Inc., numbers many American Federation of Labor members among its subscribers, and in the sale of its services appeals to friends and supporters of the organized labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge all its affiliated Unions, Central and State bodies, to support the strike of Local 20055 to secure Union conditions and recognition; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Consumers' Research, Inc., be put on the Unfair List of the American Federation of Labor until a fair settlement of the strike; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention appeal to all consumer organizations and individual consumers to join with organized labor in protesting the anti-labor policies of Consumers' Research, Inc.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONS OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20048, Baltimore, Md.

WHEREAS, In trying to organize the White Collar workers of Baltimore, we found that unionization was retarded because of the necessity of separating them into different craft unions with limited jurisdictions; and

WHEREAS, An industrial form of union would have enabled us to organize all the White Collar workers employed by one firm much more expediently, as has been the experience in many trades and industries for some time; and

WHEREAS, The organization of workers in Industrial Unions has proved much more satisfactory, as shown by the recent victorious strike of 400,000 miners who were organized into an Industrial Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, Local 20048, emphatically urge the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, to adopt the policy of organizing Industrial Unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That White Collar workers be permitted to organize themselves into

Industrial Unions immediately, with a National Executive Council.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OFFICE WORKERS

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20048, Baltimore, Md.

WHEREAS, There are a number of Federal local unions throughout the country of Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers, Accountants and general office workers; and

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to establish International Unions in the industries, professions or trades wherever possible and advantageous; and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the formation of an International Union in our profession would strengthen our power immensely and serve as an added stimulus to the organization of thousands of office workers, which is a forward step in obtaining higher wages and decent conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the incoming Executive Council to consider the establishment of an International Union of Office Workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention authorize the several Federal locals to set up committees to work for this end.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20048, Baltimore, Md.

WHEREAS, This country has been suffering under an economic depression during the last six years, which has brought misery, starvation and unemployment to millions; and

WHEREAS, The two major political parties, Republican and Democratic, have failed utterly in their attempts to solve the crisis, but instead have deepened it; and

WHEREAS, Under the rule of these two parties organized labor has found itself hampered and even attacked in its efforts

to better the conditions of the very workers upon whose labors the welfare of the country depends; and

WHEREAS, The idea of a Labor Party has already been endorsed by a large number of locals and Central Labor bodies; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 55th annual convention endorse and promote the formation of a Labor Party based on the trade unions, the unemployed organized and unorganized, the farmers and all other labor groups.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONDEMNING ITALY'S ATTACK ON ETHIOPIA

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20048, Baltimore, Md.

WHEREAS, The Italian Fascist government, from its inception an enemy of labor and a destroyer of trade unions, has deliberately invaded Ethiopia with the purpose of seizing its natural resources and enslaving its inhabitants; and

WHEREAS, This unprovoked aggression endangers world peace; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its 55th annual convention issue a protest to the Italian Embassy against this aggression; that it signify its approval of sanctions to be applied against an aggressor nation; and that it instruct the local unions to refuse to handle or transport munitions and all war supplies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PER CAPITA TAX OF FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20048, Baltimore, Maryland.

WHEREAS, The per capita which Federal locals pay to Washington is 35c (thirty-five cents) a month; and

WHEREAS, Such a per capita necessitates the local charging a relatively high monthly dues in order to benefit the local treasury; and

WHEREAS, With real wages falling, such high monthly dues constitute a hardship to the membership of Federal locals; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor consider the advisability of lowering the per capita tax of Federal locals to 25c (twenty-five cents).

Referred to Committee on Laws.

RACKETEERING

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate Sam Baron, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants, New York City.

WHEREAS, The spread of racketeering, corruption and gangsterism in any section of the labor movement seriously affects the whole movement and every part of it; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the incoming executive council to initiate a determined campaign to eradicate every sign of racketeering, corruption and gangsterism in the labor movement, taking all necessary measures to overcome the resistance of those elements in the trade unions who are today tolerating and protecting these evils.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Sam Baron, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants, New York City.

WHEREAS, As the preamble to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor declares, a struggle is continually going on between oppressors and oppressed, between capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, This trouble grows out of the divergent interests of capital and labor which, therefore, cannot both be served by the same political organization any more than they can both be served by the same industrial organization; and

WHEREAS, Decades of experience have shown us that both of the major political parties of this country (Democratic and Republican) are on the side of the employing class, on the side of the bankers and industrialists, whose bidding they do; and

WHEREAS, If labor is to utilize its great political power most effectively in its own interests it must break away from the political parties of capital and organize an independent political party of its own, a Labor party; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-fifth annual convention of the A. F. of L. goes on record in favor of the organization of an independent party of labor, a Labor party; and further be it

RESOLVED, That this Labor party shall be constituted as a federation of trade unions and other workers' organizations agreeing upon a common program in behalf of the interests of labor; and further be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to devise ways and means of putting this decision into effect.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ORGANIZATION OF UNORGANIZED INDUSTRIES

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Sam Baron, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants, New York City.

WHEREAS, The decisive forces of the employing class are being mobilized behind a campaign to wipe out unionism where it exists and to prevent its spread, a campaign to fasten the yoke of the open shop and company unionism upon American labor; and

WHEREAS, In spite of the very great growth of the A. F. of L. in the last year, the great majority of American workers, especially in the basic industries, are still unorganized; and

WHEREAS, With the present revival of the labor movement and the growing spirit of militancy among the workers, the opportunities to spread unionism are especially favorable; and

WHEREAS, The unionization of the basic industries of this country (steel, auto, rubber, etc.) is the concern not only of the workers in those industries but of all workers, of the whole labor movement; and

WHEREAS, In view of the tremendous power of the gigantic trusts and monopolies dominating these industries, their unionization cannot be accomplished unless the whole labor movement comes to the assistance of the workers directly involved; and

WHEREAS, The antiquated craft structure of many unions claiming jurisdiction in these industries is a serious obstacle to their effective organization, which can only be accomplished along industrial lines; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-fifth annual convention of the A. F. of L. goes on record in favor of the launching of a large-scale, a nation-wide drive for the organization of the workers in the mass production industries, the drive to be under the immediate supervision of the A. F. of L.; and further be it

RESOLVED, That this convention elect a committee, representing the most impor-

tant unions within it, to be in charge of this organization drive, under the supervision of the executive council; and further be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize this committee to establish a special fund, raised through contributions of unions and labor organizations, to cover the expenses of the organization drive; and further be it

RESOLVED, That this convention decide that all organization of the workers in the mass production industries shall be along industrial lines, in industrial unions specially chartered by the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. OF L. AFFILIATION WITH INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate Sam Baron, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants, New York City.

WHEREAS, The labor movement is fundamentally an international movement because its aims and aspirations are basically the same all over the world; and

WHEREAS, Under modern conditions, it is impossible for the workers of any one country to carry on their struggle isolated from similar movements in other countries; and

WHEREAS, The victories or defeats, the progress or retrogression of labor in any part of the world has its immediate effects upon labor all over the world; and

WHEREAS, The unification of all trade unions in all countries into one world trade union federation is an urgent necessity for labor today; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor today stands outside of any world trade union organization; and

WHEREAS, The International Federation of Trade Unions embraces the overwhelming majority of national trade union federations outside the U. S. A.; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor decides to affiliate to the International Federation of Trade Unions; and further be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the incoming executive council to take the necessary measures to effect this decision.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

NATIONAL LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 135—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, William F. Kelly, Emil Rieve, Frank Schweitzer, and Alex McKeown, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Throughout the length and breadth of the United States there is a constant movement amongst the workers away from the Democratic and Republican parties, and toward a Labor Party, as the only means of protection for the masses of our people against the oppressive, autocratic control of big business and powerful financial and industrial interests; and

WHEREAS, This sentiment is caused by the knowledge amongst the people that the Republican and Democratic parties have failed to preserve the constitutional and civil rights of the workers, farmers and small business men; that, in fact, both parties are subservient to the same minority group of selfish, special interests represented by the bankers and powerful corporations; that the Republican and Democratic parties serve as mechanisms through which the American standard of living has been severely and progressively reduced in that these parties have handed out billions of the financial reserves of the country to the large financial and industrial interests; while at the same time they have kept the millions unemployed at starvation levels and the employed at subsistence wages; that, in addition, the Republican and Democratic parties assist the special interests in pursuit of private profits by offering no effective resistance to the bitter opposition of open-shop employers to trade union development, and that under the two old parties an ever-growing army of unemployed is being isolated in subsistence areas; and

WHEREAS, State Republican and Democratic machines have further broken faith with the working people, and other oppressed classes of our population, first, by placing at the disposal of special property interests, forces created under the Constitution for the maintenance and protection of the general public welfare, namely, the National Guard, or the State Militia; and, second, by maintaining courts of law, to which theoretically everybody has access, though to which actually the poor man has but little or no recourse because of financial handicap, or because almost invariably he finds our courts controlled by the most powerful financial and industrial interests in the community; so that, in fact, the right of the workers to protect their constitutional guarantees, such as the right to organize and bargain collectively and by so doing to protect themselves against intimidation, discrimination, unemployment and starva-

tion wages and the right of the common man to justice in our courts, have been denied thus demonstrating that the Republican and Democratic parties are, on the one hand, working directly in the interests of the minority group of special interests, and, on the other hand, directly against the broad interests of the masses of our population, which are the wage-earners, both industrial and agricultural, and the small, bankrupt business man and farmer; and

WHEREAS, The ever-mounting discontent and disillusionment of the masses of our people has already in the past, and will, in the future, cause the minority groups of selfish, property interests to clothe their efforts at preserving and extending their concentrated, oppressive control of wealth and income by one of two methods: first, by an emotional, anti-New Deal, anti-labor, "Back to the Constitution" campaign, designed to capitalize on the discontent of the people and plunge them directly into Fascism; or second, by a third party movement of a mugwump, illusory nature, the base of which is the discontent of the small farmer, robbed of his holdings through foreclosures and the burden of debt, but which will not be based on the broadest sections of our population, including the small farmer and small business man, but finding its strength principally among the workers organized and unorganized, industrial and agricultural, and depending in its organization upon the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, The American Liberty League, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the subsidized press, the subsidized radio, and all the other agents of Wall Street and big business, are striving harder to cut wages, destroy trade unionism, and completely shatter the constitutional and civil rights of the workers, to which efforts neither the Republican nor the Democratic party have shown effective resistance, the majority of our population finds itself faced, not with fighting one or the other of the two old parties, but with fighting the powerful interests which control them and which will, of necessity, control any party not having as its base the trade union movement, which represents the majority of our population; and

WHEREAS, For reasons outlined above it has become increasingly apparent to the workers themselves that they can only protect themselves against anti-labor, open-shop, Fascist oppression by entering the political arena with a party of their own, based on the American Trade Union Movement; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is the bulwark of the American Labor Movement; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in strong support of a labor party, based on the above-outlined conditions, and inclusive of all affiliated trade unions—internationals, nationals, departments, councils, local and federal unions, central labor bodies and State federations and exclusive of no worker, according to the principles outlined in the Federation constitution, because of race, religious creed or political affiliation, the program of which party shall be based on immediate economic demands such as first, upon unemployment insurance, the burden of expense for which falls not on the workers who are in no way responsible for unemployment, but upon those directly responsible, namely, the employers and the government; on higher wages and shorter hours; on resistance to higher prices and increasing cost of living; on a moratorium of farm debts; second, upon prevention of all armed intervention in times of economic struggle; third, upon release of our productive facilities natural and mechanical and immediate liquidation of the army of permanently and seasonally unemployed; and fourth, upon a militant coalition of the working classes and other sections of our population against the growing menace of Fascism, as manifested in the American Liberty League and the subsidized press, and against the imminent danger of world war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor shall, within three months after the close of this Convention, communicate with all affiliated unions, recommending and encouraging the formation of State Labor Parties, based on the above outlined conditions and principles, also recommending the calling of State conventions, the delegates to which shall be elected by local unions, councils, central bodies and all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and recommending that steps should be taken at these conventions to draw into the Labor Party Movement all other groups, industrial, agricultural, fraternal, benevolent, unemployed, consumers, etc.; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor shall, within one year after the close of this convention, call for a National Congress of State Labor Parties, at which Congress the delegates shall determine whether or not to launch a National Labor Party ticket upon which decision if it be affirmative, the candidates of the National Labor Party shall be nominated; or, upon which decision, if it be negative, the delegates shall determine upon another National Congress, and shall set the date and the place.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate Louis O. Harper, Technical and Research Employees, Federal Union No. 20049, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, Labor has learned through experience that the promises of representatives of political parties of Big Business to fight for measures in its interest have been false and for the purposes of vote-getting as demonstrated in such acts as in the defeat of the prevailing wage amendment, the establishment of a coolie wage of \$19-\$94 monthly on relief projects, the veto of the veterans' bonus, the continued issuance of injunctions, the use of the military against striking workers, the failure to ratify the Child Labor amendment and the adoption of a "social security" program which "taxes labor for old age pensions and so-called unemployment "insurance" and ignores completely the present unemployed; and

WHEREAS, In order to crush the great strikes waged by labor throughout the country, national guardsmen were mobilized to murder and maim our brother trade unionists and force them back to work under miserable conditions, and these military forces were called out by governors of the Republican and Democratic parties who appealed for and obtained labor's vote on the promise of support of labor's interests; and

WHEREAS, These experiences prove that we cannot rely on the so-called "friends of labor" since they act in behalf of their parties which are supported by and function in the interests of Big Business and they demonstrate that the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor of "rewarding friends and defeating enemies" only divides labor's vote and works to the detriment of labor, preventing us from organizing on the political field against the employers as we are organized on the economic field; and

WHEREAS, The New Deal government elected by an overwhelming labor vote has aided the employers to increase their profits by 600 per cent, has helped to stimulate company unionism to the extent of five million members, has forced down the standard of living of millions of unemployed to a coolie wage level of subsistence; and

WHEREAS, A movement is now afoot amongst the workers in many states for the formation of a Labor Party based on a program in defense of labor's interests to enable the workers to send their own representatives, responsible to labor, into

the legislatures, and conferences of trade unions in Connecticut, Michigan, New Jersey, Illinois and other states have been held for this purpose; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record endorsing the formation of anti-capitalist, anti-fascist Labor Party organized on the basis of trade unions and other labor organizations including farmers, Negro organizations, poor middle classes and all workers' political organizations, on the platform of struggle for the rights and needs of all working people and against fascism, against war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor unite with all other organizations endorsing this program to achieve the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

UNION CONDITIONS FOR WHITE COLLAR WORKERS ON WPA WORK

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Louis O. Harper, Technical and Research Employees Federal Union No. 20049, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, With more than ten millions unemployed three and one half millions of jobs are obviously insufficient and an indication of a concerted effort to demoralize the American worker; and

WHEREAS, There is now conclusive evidence of the underrating the skilled status of workers by the WPA and in consequence white collar workers will be put in place of manual and other workers; and

WHEREAS, In Chicago there is clearly evidenced a desire by large numbers of white collar workers to join the ranks of organized labor and recognize the unique opportunity to do so under the WPA; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, convened in this 55th Convention, pledge itself to an untiring effort to force the Government to provide jobs for each unemployed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand the expansion of WPA Administration Order No. 15 to cover all white collar and other workers and that the limitation imposed by the clause "work done under contract" be withdrawn; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the established trade unions extend to the newly organized white collar workers their co-operation in establishing union conditions on WPA jobs for the white collar workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LUNDEEN BILL

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Louis O. Harper, Technical and Research Employees Federal Union No. 20049, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, Employment in industry has shown no appreciable gain despite the ballyhoo of recovery advanced by the New Deal and there are still approximately 22 million men, women and children dependent for their means of existence on meagre pittance of relief; and

WHEREAS, The enactment of the administration's "social security" measure has not provided social security for these millions at present unemployed and is totally inadequate to protect labor against unemployment since it provides for only a limited amount of benefit for a limited period to a small section of American labor and compels the employed workers to bear the burden through the method of taxation of payrolls which is passed on to the wage earners in the form of higher prices and wage cuts; and

WHEREAS, The government program pushed through Congress over the opposition of millions of members of the American Federation of Labor who had declared their support for the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill, introduced by Congressman Lundeen and known as H. R. 2827, cannot be considered a substitute for genuine unemployment insurance contained in the Workers' Bill; and

WHEREAS, It is in the interest of labor to defeat measures similar to the "social security act" in the state legislatures and instead fight for the adoption of a genuine social insurance measure as embodied in H. R. 2827 which provides that adequate unemployment insurance be given to all unemployed workers for the full period of unemployment by taxation on higher incomes; and

WHEREAS, The sentiment of the membership of the American Federation of Labor for the Lundeen Bill, H. R. 2827, is being repeatedly shown in the many endorsements by international unions, central bodies and local unions of which there are more than 3,000 on record; therefore be it

RESOLVED, To endorse the Workers' Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill, H. R. 2827, and demand its adoption by Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, To call upon all state organizations to introduce similar measures in the state legislatures; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council communicate with all locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to urge them to call upon their respective Congressmen and Senators to support H. R. 2827 in Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONDEMNING ITALY'S ATTACK ON ETHIOPIA

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate Louis O. Harper, Technical and Research Employees Federal Union No. 20049, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The Italian government has now attacked Ethiopia to rob it of its independence in a war of aggression which may involve the entire world in a slaughter; and

WHEREAS, The United States has increased military and naval appropriations to the highest point in history and feverish preparations are being made to increase the army, build ships, prepare the youth for war through increased recruitment into CCC camps, and these preparations point to the imminent danger of war; and

WHEREAS, In every war the workers are the chief sufferers and are called upon to sacrifice their lives in order to safeguard the profits of bankers and munition makers; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its August session, had already issued a vigorous protest against impending war in Ethiopia recognizing the danger of a world conflagration;

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record to mobilize the membership of the A. F. of L. against the Italian war on Ethiopia, to prevent the manufacture and shipment of munitions to Italy, and to pledge to rally forces of labor against another war; that the convention goes on record in favor of economic, political, and military sanctions against Italy, and petition the United States Government to invoke the Kellogg Peace Pact against Italy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

UNIFORM UNION MEMBER INSIGNIA

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The rank and file members of the National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have no common distinctive insignia to display other than the adopted button of their respective National or International Unions; and

WHEREAS, It is believed that a distinctive button emblematic of the American Federation of Labor would be of tremendous benefit in advancing the interests of

the Trade Union Movement, by such a united display of strength; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention requests the Executive Council to make a survey of the sentiment of international unions towards the idea of designing and using a uniform insignia by members of the American Federation of Labor. Such emblem to also properly set forth the emblem of the International Union to which the possessor is a member and that the Executive Council advise the next convention of the American Federation of Labor of the practicability of undertaking a program to secure general acceptance of such emblem by the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

OPPOSING REDUCTION IN PROPORTION OF NAVAL WORK DONE IN U. S. NAVY YARDS AND ARSENALS

Resolution No. 141—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, W. F. Robinson, Charles Fry, N. P. Alifas, R. A. Henning, Dan Haggerty, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, "Organized Business" is continually seeking legislation and "departmental action," having for its object a reduction in the proportion of the construction of naval vessels and the manufacture of munitions of war, to be performed at Navy Yards and arsenals; and

WHEREAS, The Dallinger Amendment to the Cruiser Act of February 13, 1929, and the Thompson Amendment to the Vinson Naval Construction Act of March 27, 1934, require that fifty per cent of the work involved be performed at Navy Yards and arsenals; and

WHEREAS, Other legislation carried in the Annual Naval Appropriation Acts has the effect of requiring production of practically all of the ordnances for all of the vessels at Navy Yards and arsenals; and

WHEREAS, The recent circular letters issued by the Navy Department convey the intimation that an effort may be made to change this policy laid down by Congress, so that in the future only such work may be done at the Navy Yards, as may be necessary to provide a "yardstick" for the purpose of determining proper costs to the Government of construction in private shipyards; and

WHEREAS, These circular letters further convey the thought that, instead of present law being interpreted as requiring a fifty-fifty division of the construction work be

performed at Navy Yards; and that all of this work may be performed at Navy Yards and arsenals in case the cost is not appreciably greater than by contract, the law is being construed to only require a fifty-fifty over-all division of the total cost, a proportion which we regard as less liberal to the Navy Yards than the law contemplates; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, strongly oppose any effort to reduce the proportion of naval construction and the production of munitions of war now being performed at Navy Yards and arsenals, and that we strongly urge the operation of these Government plants to their fullest capacity before any of this work is to be left to private concerns; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be advised of our position in this matter.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYEES OF U. S. NAVY YARDS AND ARSENALS

Resolution No. 142—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, W. F. Robinson, Charles Fry, N. P. Alifas, R. A. Henning, Dan Haggerty, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The several "economy acts" passed by Congress deprived Government employes of cherished conditions of employment, some of which have not, as yet, been restored to them; and

WHEREAS, The long distance trend of the times requires a further improvement in the conditions of employment of Federal employes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the following as part of its immediate legislative program:

1. Restoration and extension of the 30 days' leave of absence with pay to navy yard and arsenal employes, and to other skilled trades services where this condition of employment does not at present apply, in accordance with the provisions of the Ramspeck Leave Bill, H. R. 8458.

2. Extension of the 15 days' sick leave privilege to the skilled trades services where this condition of employment does not at present apply, in accordance with the provisions of the Ramspeck Leave Bill, H. R. 8459.

3. Amending the Retirement Act to provide for optional retirement after 30 years of service, without additional cost to the employees.

4. Amending the Retirement Act to provide a pension for the widows of deceased retired Federal employees.

5. Levelling up the schedule of wages in effect at the arsenals to the rates paid at the navy yards, and seeking to have the intermediate and minimum rates of pay in the Navy Yard Wage Schedule abolished and in the case of mechanics restricted for use of apprentices during their first and second years, respectively, after having completed their apprenticeship.

6. Preventing by legislation or otherwise, Military and Naval personnel from performing work which should be performed by civilian employees.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

REPRESENTATION OF ORGANIZED LABOR ON PUERTO RICO RECONSTRUCTION ADMINISTRATION

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico has reported to the President of the American Federation of Labor that in the organization of the Executive Committee set up by the Administrator of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration appointed by the President to carry out all rehabilitation work in the Island under the Emergency Appropriation Relief Act of 1935, not a single member of organized labor has been appointed; and

WHEREAS, In such Executive Committee as has been named it appears to be composed of three lawyers, three university professors, four engineers, four agronomists, two doctors and four farmers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be recommended by this Convention to communicate with the President of the United States and earnestly request and urge him to recommend and direct the Administrator of the PRRA to appoint a member of the American Federation of Labor in the Island to represent organized labor in said Executive Committee.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AGRICULTURAL, CANNERY AND PACKING HOUSE WORKERS UNIONS

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate Chas. F.

Hollopeter, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The growing and processing of foods is the largest single industry in the United States, employing more than three million men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, These workers have been and are today the most exploited section of our population, everywhere receiving wages far below even the lowest Union wage rates; and

WHEREAS, The present unorganized condition and starvation wage rates of these workers operates in every section of the country to undermine the existing wage rates of organized industrial workers, thus hampering the continued growth and well being of the entire trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Many local trade and Federal labor Unions have been organized among these agricultural, cannery and packing house workers; and

WHEREAS, The New Jersey State Federation of Labor at its 57th Convention unanimously adopted a resolution recommending the following actions to this National Convention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor urges all its affiliated Unions, Central and State bodies to pay special attention to the problems, needs and organization of these workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to establish co-operation and strengthen the work of already organized rural workers' Unions, and to plan a national campaign for the organization of all unorganized agricultural workers into the American Federation of Labor, this Convention instructs the incoming Executive Council to call by next spring a national conference of agricultural, cannery and packing house Unions now organized.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

COMPANY UNIONS

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate C. S. Taylor, Federal Labor Union No. 19311, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, Company Unions have long been the weapon of open shop employers against real trade union organizations, to split the ranks of the general labor movement, as the lever to keep the workers at their mercy; and

WHEREAS, According to reports, over five million workers have been driven into Company Unions; and

WHEREAS, The Company Unions are resorting to various methods of disguise, such as getting of State Charters, collecting of dues, and using every fraud to mislead the workers; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner Labor Disputes Bill gives recognition to Company Unions which are appearing in disguise and only an effective campaign of education and militant struggle involving the entire membership will we be able to combat this menace; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention instructs each City Central Labor group, wherever the problem exists, to establish local committees to launch the campaign against Company Unions, with the perspective of uniting all labor organizations in such a drive, with the Executive Council taking the necessary steps to make it nation wide.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO U. S. CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate C. S. Taylor, Federal Labor Union No. 19311, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court decision of making NRA unconstitutional was followed by a volume of attacks against the labor movement to undermine the conditions gained through the battles of labor in the past two years; and

WHEREAS, This evidence carried in the press and those of us working directly in industry can openly see the drive to discrimination, discharge and lengthen hours of labor; and

WHEREAS, The experiences gained in the past two years prove one main factor resulting in those gains made; that labor organized and fought militantly to raise the American standard of living; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fifth Convention go on record to open up a drive to organize the unorganized, to check the attack against labor and through the militant action of labor force an amendment in the Constitution against the power of the Supreme Court to nullify legislation in the interests of labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COOPERS VS. CARPENTERS

Resolution No. 147—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Coopers' International Union of North America has been affiliated

with the American Federation of Labor for forty-four years and has always had jurisdiction over cooping and issuing of Charters to the men and women engaged in the various branches of the coopeage trade; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America during the past eight months have taken into their organization 1,600 men and women engaged at cooping, namely in Seattle and Tacoma, Washington, Portland, Oregon, and Eureka, California, under the guise of Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Officers of the Coopers' International Union of North America have tried to adjust these encroachments on their Trade with the Executive Officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at Indianapolis, Indiana, and Atlantic City, New Jersey, without success; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor order the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to turn over all men and women that are engaged at cooping to the Coopers' International Union of North America within sixty days of adjournment of this Convention.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

ORGANIZING COMMERCIAL TELEGRAPH WORKERS

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The organization of commercial telegraph workers on land and sea has been enhanced by the passage of protective legislation such as the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Wagner Labor Relations Act; and

WHEREAS, The task of completing this work of organizing commercial, radio, leased wire and press telegraph workers of all classes in one which requires the fullest co-operation and assistance of all affiliated bodies of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The program of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union to secure wage agreements with all commercial telegraph and radio companies requires the support and assistance of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The pitifully low wages paid to a large percentage of commercial telegraph employes makes it necessary to charge the lowest dues possible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies give every possible assistance, morally or financially, to organize and secure wage agreements with every commercial telegraph and radio company.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at its two immediately preceding conventions directed attention to the unfair labor policy of the Associated Press and has asked that it be corrected; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press continues its policy of hostility towards unionization of its telegraphers in defiance of the wishes of the majority of its telegraph workers and in disregard of the wishes of the organized workers of America as expressed through President Green within the last year to President Frank B. Noyes, of the Associated Press; and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press, in recent months, has sent minor officials to different sections of the country to persuade and in some cases coerce employees to withdraw from the Commercial Telegraphers' Union by slandering union officials who have engaged in organization work among Associated Press telegraphers at great personal sacrifice and without compensation; and

WHEREAS, Associated Press officials have intimated to meetings of its employees that they would favor a dual or company union; and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union for over 25 years has maintained contractual relations with International News Service, Universal Service and United Press through closed shop agreements, which have actually increased wages and improved conditions during the six years of the depression; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon National and International Unions, affiliated state and central bodies and federal unions to refrain from co-operation with the Associated Press representatives who seek news of labor, and co-operate to the fullest extent with the aforementioned three union press services.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. OF L. DAILY NEWSPAPER

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The educational, legislative and organization activities of the American Federation of Labor necessitate the fullest possible dissemination of accurate and up-

to-date news and views of labor, from day to day; and

WHEREAS, The enemies of labor are engaged daily in the spreading of misinformation and misrepresentation of labor's position on every phase of American Federation of Labor activities either by the press, radio or otherwise; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be requested to appoint a special committee to investigate the possibilities of establishing a daily newspaper to be known as the American Federation of Labor Daily Newspaper, and make a report to the Executive Council not later than Jan. 1, 1936; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized and instructed if the report be favorable to make the necessary arrangements to begin publication of an American Federation of Labor Daily Newspaper, under the control of the American Federation of Labor, as soon as practicable.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING CHANGE IN BASIS OF REPRESENTATION OF LOCAL UNIONS IN CENTRAL BODIES

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate A. P. Harvey, Central Trades and Labor Council, New Orleans, La.

Article XI, Section 11. Reads:

The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

Change to read:

Article XI, Section 11.

The representation of local unions, councils and Federations entitled to affiliation in the Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or major fraction thereof. Councils and Federations shall be entitled to only three delegates each; Councils and Federations' affiliation with the Central Labor Unions, shall be determined

by a majority vote of the Central Labor Unions in their respective localities.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

FEDERAL INVESTIGATION OF STRIKE BREAKING AGENCIES

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate Julius Hochman, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, There have developed in the United States a number of agencies and organizations which make it a business to supply professional strikebreakers, armed and unarmed private guards, and under-cover operatives to spy upon and betray the legitimate activities of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, The record of professional strikebreaking from Homestead in 1892 to the textile strike of 1934 and up to date has been a record of the shipment of criminals and mercenaries across state lines, of violence and of destruction of the life, property and liberty of workingmen and their families; and

WHEREAS, The activities of labor spies and spy agencies have frequently been exposed as destructive of every decent instinct in American life; and

WHEREAS, There are indications that several of these strikebreaking and spy agencies are now concentrating their efforts on the formation of company unions in violation of the Federal Labor Disputes Act; and

WHEREAS, The continued existence of these professional strikebreaking and espionage agencies are a menace to the trade union movement and a serious barrier to the adjustment of economic disputes on the basis of mutual trust and fair play; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation be instructed to seek an immediate and thorough Federal investigation of these agencies to the end that they shall be exposed to the light of publicity and the condemnation of all fair-minded citizens; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to prepare an integrated program of Federal and state legislation which, with the aid of the State Federations of Labor, the Executive Council shall strive to have enacted into law to the end that the lawless activities of these agencies shall be brought to an end.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMMITTEE ON NEGRO PROBLEMS

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, 18068, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in San Francisco, adopted a resolution for the appointment by President William Green of a committee of five for the purpose of making an inquiry into the practices of discrimination by trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. against Negro workers, and to make recommendations to the next or this Convention;

WHEREAS, President Green appointed the said committee composed of the following brothers: John E. Rooney, of the Plasterers; John Brophy, of the Miners; T. C. Carroll, of the Maintenance of Way; John W. Garvy, of the Hod Carriers; Jerry Hanks, of the Barbers, who have undertaken a splendid, far-reaching and constructive job of investigating every aspect of the relationship of the black workers to the American Federation of Labor;

WHEREAS, The Committee held two hearings in Washington, D. C., and listened to testimony given by Negro and white representatives from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the joint Committee on National Recovery, the National Urban League, the Department of Interior, Howard and Fisk Universities, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and skilled Negro building trades workers, who gave a mass of factual data, pointing out the widespread practice, on the part of some trade unions, to discriminate against Negro workers through the color bar in their constitutions and color pledges in their rituals and other inexpressed but subtle and effective methods of excluding colored workers from the unions and thereby, keeping them out of employment;

WHEREAS, The life of the Committee has been too short, having only started work in July of 1935, giving it about three months to function, hold hearings, take evidence, study and analyze the material that is presented to it or that it may search out for evaluation, itself, especially, in view of the magnitude and vital significance of the task before it;

WHEREAS, Negro workers have neither the money nor time to travel to Washington to tell their story of discrimination visited upon them to prevent them from becoming members of the union, or work on union jobs and since if they left their homes they would be cut off relief because of absence, and because Washington is not an indus-

trial city where large numbers of Negro craftsmen live who might appear and testify before the Committee, and, too, since the increase and accumulation of evidence of discriminations, of varied forms, will enable the Committee to get a clear and complete picture of the Negro workers' relation to the trade union movement, which will have great factual value and moral weight and worth; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, empower and instruct President Green and the Executive Council, to provide the Committee with the necessary funds with which to conduct regional public hearings, to take evidence on the aforementioned discriminations, in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati and St. Louis, in order that Negro workers in these large industrial centers may appear and tell the Committee their experiences in seeking membership in the unions, and work on jobs controlled by organized labor. This will serve as a gesture of sincere interest on the part of the A. F. of L. to organize Negro workers, and will bring to the Federation increasing moral assurance and spiritual force, public goodwill and economic power, which is born alone in working class solidarity, without regard to race, color or nationality.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate Selma Borchardt, Washington Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, A number of local unions of the American Federation of Teachers, while remaining in the organization, and claiming to represent more than sixty per cent of the membership, withdrew from the last convention of that organization held in August, have publicly stated that they left the convention because the convention had been packed with a group, not eligible under their constitution to membership, of many who are openly hostile to and opposed to the principles of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Due to the packing of the convention the convention was in fact controlled by a minority of those who hold membership in the American Federation of Teachers; and

WHEREAS, The newly elected Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers has recently sent to the local unions of that organization a letter asking them:

(1) "To get your Central Labor Union to instruct its delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention to prevent the question of the status of the American Federation of Teachers of being raised there;

(2) "To bring this question up in your Central Labor Union only if you have a good chance of getting it adopted"; and

WHEREAS, If the charges of those who have publicly protested and who left the convention are true, then a most serious situation confronts the State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions where locals of the American Federation of Teachers are organized; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor owes an obligation to the State Federations of Labor and to the Central Labor Unions to see to it that these bodies do not have forced upon them those who support anti-American Federation of Labor tactics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, directs the President and the Executive Council to make an immediate and thorough investigation of the charges publicly made that the American Federation of Teachers is now controlled by those openly hostile to the principles of the American Federation of Labor and after ascertaining the facts the President and the Executive Council are authorized and directed to take such action as the facts may warrant and to notify all State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions of such facts and their action thereon.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ORGANIZING NEGRO WORKERS

Resolution No. 155—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Negro Labor Committee organized July 20th, 1935, in New York City, by Negro and White representatives of trade unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor;

WHEREAS, It is the purpose of the Negro Labor Committee to organize Negro workers into the trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to the end of eliminating division and weaknesses within the ranks of the workers resulting from race or color prejudice, thereby achieving greater trade union unity, strength and fighting spirit;

WHEREAS, The following bona fide trade unions and representatives of the

American Federation of Labor were present at the Conference and participated in the deliberations for the formation of the Committee: Julius Hochman, Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Thomas Young, Vice-President, Building Service and Employees' Union, 32-B; Abraham Miller, Executive Secretary of the New York Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union of America; I. Laderman, President, International Pocketbook Workers' Union; Jack Buttler, Taxi Chauffeurs' Union No. 19795; Joseph Machey, International Representative, International Laundry Workers' Union; Edward Richardson, Van Drivers' and Helpers' Union No. 814; P. A. Moore, Business Agent, Dining Car Employees' Union No. 370; Jacob Mirsky, President, Bricklayers' Union No. 37; Jack Wolheim, Motion Pictures Operators' Union No. 306; Gordon Hayes, Carpenters' and Joiners' Union No. 1888; Morris Finestone, Executive Secretary, United Hebrew Trades; B. F. McLaurin, National Field Organizer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters;

WHEREAS, President William Green sent an inspiring, congratulatory and instructive message to Frank R. Crosswaith, the chairman and organizer of the Committee and one of the general organizers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which served as the stimulating and rallying force and standard of the Conference and since David Dubinsky, President-Secretary of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and member of the Executive Council, has also indorsed and warmly supported the Committee; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention Assembled, in Atlantic City, New Jersey, goes on record as endorsing the Negro Labor Committee, and assures the Committee moral and financial support and co-operation, to aid it in the advancement of its worthy program of organizing our Negro brothers into the bona fide trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONDEMNING ITALY'S WAR AGAINST ETHIOPIA

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, 18068, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Fascist Government of Italian Imperialists has arrogantly flouted every high moral precept and tradition of peace, and the harmonious association of the civilized peoples of the world, by at-

tacking, without provocation, Ethiopia, raining down poison gas from war airplanes, upon defenseless women and children, spreading death and destruction, suffering and want;

WHEREAS, A prolongation of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict brought on by the jingoistic, saber-rattling, chauvinist policies of Mussolini, drunk and blatant with power, resting, withal, upon the thin crust of a volcanic economic unrest of mass degradation of the exploited Italian workers may ignite another world war with its attendant terrifying human misery and perchance be followed by a rising tide of world-wide Fascism which in the horrible manner and example of the Italian corporative and German totalitarian states will crush the trade union movements in blood, suppress the expression of all minority opinions, religious, political or what not, and sweep away the elementary rights of free speech, free press, free assemblage, and all constitutional guarantees of civilized Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its fifty-fifth Annual Convention assembled at Atlantic City, New Jersey, condemns this war as mass murder of the Ethiopian peoples, in order to rob this ancient nation of its land and sovereignty and herewith calls upon the workers everywhere, the chief victims of every capitalistic war, to unite and demand that their governments halt this massacre and permit the peoples of Abyssinia to pursue their ways of peace, and of life and independence.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WAGNER-COSTIGAN ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, No. 18068, New York City.

WHEREAS, The shameful lynching of human beings in the United States of America has made our claim of being a civilized country appear as a hollow mockery, and constitutes a serious threat to orderly government;

WHEREAS, Nearly 5,000 persons, more than 1,000 of whom are white, in the last 40 years, men and women, have been hanged from trees and riddled with bullets, or burned alive, while pieces of the charred bones and stinking human flesh of the unhappy victims are distributed as souvenirs among impressionable children and sadistic, mentally deficient men and women, in the crude manner of a Roman holiday, having been fired with the false illusions of defending the honor of white women, born of a so-called superior race, by

dangerous and selfish demagogues of church, press and state;

WHEREAS, Lynch and mob law germs, like disease germs, know no race, color, nationality or religious lines, since history shows that whenever lynching and mob rule becomes a custom, that a Negro may be the unfortunate victim today, but that tomorrow it may be the mob howling, like mad Dervishes, for the blood of a Jew, or the blood of a Catholic, or the blood of a worker fighting for his union;

WHEREAS, The lynchoer and mobocrat, still flaunt their bloody shirts in utter defiance of all constitutional governments, proving the obvious helplessness of the governments of the individual states, to stop this unspeakable crime against humanity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, denounces and condemns this horrible lynch and mob law as a menace to human rights and as an attack upon said civilized government, and a blow to our democratic institutions, and calls upon President Roosevelt and the Congress to enact into law the Wagner-Costigan Federal Anti-Lynching Bill, with a view to wiping out this disgraceful blot of barbarism from America; be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to the members of the House of Representatives and Senators, urging them to back this measure as expressing the will and spirit of organized labor, and bring it to a vote on the floor in the next Congress, since it is apparent that this Bill would have passed had it been put to a vote in the last Congress, and not been the football of selfish politicians, and also send copies of the said resolution to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the American Civil Liberties' Union, the National Urban League, the League for Industrial Democracy and the Race Relations Committee of the Society of Friends.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PULLMAN PORTERS' FIGHT FOR HIGHER WAGES AND SHORTER HOURS

Resolution 158—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, 18068, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, after ten long, hard, difficult years of struggle, won a brilliant, far-reaching and significant victory, with a vote of six thousand to fourteen hundred, over the Company Union, in a national

election, conducted under the supervision of the National Mediation Board, receiving certification by the Board, July 1st, as the duly authorized representative of the sleeping car porters and maids for purposes of collective bargaining;

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood sought conference, and presented therein, to the management of the Pullman Company a proposed agreement concerning rates of pay, hours and rules governing working conditions, for discussion and consideration for the porters and maids, in which the basic wage was increased from the present rate of \$77.50 to only \$93.00 a month, and the hours of work reduced from the present stretch-out, sweat-shop, monthly hourage of 317 to 240 hours, and a comparable mileage of 7,000, which formula of dual computation of pay is practically uniformly applied to all classes of transportation railroad workers, but which is recognized by the standard railroad unions as being excessive, as shown by their fight for the six hour day and five day week;

WHEREAS, The present wages of the porters and maids are woefully inadequate to insure living standards of health and decency, as set forth in the budget for family of five by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics;

WHEREAS, Out of the meagre wage of \$77.50 a month, subsidized by tips that have declined some 75 per cent. during the depression, tips which the union regards, at best, as an unsatisfactory, uncertain, and improper method of paying the porters, must be deducted an occasional expense, including food in transit, uniforms, shoe polish, and lodging away from home, which according to a survey of porters' income and working conditions, made by the New York Labor Bureau, Inc., in 1926, was \$33.00 a month;

WHEREAS, Representatives of the management of the Company, after exhaustively examining the proposed agreement by questioning the representatives of the Brotherhood upon the meaning of every article, in conference, September 16th, 17th and 18th; following with a request for the reasons for the proposed wage increase, and hourage and mileage reduction, which was comprehensively given, only to be met, in conference, October 4th, with a flat refusal by the Company to grant ONE CENT wage increase or reduce working time ONE HOUR, or change ONE WORKING RULE which would result in any increase in compensation to the porters and maids, thereby forcing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to invoke the services of the National Mediation Board, to effect a settlement of the dispute;

WHEREAS, The National Mediation Board on October 5th, telegraphed the Brotherhood that its invocation had been received, and that the Board had taken

jurisdiction over the case, and had also notified the Pullman Company, calling the Company's attention to the appropriate provision of the Railway Labor Act, as amended by the 73rd Congress, under which it, the Board, was taking action; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its fifty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, congratulates the Pullman porters and maids upon their splendid fight and victory for bona fide representation, and condemns the refusal of the Pullman Company to grant a wage increase to the under-paid and over-worked porters and maids, as a species of unconscionable exploitation and oppression, and the essence of an economic policy, which is not only unfair, unsound, and un-American, but also a method by which the industrial depression is prolonged and unemployment increased.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NEGRO ORGANIZERS

Resolution 159—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, 18068, New York City.

WHEREAS, The enactment of the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill into law gives organized labor certain definite rights in developing and promoting its program of organization of the unorganized workers;

WHEREAS, The sanction by the Federal Government of the right of the workers to organize bona-fide unions of their own choosing, without interference, coercion or intimidation, which gives to the American Federation of Labor a strategic and privileged position which is justifiable and as it should be, but which imposes, by the same token, upon the A. F. of L. the moral obligation to give tangible and concrete proof of its interest and intention to bring all sections of the unorganized workers into the fold, including the Negro workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention goes on record as directing President Green and the Executive Council to place one or more Negro organizers on the staff as paid workers under the direction of President Green, since the Negro workers, in strike after strike, in industries in every section of America, have fully and unequivocally demonstrated their capacity and courage to play an effective role in the building up of a strong, militant labor movement of white and black workers, and to fight for desirable standards of wages, hours and working conditions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SEAMEN'S BILL

Resolution No. 160—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in session at Atlantic City that we reiterate our petition for the passing of the so-called King Bill (S. 379 and H. R. 5380) by the Senate and the House of Representatives on whose calendar the Bill at present is, largely because of opposition from the State Department; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be forwarded to the presiding officers of the Senate and of the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

TREATY OF SAFETY OF LIFE AT SEA

Resolution No. 161—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in session at Atlantic City that we reiterate our protest against the passage of the Treaty of Safety of Life at Sea at present before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That it be forwarded to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

COMPANY UNIONS

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate Elizabeth Nord, Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Government's own Department of Labor shows a sixty-five per cent. increase in the growth of Company Unionism under the New Deal; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner Labor Disputes Act does not protect the labor movement against continuing growth of Company Unions in that it contains a section defining the "employer unit and employees' representation plan" as a bona fide collective bargaining unit, thus legally sanctioning company unions; and

WHEREAS, Continued growth of these company unions, which occur in their most vicious forms in the basic, mass production industries such as steel, automobile and textiles, will completely destroy the American Labor Movement, and serve as a primary aid to the development of Fascism; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of the leaders of the American Labor Movement to protect the workers against the bosses, and against the ever-increasing danger of a Fascist dictatorship; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor commit itself to the following program and policy:

1. To publicize the growth of Company Unionism, and its consequent menace to the development of a strong, militant labor movement.

2. To force, through our organizational strength, a recognition on the part of the various Governmental agencies of the growing menace of Company Unionism, and its Fascist implications, and through this recognition, to force these Governmental agencies to take immediate steps toward removing the legal possibility of company unions.

3. To organize immediately an educational campaign amongst the workers who belong to company unions in an attempt to win them away from these company unions and to make them members of bona fide American Federation of Labor trade unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 163—By Delegate Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, Alex McKeown, Emil Rieve, Wm. F. Kelley and Frank Schweitzer, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Modern industrial organization and trustification has long ago rendered craft unionism obsolete and ineffectual; and

WHEREAS, During the wave of union organization in the past few years the craft structure of the American Federation of Labor unions proved to be a serious obstacle in the way of effective organization, especially in the large-scale, mass production industries, such as automobile, steel, textile, etc.; and

WHEREAS, In order to achieve any substantial advances in the organization of such industries, and in order to take the necessary organizational steps toward protection of the workers against the increasing danger of Fascism, the American Federation of Labor Executive Council had to take steps in the direction of industrial unionism, first through the medium of Federal Labor Unions, or plant unions, as formerly in the automobile and rubber industries, and, finally, through the granting of International Charters to these workers; and

WHEREAS, The recognition of the unions in the American Federation of Labor on in-

dustrial lines has become a vital necessity to further the interests of unionism and the struggle of the workers in all industries; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record supporting industrial unionism as the only effective form of organization for the trade union movement today; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is instructed to call together representatives of all National and International Unions for the purpose of putting into effect as soon as possible the intent and purpose of this resolution, namely, the official notification that mass production industries have jurisdiction over all workers in divisions of industries now chartered or about to be chartered for the protection of all workers employed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

URGING COMMUNITY STRIKES TO ENFORCE OBSERVANCE OF LABOR DAY

Resolution No. 164—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, Alex McKeown, Emil Rieve, Wm. F. Kelley and Frank Schweitzer, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Through the insistence of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of the United States set aside by law, the first Monday in September as a day belonging to the workers of this country, a day when the hosts of labor could gather together in their respective communities and celebrate the occasion; and

WHEREAS, Labor Day is recognized and observed in every progressive state. In some states, however, the workers are not permitted to enjoy this holiday owing to the opposition of the employers to grant the same; and

WHEREAS, This is not only in defiance of the Labor Movement and unfair to the workers, but also gives these employers a competitive advantage over those who do observe the holiday; it is therefore

RESOLVED, That this Convention authorize the President of the American Federation of Labor to communicate with all affiliated unions urging a one-day strike on Labor Day, 1936, and every succeeding Labor Day in any community where the employers refuse to grant the same.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NATIONAL TEXTILE ACT

Resolution No. 165—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, Alex Mc-

Keown, Emil Rieve, Wm. F. Kelly and Frank Schweitzer, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, At the 74th Congress of the United States there was introduced into the House of Representatives, H. R. 9072, a bill to safeguard the textile workers of the country against further degradation of labor standards; and

WHEREAS, It has become apparent that no such remedial steps will be taken unless under force of law; and

WHEREAS, The most blatant digressions from the so-called "Code Standards" have taken place in the textile industry, in which not only wages have been reduced, and hours lengthened, but also discrimination against union activity has grown apace; and

WHEREAS, The absence of protection of the constitutional right to free assembly, and thus to organization and bargaining collectively has been denied the textile workers, through lack of courageous protection; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in support of House Resolution 9072, a bill to "rehabilitate" the Textile Industry; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor formally endorse said National Textile Act, and authorize the Legislative Committee of the Federation to work for its passage; and be it further

RESOLVED, That communications are sent to all State Federations and City Central Bodies urging their active support for this legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION FOR CONTINUANCE OF PRINCIPLES OF NRA

Resolution No. 166—Introduced by Delegates John B. Haggarty, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; James Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association; M. J. Gillooly, Flint Glass Workers' Union; Harvey C. Fremming, Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America; J. H. Windsor, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; Philip Murray, Thomas Kennedy, United Mine Workers of America; George E. Browne, Fred Dempsey, Thomas V. Green, Manus McCaffery, Int. All. of Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the U. S. and Canada; Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The NIRA, which was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme

Court, has focused the eyes of the nation upon the evils of our productive and distributive facilities; and

WHEREAS, There still exists a tremendous unemployment problem which must be faced immediately and courageously; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. had in the past supported the NIRA, in spite of its many deficiencies and now recognizes the necessity of its permanent continuation in some form or other; and

WHEREAS, Statistics gathered by the A. F. of L., since the collapse of the NRA, show clearly that code labor standards, inadequate as they were in many cases, are now being broken down by short-sighted members of industry, which, if continued, can have only the inevitable result of indefinitely postponing recovery; and

WHEREAS, It appears that the President of the United States is now causing a study to be made which will determine the necessity of such continuance; therefore, be

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, reaffirms its belief in the principle of the NIRA legislation and calls for the widest study to determine the extent to which former code labor provisions have been and are being destroyed, and for which purpose it extends its complete co-operation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. pledge its assistance to the permanent continuation by Federal legislation of the principles of NIRA, with adequate labor participation in code making, code administration and code reformation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROTESTING MISUSE OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING FUNDS BY MANUFACTURERS

Resolution No. 167—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Frank Schweitzer, Emil Rieve, Francis J. Gorman, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Several glaring instances have come to light during the past year where private employers through the co-operation of local, state and Federal educational authorities have secured the services of productive labor at no cost by using funds designated for vocational training; and

WHEREAS, There are apparently no regulations in most states that prevent employer-dominated school authorities from using public funds to subsidize private employers through the setting up of what are alleged to be vocational training units; and

WHEREAS, The whole problem of vocational training in this country is one that has been neglected by the Organized Labor

Movement and is completely misunderstood for the most part by school authorities; and

WHEREAS, Private industry is taking advantage of this situation to train surplus workers in the public schools, thus avoiding the customary expense of "breaking in" new help; and

WHEREAS, In many industries there is real danger of half trained persons being thrown onto the labor market to compete with the millions already unemployed; and

WHEREAS, What the country needs today is not so much training in mechanical skill as instruction in meeting the economic and social problems which confront the masses and how to meet the situations which arise as a result of the disappearance of skill in industry; and

WHEREAS, In the Federal Government the United States Department of Labor today has no control over vocational training which is administered exclusively by the United States Bureau of Education; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct its branches to protest to local boards of education and state educational boards against any vocational training course being conducted in an industrial establishment or anywhere outside of the school buildings and that no employer be permitted to use the school system to have work done without payment nor may he use the educational funds to create surplus help thus aggravating the unemployment problem; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention call upon the Workers' Education Bureau of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to assist in devising a proper and just program for organized labor to substitute for the present inadequate and socially undesirable system of vocational training now in force; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make the necessary representations to the United States Bureau of Education against the misuses of vocational training funds by manufacturers and local educational authorities and that we recommend that the Labor Department be consulted by the educational authorities on questions of this sort and that in turn the Department of Labor consult with labor representatives from the industries affected before any sort of vocational training is planned for that trade or industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in local communities and in all states that regulations be enacted making it obligatory to secure the approval of organized labor before vocational training projects are undertaken; and be it further

RESOLVED, That if needs be the American Federation of Labor shall have introduced in the next Congress suitable legislation covering the objectives here outlined and bringing about other needed reforms in the educational system insofar as this can be accomplished through the use of Federal funds.

Referred to Committee on Education.

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF LABOR SPY ACTIVITIES

Resolution No. 168.—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Emil Rieve, Frank Schweitzer, Francis J. Gorman, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Evidence is available showing that just prior to, and immediately after, the passage of the Labor Disputes Act, there has been a revival of activity on the part of the "under-cover" agencies whose function is to bring about the destruction of the legitimate labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The private detective agency or the "labor spy", who formerly adopted other tactics inimical to the labor movement, are now frequently engaged in establishing and forming company unions or alleged "employees' associations", whose only purpose is to make genuine collective bargaining impossible; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of the Labor Disputes Act is to bring about industrial peace through the development of orderly relations between employer and employee; and

WHEREAS, If, through the vicious and nefarious activities of the industrial parasites known as "labor spies" it becomes difficult or impossible for the National Labor Relations Board to administer the Labor Disputes Act we must needlessly suffer prolongation of industrial strife; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the incoming Executive Board to take such steps as may be necessary or expedient to call to the attention of Congress the new dangers which the activity of the "labor spy", or anti-union under-cover agency, now present; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall request that a special Congressional Investigation of the anti-labor activities of private detective and similar agencies shall be held as quickly as legislation to that end can be enacted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. NEUTRALITY IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS

Resolution No. 169—By Delegate A. Steve Nance, Atlanta, Georgia, Federation of Trades.

WHEREAS, Involvements of United States citizens with the interests of belligerent nations through travel, trade and commercial credits led directly to the participation of the United States in the World War; and

WHEREAS, The World War involved untold expenditure of life and materials for which there was no commensurate return to the people of any nation; led directly or indirectly to the overthrow of democracy in several European nations; and was the principal factor in bringing about the present world-wide economic depression; and

WHEREAS, Another general war, now or in the future, would result in still greater misery and chaos, with no benefit to American or other workers; and

WHEREAS, In case of a long-continued or a general war tremendous pressure for the participation of the United States would be developed by propagandists and profiteers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That in order to preserve our neutrality the American Federation of Labor call upon the President and Congress of the United States to prohibit all trade and credit transactions between citizens of the United States and citizens or governments of belligerent nations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor foster a permanent campaign of education of all workers concerning their interest in international peace.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING U. S. OFFER ASYLUM FOR NAZI AND FASCIST REFUGEES

Resolution No. 170—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Isidore Nagler, Julius Hochman, Basilio Desti, Abraham Snyder, Nathan Margolis and Reuben Zuckerman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Nazi and Fascist suppression of fundamentals of democracy, including free speech, free assembly, a free press and free religious confession, in a number of European countries has in the past year become even more ruthless and severe, forcing many citizens of these dictator-controlled lands, most of them formerly affiliated with trade unions or other branches of the labor movement to flee for their lives and freedom; and

WHEREAS, These refugees from economic, political and religious tyranny are entitled to the generous sympathy and support from organized labor everywhere, and help extended to them could not be viewed as a deviation from the traditional policies of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, America has, from her earliest days, proudly offered to all oppressed and persecuted, politically and spiritually, the privilege of asylum and the protection of democracy within its boundaries; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fifth Convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., extend every possible aid to facilitate the entry of fugitives from Nazi or Fascist terror on account of trade union activity or racial or religious affiliation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. OF L. AFFILIATION WITH INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Resolution No. 171—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Jos. F. Kelly, Christian M. Madsen, Harry Kaufman, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The International Federation of Trade Unions is a vital force against reaction and dictatorship; and

WHEREAS, The International Federation of Trade Unions has sustained a great blow through the destruction of the Trade Unions in several European Countries; and

WHEREAS, There is today a great need for solidarity and co-operation among the Trade Unions of the World for the protection of Liberty and Democracy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Atlantic City, instruct the Executive Council to take the necessary steps for affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

PROPOSING INVESTIGATION OF LABOR PROVISIONS OF CONTRACT OF THE ILLINOIS POWER AND LIGHT COMPANY WITH UTILITY OPERATORS' ASSOCIATION.

Resolution No. 172—By Delegate Joseph D. Keenan, Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Public utility corporations including the Illinois Power and Light Company, engaged in interstate commerce, have entered contracts with an association identified as the Utility Operators' Association; and

WHEREAS, The served purpose of the Utility Operators' Association, in combination with the enforced intent of the public utility corporations, constitutes conspiracy to defeat the objects included in the Wagner Disputes Bill, and the right of employees to bargain collectively for wages through a voluntary organization of their own choice; and

WHEREAS, the contracts between the public utility corporations and the Utility Operators' Association are illegally resorted to by the indicated employers as effective instruments denying collective bargaining privileges to the employees except through company's dictated and established method; and

WHEREAS, Such form of contract labor denies the citizen employees of the equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; which right the constitution of the United States guarantees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the incoming officers and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to obtain from the Chicago Federation of Labor copies of the aforementioned contracts between the designated public utility corporations and the Utility Operators' Association, and after ascertainment of all facts pertinent thereto, submit same to the Attorney General of the United States and the Interstate Commerce Commission, with a request for interpretations of the legality of and correction of the aforesaid procedures; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to formulate and pursue such further methods of protecting the rights of such employees to bargain collectively as free citizens as are determined upon by the Council.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 173 — By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The decision of the Supreme Court in the Schecter Case invalidates for the third time basic Federal legislation whereby the exploitation of child labor was restrained uniformly throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, It again becomes evident that the exploitation of children in trade and industry can legally be prevented only through the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment which now has received the endorsement of twenty-four sovereign states out of the necessary thirty-six; and

WHEREAS, In opposing the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment by legislatures of certain states, representatives appearing on behalf of Roman Catholic bishops have given the impression that the Catholic Church opposes the adoption of this Amendment of the Constitution as contrary to the interests of the Faith and have thereby in certain legislatures assured the rejection of the ratifying resolution; and

WHEREAS, The Amendment, which was drafted and endorsed by eminent Americans, including individual Catholic laymen and priests, seems to the delegates to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to be a matter on which individual members of the Catholic hierarchy may with propriety speak only as individual citizens; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that the speedy adoption of the Child Labor Amendment is essential in the interests of social justice and in the relief of unemployment among adult workers and is in accordance with the ideals contained in the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII; and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In convention assembled by the delegates of the American Federation of Labor that this resolution be respectfully presented to the Apostolic Delegate at Washington with the request for an official decision as to whether the Child Labor Amendment may not be considered a matter of economic and social legislation on which Catholic priests, laymen and legislators may speak and vote according to their individual judgment as citizens of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

HEALTH INSURANCE LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 174—By Delegates Thomas Kennedy, United Mine Workers of America; Julius Hochman, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; Andrew J. Kennedy, Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada; A. P. Bower, Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pa.

WHEREAS, Even in normal times sickness is one of the greatest hazards confronting wage-earners, constituting the chief cause of dependency; and

WHEREAS, Outside of unemployment it is today the outstanding fear confronting American workers; and

WHEREAS, The American worker during times of illness is not only confronted with a loss of wages but is forced to pay exorbitant medical and hospital bills which frequently force him into debt and poverty; and

WHEREAS, Although health insurance has been in successful operation in all industrial nations for more than a generation, the American social security act completely ignores this major problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled at Atlantic City, hereby goes on record urging the enactment of socially constructive health insurance legislation through Congress and the individual States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. OF L. ORGANIZER FOR CALIFORNIA

Resolution No. 175—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The desire for organization in the State of California has never before been as keen and insistent as it is at the present time; and

WHEREAS, The unwarranted attacks upon some organizers of the bona-fide labor movement by organized bands of hoodlums, vigilantes, and other so-called "law and order agencies" make it extremely difficult for the one organizer stationed in the State of California to render as efficient and quick service as the occasion would demand; and

WHEREAS, If we fail in the performance of our duty these vast numbers of workers may be alienated from the A. F. of L. and brought into a group inimical to the aims and purposes of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we petition this convention of the A. F. of L. to assign another organizer for permanent duty to the State of California.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

LABOR RADIO STATION, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Resolution No. 176—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Los Angeles has entered into a contract

with the Metro Broadcasting Company for the purpose of securing a radio station in East Los Angeles, which station will be known as the "Voice of Organized Labor" and will be operated in the interests of Organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, President Green, of the American Federation of Labor, has given his approval and offered his co-operation in this matter; and

WHEREAS, Application has been made to the Federal Communications Commission in Washington, D. C., for a permit to operate this radio station; and

WHEREAS, Charlton Ogburn, attorney for the A. F. of L., is counsel for the Metro Broadcasting Company and as such has just advised by wire from Washington that the examiners have denied permit for above named radio station; and

WHEREAS, An appeal will be taken from this decision of the examiners to the Communications Commission in Washington, D. C.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in support of this radio station and the Secretary be instructed to mail the endorsement to Anning Prall, chairman, Federal Communications Commission; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. be hereby instructed to appoint a committee of three to call upon the President of the Federal Communications Commission as soon as is possible in support of the Los Angeles application for a broadcasting station as the denial of this application would be the most serious blow dealt to organized labor in California.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONDEMNING ITALY'S WAR AGAINST ETHIOPIA

Resolution No. 177—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We, the representatives of organized labor in the United States of America, view with the gravest concern the opening of Italian hostilities in Ethiopia in which Italian Fascists have now definitely begun their unwarranted attack upon the peaceful Ethiopian people; and

WHEREAS, We are sufficiently cognizant of the effect of this dispute on international relationships to know that this may well be the match to set the entire world aflame in another world war; and

WHEREAS, Our national Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has already gone on record opposed to war; and

WHEREAS, Numerous of our state bodies of the American Federation of Labor in their recent conventions have reiterated this sentiment and called upon Italy and Ethiopia to submit to arbitration so as to avoid another world war; and

WHEREAS, as far back as 1914 it was said by Samuel Gompers, our former President of the American Federation of Labor, that, "Labor has nothing to gain and everything to lose by imperialist war"; and

WHEREAS, On the opening day of this historic convention it was said by our President Green that we, organized labor, shall oppose war plans within our government or any other government; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In the interests of labor and in the interests of world peace that the American Federation of Labor go on record supporting the sanctions imposed upon Fascist Italy by the League of Nations and pledge itself to further and more resolute action if needs be to keep our nation out of war to thwart Mussolini's war plans, to check Fascism which destroys trade unions and to fight for peace; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this body go on record as endorsing the committee for Ethiopian independence which has brought fraternal greetings to Mr. Green and to this convention and which has presented the proclamation of labor which incorporates the spirit and essence of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FORT PECK PROJECT—MONTANA

Resolution No. 178—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor,

WHEREAS, There is a Federal Dam Project under construction at Fort Peck, in the State of Montana, and which said construction has been in progress for about two years and will possibly continue for a period of three years; and

WHEREAS, A very unsatisfactory state of affairs has existed at Fort Peck Dam project and from the latest reports still exists;

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Code, which regulates the wages and working conditions at Fort Peck, provides for a minimum wage of fifty (50) cents an hour for common labor (pick and shovel work), and a minimum of \$1.20 an hour for mechanics. There is no scale of wages set by the code for helpers and semi-skilled workers; this wage is to be set in each locality according to existing local conditions, rules and usages;

WHEREAS, The wages for helpers and semi-skilled workers at Fort Peck has been agreed upon by the army engineering officers and the contractors, and, apparently, after the contract has been awarded. It is a graduated scale of wages running from fifty (50) cents to ninety (90) cents an hour;

WHEREAS, The contractors, with the consent and knowledge of the contracting officers in charge of the Fort Peck project, are using semi-skilled workers at semi-skilled workers' wages to do the work of skilled workers. Mechanics are hired to do the work of mechanics at wages below the scale of \$1.20 an hour fixed by the contract. Mechanics being paid \$1.20 an hour by contractors are discharged, and when so discharged are informed by representatives of the contractors that if they wish to work as helpers at eighty (80) cents an hour, they can go back on the job again. This can be substantiated by affidavits;

WHEREAS, Some of the contractors have secured 80 per cent. of the skilled work for a wage of 80 cents an hour and less. In other words, some of the contractors have underpaid 80 per cent. of their skilled workers from 40 to 60 cents an hour. All this with the consent of the contracting officers. It is estimated that the contractors have chiseled from \$50,000 to \$60,000 a week from the pay envelopes of the workers;

WHEREAS, These violations and irregularities have been on several occasions called to the attention of the Army Officers in charge of construction at Fort Peck, and numerous complaints have been made to the Public Works Administrator and the Department of Labor at Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, On July 23 and 24 the Board of Labor Review held a hearing at Fort Peck. The above complaints submitted to the Board were supported by witnesses and affidavits. One of the officers attached to the army engineers' office at Fort Peck acted at the hearing in such a manner as would indicate that he was the attorney for the contractors. He showed no sympathy for the workers and defended the contractors in every way possible. The whole affair ended with complete whitewash of the army engineers and contractors;

WHEREAS, A further continuation of the aforementioned law violations, abuses, and unjust practices with immunity from prosecution for the perpetration thereof will destroy public regard for the Federal Administration, will tend to demoralize good citizenship and destroy loyalty and fidelity to the very Government itself; and

WHEREAS, This being a Federal Government Project on a Federal Government Reserve under direct control of the United States Army; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record requesting that a Congressional investigation of the Fort Peck project, the official conduct of the officers in charge, the unjust practices of contractors with relation to their employes, laxity if any with reference to safety for employes, the housing and sanitary conditions in connection with the project, be instigated to the end that parties guilty of misconduct may be dealt with according to laws governing in the matter and that the unjust practices may be discontinued; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use all power possible to have an organization campaign started and organize the workers on said project, and the situation at Fort Peck Dam remedied and adjusted to the American standard of living, and the officers and executive board of the American Federation of Labor render such assistance as is within their power to procure such congressional investigation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CITIZENSHIP FOR MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS

Resolution No. 179—By Delegate Joseph Keenan, Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Since its inception, leaders of the Labor Movement in America have sought consistently to perpetuate and preserve for posterity the patriotic ideals of Washington and his co-signers of that immortal document, the Constitution of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Because of the idealism and the burning love of country with which the authors of our national being were endowed, the first successful attempt of a people anywhere upon the face of the earth to govern themselves under a democratic form of government was launched; and

WHEREAS, The Labor Movement, throughout its existence in America, has dedicated itself and diligently devoted its energies to the end that—in so far as lay in its power—that form of government should be preserved; and

WHEREAS, It is becoming daily more apparent that insidious and subversive forces are at work throughout the nation spreading the false and poisonous doctrines of communism and bolshevism in an effort to undermine and, if possible, destroy the American form of government; and

WHEREAS, Leaders of the American Federation of Labor are firmly of opinion that no compromise should be made with "Un-Americanism"—or any of the factors in our national life which remotely resemble "Un-Americanism"; and

WHEREAS, Holding such belief, the Labor Movement is not satisfied merely to verbally express its disapproval of the demagogues who traitorously preach to Americans the doctrines of Stalin and other dictators, but desires to participate actively in the national fight for the eradication—for all time—from American life of such dangerous and subversive parasites; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend that the Constitution and By-Laws of the American Federation of Labor, and the Constitution and By-Laws of its various locals throughout the United States, be amended so as to provide that all workers within the American Federation of Labor be qualified American citizens, or shall have duly applied for such citizenship.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

HIGHER STANDARDS IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

Resolution No. 180—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, William A. Collins, Homer W. Smith, J. N. Hewitt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Galnor, M. T. Finnan, L. E. Swartz, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosenmund, Architects and Draftsmen; E. C. Babcock, D. R. Glass, John Daniels, John Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers; Joseph S. McDonagh, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; L. R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the restoration, extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees Court of Appeals, with employee representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and the extension of the civil service system with respect to appointment to and tenure in office; the improvement of postal substitute employes and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter work-week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic pro-

motion systems for all employes; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rates of compensation for overtime and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model to those existing in the most advanced establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employes in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

U. S. WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION COMMISSION

Resolution No. 181—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, William A. Collins, Homer W. Smith, J. N. Hewitt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, L. E. Swartz, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemond, Architects and Draftsmen; E. C. Babcock, D. R. Glass, John Daniels, John Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employes; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers; Joseph S. McDonagh, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; L. R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The United States Employes Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer injury compensation laws covering Government workers, and since its establishment it has performed its important functions in a humane way, satisfactory to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, The duties and responsibilities of said commission have been greatly expanded by operations incident to emergency legislation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of

Labor reaffirm its approval of the Commission and its administration and its maintenance as an independent establishment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

THIRTY YEAR OPTIONAL RETIREMENT FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 182—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, William A. Collins, Homer W. Smith, J. N. Hewitt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, L. E. Swartz, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemond, Architects and Draftsmen; E. C. Babcock, D. R. Glass, John Daniels, John S. McDonagh, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; L. R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employe after thirty years of service; be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to co-operate with affiliated Government employes' organizations to secure the enactment of a 30-year optional retirement law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

FAIR WORKING CONDITIONS ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Resolution No. 183—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, William A. Collins, Homer W. Smith, J. N. Hewitt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, L. E. Swartz, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemond, Architects and Draftsmen; E. C.

Babcock, D. R. Glass, John Daniels, John Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers; Joseph S. McDonagh, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; L. R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The United States standard of living requires a fair wage for all workers; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has awarded contracts to private business and commercial concerns for manufacture, construction or service without any provision or requirement as to the wages to be paid to the employees engaged on this work; and

WHEREAS, These concerns, in the absence of any provision or requirements as to payment of wages, have paid their employees wages far below a living standard; and

WHEREAS, This condition could be corrected if the Federal Government would inaugurate a scale of wages that will enable these employees to maintain their families in conformity with the American standards of living; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take such action as may be necessary for the enactment of legislation making it mandatory that such employees receive the prevailing rates of wages prescribed by the various trade unions in the various industries; and that the contractor be required to submit wage scales and hours of labor on all contracts; and be it further

RESOLVED, That such employees be protected from being forced to give up any part of the compensation to which they are entitled under their contract of employment, a practice known as the "kick-back racket", or being discharged or refused further employment for protesting against such "kick-back" racket or other abuses.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES EXTEND THANKS TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Resolution No. 184—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, William A. Collins, Homer W. Smith, J. N. Hewitt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Gainer, M. T. Finnan, L. E. Swartz, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, Architects and Draftsmen; E. C.

Babcock, D. R. Glass, John Daniels, John Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers; Joseph S. McDonagh, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; L. R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in repealing adverse legislation under the so-called Economy Act, these victories including repeal of wage cuts, restoration of promotions, vacations, differentials, for night work and numerous other hard-won and deeply-cherished rights and privileges; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the postal service, have gained through legislation the five (5) day week, thus not only benefiting themselves but more firmly establishing the principle of shorter hours in industry; and

WHEREAS, These very notable victories would have been impossible without the energetic influence and backing of organized labor and the continuous cooperation and assistance of its officers; be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing Government Workers in this Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby express the deepest gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its allies.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN AMONG IVORY AND CASEIN BUTTON WORKERS

Resolution No. 185—By Delegate Joseph Pavona, Ivory and Casein Button Workers, No. 18756, Newark and vicinity, New Jersey.

WHEREAS, The Alliance Button Company, of Newark, New Jersey, and the Machine Corporation of Hoboken, New Jersey, manufacturers of ivory and casein buttons; and

WHEREAS, The plants at Newark, New Jersey, and Hoboken, New Jersey, are the only ones organized and the relations existing with the firms and Locals Nos. 18756 and 18757 are threatened by the competition of the unorganized plants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to give all possible assistance through the American Federation of Labor organizers to organize the workers in the plants of ivory and casein button manufacturers throughout the East.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 186—By Delegates William E. Kuehnle, Fire Arms Workers No. 19393, Hartford, Conn.; Pat Martocchio, No. 18919, Hartford, Conn.; Herman Templeman, Brush-makers' No. 16303, New York; Joseph T. Masucci, No. 18476, Springfield, Mass.; Emil Costello, No. 18456, Kenosha, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, Labor has learned through experience that the promises of representatives of political parties of big business to fight for measures in its interest have been false and for purposes of vote getting as demonstrated in such acts as in the defeat of the prevailing wage amendment, the establishment of a coolie wage of \$19-\$94 monthly on relief projects, the veto of the veterans' bonus bill, the continued issuance of injunctions, the use of the military against striking workers, the failure to ratify the Child Labor amendment and the adoption of a "social security" program which taxes labor for old age pensions and so-called unemployment "insurance" and ignores completely the present unemployed; and

WHEREAS, In order to crush the great strikes waged by labor throughout the country, national guardmen were mobilized to murder and maim our brother trade unionists and force them back to work under miserable conditions, and these military forces were called out by governors of the Republican, Democratic and Farmer-Labor parties who appealed for and obtained labor's vote on the promise of support of labor's interests; and

WHEREAS, These experiences prove that we cannot rely on the so-called "friends of labor" since they act in behalf of their parties which are supported by and function in the interest of Big Business and they demonstrate that the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor of "rewarding friends and defeating enemies" only divides labor's vote and works to the detriment of labor, preventing us from organizing on the political field against the employers as we are organized on the economic field; and

WHEREAS, The New Deal government elected by an overwhelming labor vote has aided the employers to increase their profits by 600 per cent, has helped to stimulate company unionism to the extent of 5 million members, has forced down the standard of living of millions of unemployed to a coolie level of subsistence; and

WHEREAS, A movement is now afoot amongst the workers in many states for the formation of a Labor Party based on a program in defense of labor's interest to enable the workers to send their own representatives, responsible to labor, into the legislatures; and conferences of trade unions in Connecticut, Michigan, Illinois, New Jersey and other states have been held for this purpose; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record endorsing the formation of a Labor Party organized on the basis of trade unions, farmer organizations and other labor organizations including Negro organizations, poor middle classes, and all political organizations of the working people on the platform of struggle for labor's rights and needs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor unite with all other labor organizations endorsing this program to achieve the purposes of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 187—By Delegate Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20048, Baltimore, Md.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court decision nullifying the NRA showed the determination of the industrialists to destroy whatever gains labor has made through the magnificent battles it has waged in the past two years and to launch a more formidable drive to undermine completely the American standard of living by wage cuts, increased speed-up, longer hours, and the increased use of child labor; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council has submitted abundant evidence to the press that the Supreme Court decision has already resulted in the discharge of thousands of workers, in wage reductions and increased hours of work for at least one million workers affecting textiles, food, fur, automobile and other industries; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court decisions on the NRA and on railroad pensions constitute a serious threat against all social and labor legislation; and

WHEREAS, The experiences of the workers under the NRA provide ample proof that not a single major case which was sent to the Labor Boards was a victory for the workers; and that only where the unions are powerfully organized and carry out a program of persistent and militant struggle can labor force concessions, achieve a higher standard of living and withstand the employers' efforts to reduce these standards; and

WHEREAS, The force of the Supreme Court attack brought about by the most reactionary and fascist circles must be met by a solid labor front in which all trade unions inside and outside the American Federation of Labor will stand united to defend the interests of labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record to ward off this blow to labor; by

1—Launching an organizational drive in every industry to strengthen the power of labor.

2—Calling upon all unions to unite for strike action against any encroachments upon our living standards.

3—Continuing the fight for genuine social and labor legislation and through militant action force the adoption of a constitutional amendment to strip the Supreme Court of its power to rob labor of legislation for which it has fought.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 188—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, Recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court on the railway pension act and the NRA have endangered the future of all social and labor legislation and legislation which would give the government greater control over industry; and

WHEREAS, Representative Vito Marcantonio, of New York, has introduced into Congress H. J. Res. 327 which proposes an amendment to the Constitution of the United States known as the Workers' Rights Amendment; and

WHEREAS, Said resolution is now before the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, The passage of this amendment would legalize aforementioned legislation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of said Workers' Rights Amendment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request from the House Judiciary Committee an immediate hearing on H. J. Res. 327 so this vital amendment can soon be brought on the floor of Congress for action; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to Representative Hatton W. Summers, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and to all United States Congressmen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 189—By Delegates William E. Kuehnle, Federal Labor Union No. 19393,

Hartford, Conn.; Patrick Martocchio, Brushmakers' Union No. 18919, Hartford, Conn.; Herman Templeman, Brushmakers' Union No. 16303, New York City, New York; and Joseph T. Masucci, Federal Labor Union No. 18476, Springfield, and Chicopee Falls, Mass.

WHEREAS, There is evident everywhere among unorganized workers a strong desire to organize into trade unions to improve their working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Mass production methods and mechanization of industry under monopoly control have reduced the importance of skilled labor on which the craft union form of organization is based, and craft unions have proven an obstacle to organization and detrimental to the interests of the workers since they divide and weaken their fighting strength against the employers, enabling the employers to more easily introduce company union forms; and

WHEREAS, Craft unionism in practice has resulted in jurisdictional disputes which play directly into the hands of the employers and tends to discredit the unions in the eyes of the unorganized workers and the public; and

WHEREAS, Strikes are often lost or seriously jeopardized by lack of uniformity in the expiration of agreements which is often used to force one craft to remain at work while others are on strike; and

WHEREAS, There is widespread feeling in the ranks of labor against the jurisdictional disputes which exist only among the leading officials and that these disputes must be abolished to stop the internal conflict and enable us to unite our forces against the employers and this is glaringly evident in the jurisdictional disputes of the Brewery Workers and Teamsters and the Building Trades; and

WHEREAS, It has been proven that even the establishment of federal "plant" locals in the mass production industries does not provide sufficient protection against the powerful trusts and enables the employers to introduce company unions and otherwise cause the disintegration of these unions; and

WHEREAS, The successful building of unions in mass production industries and organizational forms which can effectively cope with industry and which are based on a policy of struggle; and

WHEREAS, There is a tendency on the part of the Executive Council to appoint officials of industrial unions under the subterfuge that the new members are inexperienced and unable to manage their own affairs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record:

1. To launch an organization drive to organize the workers in the mass production industries into industrial unions.

2. To immediately organize the Federal locals now in these industries into respective international industrial unions controlled by the rank and file with democratically elected officials and with full autonomy to act in the interest of the organization; and

3. To proceed with the establishment of industrial unions where craft unions now exist by amalgamation of the craft unions in each industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROTESTING AGAINST THE USE OF NATIONAL GUARD IN LABOR STRUGGLES

Resolution No. 190—By Delegates William Kics, United Automobile Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 18615, Cleveland, O., and Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union No. 19306, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, The heroic struggles of labor in the last year against the bitter attacks of the employers on their living standards and civil rights, have been met by murderous onslaughts by private and professional armies, particularly the National Guard; and

WHEREAS, There has been increased use of martial law against strikers most recently in Terre Haute and Minneapolis, which deprives the workers of their most elemental democratic rights, bringing in its wake beatings, shootings and mass arrests of the laboring population of the community; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor find it high time to go on record condemning the use of troops, military forces, either official or unofficial, against strikers and that the convention use all its resources to put an end to such strike breaking measures joining in this effort with other labor organizations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That any union official who sanctions by any means the use of force or troops by the employers in strikes shall be deemed an agent of the employers and removed from office.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNEMPLOYED

Resolution No. 191—By Delegates Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union Local

No. 19306, Chicago, Illinois, and Frank Marek, Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Illinois.

WHEREAS, Unemployment on a mass scale has reduced many millions of former wage earners to a state of destitution and dependency; and

WHEREAS, The jobless can maintain themselves and their families only to the extent that they are provided with relief in the form of employment on public projects or in outright grants; and

WHEREAS, The living standards of the unemployed and relief workers are conditioned by the amount of relief granted to them or by the wage rates and amounts paid in return for their labor on public projects; and

WHEREAS, This in turn becomes an important factor in determining the living and wage standards of workers employed in private industry; and

WHEREAS, Relief as now provided is uncertain, irregular, inadequate to the point of degradation and those to whom it is given are subject to many forms of abuse, discrimination and humiliation; and

WHEREAS, The victims of mass unemployment, as all workers can safeguard their interests and improve their standards only to the extent that they are united in organizations of their own choosing for vigorous action in support of their own demands and program; and

WHEREAS, Such organizations have been formed and have proved beneficial to both the unemployed and to the organized trade union movement as a whole; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor records the wholehearted endorsement of organized labor of the efforts of the unemployed to organize and better their conditions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the national and international unions, the State Federations of Labor and Central Bodies and their affiliated local unions to lend every encouragement and support to efforts of the unemployed to organize and win adequate relief and decent wage standards on such projects as are established in connection with public or other unemployment relief programs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we authorize and urge all our affiliated organizations and locals to form unemployed sections to facilitate organized action on the part of our unem-

ployed brothers and to cooperate in such action with the unemployed organizations of their localities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

GERMAN FASCISM

Resolution No. 192—By Delegates Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union, Local No. 19306, Chicago, Illinois; Frank Marek, Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Illinois, and Norman Ratkin, Photographic and Photo Finishing Employees' Union, Local No. 19893, New York City, New York.

WHEREAS, During the brief period since Hitler's advent to power he has already wiped out the free trade unions, imprisoned, tortured and murdered trade union leaders and thousands of the working population and completely destroyed all vestiges of democratic rights; and

WHEREAS, This ruthless campaign of extermination of the trade unions has been extended against the Jewish population, the Catholics, Protestants, and others who dare to challenge this Fascist regime of brutality and suppression unparalleled in history; and

WHEREAS, It is a matter of the most vital concern to the workers throughout the world to aid in putting a stop to the barbarism and terror in Fascist Germany; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record to condemn the Fascist murder campaign and communicate this action to the German Embassy and to call upon the Government of the United States to officially protest this reign of terror; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call on all locals to intensify the boycott of German goods, to oppose the holding of Olympic games in Germany in 1936 and to send protests to the German Embassy and that we pledge to do all in our power to assist our trade union brothers and all other victims of German Fascism in their struggle to overthrow the Fascist regime; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the delegates to demand the immediate and unconditional release from Hitler's jails and concentration camps of all imprisoned trade unionists and all other anti-Fascists.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

HEARST PUBLICATIONS

Resolution No. 193—By Delegates Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union Local No. 19306, Chicago, Illinois; Frank Marek, Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Illinois, and Norman Ratkin, Photographic and Photo Finishing Employees' Union Local No. 19893, New York City, New York.

WHEREAS, The American Labor movement since its inception has taken an active part in the struggle for the establishment of a free school system—free from all religious or political domination or control; and

WHEREAS, The democratic civil rights of the American people have been won by the working people, together with the Labor movement, as result of years of struggle, and are today the foundations of our American traditions; and

WHEREAS, There is today a trend amongst certain economic and political groups to attack these principles of academic freedom and democratic civil rights and to attempt to prejudice and organize active sentiment against progressive thought and action; and

WHEREAS, All publications of William Randolph Hearst have been leading this campaign against academic freedom, inciting to hatred of the foreign-born worker and for the outlawing and persecution of all progressive working class thought and organization; and

WHEREAS, Such disregard for the principles and the rights of the American working people is a definite characteristic of Fascism, and such anti-labor campaigns aim at and tend to entrench Fascist tendencies and actions alien to the desires and interests of Organized Labor and the American working people as a whole; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record condemning the anti-Labor stand taken by the Hearst publications and calls upon its members, organizations, and friends to refuse to buy or read the Hearst publications.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMERICAN YOUTH ACT

Resolution No. 194—By Delegates Morrie Fine, Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago, Ill.; William B. Clark, Cleaners, Pressers and Dyers' Union No. 20001, New Haven, Conn.;

Edward McCloskey, Radio and Television Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18369, Philadelphia, Pa.; Pearl Barr, Radio and Refrigerator Workers' No. 19214, Cincinnati, Ohio; Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20048, Baltimore, Md.; and William E. Kuehn, Federal Labor Union No. 19393, Hartford, Conn.

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration, established by the Executive Order of President Roosevelt on June 26, 1935, pays recognition to the fact that there is a distinct youth problem in the United States;

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration is inadequate to meet the needs of unemployed youth in providing \$50,000,000 for 300,000 young people, the program to be terminated in June, 1936;

WHEREAS, Six dollars a month benefits to needy high school and vocational school students do not further the American tradition of free public education;

WHEREAS, Fifteen dollars a month wages to young apprentices as provided in the National Youth Administration would further reduce employment and wages among adult workers;

WHEREAS, student and trade-union and other organized youth are not represented in the councils and administration of the National Youth Administration, thereby making that governmental agency undemocratically controlled;

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act which is sponsored by the American Youth Congress will be introduced into Congress at the next session;

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act provides for an adequate program for putting young people to work at trade-union wages;

WHEREAS, It provides educational opportunities for those in need;

WHEREAS, The Act provides youth itself with the responsibility, acting with representatives of organized labor, social service, education and consumers' organizations through the Secretary of Labor and Commissioner of Education, for the administration of the program for the welfare of American youth; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in 1935 endorse the American Youth Act and strongly urge its adoption by Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council communicate with the city central labor bodies, and the State federations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to

urge them to call upon their respective Congressmen and Senators to support the American Youth Act in Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

Resolution No. 195—By Delegate Morrie Fine, Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, Some 600,000 young men today in the Civilian Conservation Corps are being used to build roads, clear forests, fight fires, and carry through other government projects at approximately one dollar a day; and

WHEREAS, They have displaced men who would ordinarily receive union wages for that type of work thus contributing greatly towards reducing the standard of living of all labor; and

WHEREAS, The Fifty-fourth National Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the Executive Council to "lend their every effort to secure the payment of such union scales for all workmen doing skilled work in these camps"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm and go on record demanding that anyone employed by the government in these camps be paid union wages for all labor performed; be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be submitted to President Roosevelt and that all affiliated bodies with the American Federation of Labor be regularly informed of efforts to secure union wages for Civilian Conservation Corps workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

THE ORGANIZATION OF YOUTH

Resolution No. 196—By Delegates Morrie Fine, Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago, Ill.; Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union Local No. 19306, Chicago, Ill.; Frank Marek, Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Ill.; William B. Clark, Cleaners, Pressers and Dyers' Union No. 20001, New Haven, Conn., and Charles H. Schillinger, Radio and Television Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18368, Philadelphia, Pa.

WHEREAS, The Report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the 55th Annual Convention calls for

"every central labor union to plan and initiate not later than December 1st a labor-forward program for the purpose of extending unionism to all the wage-earners of its vicinity. We urge that this be your major activity during the coming winter and that you plan for a sustained undertaking."

WHEREAS, The role of youth in industry has become increasingly important particularly in mass production industries, giving rise to ever-growing trade-union consciousness and orientation on the part of these young Americans, as shown in the growth and struggles of the Radio, Textile and other A. F. of L. unions;

WHEREAS, There is a distinct youth problem in industry insofar as youth are oftentimes employed at hazardous and arduous occupations which endanger their health prematurely, receiving less wages than adult workers who are employed oftentimes at identical occupations, thus undermining the standards of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the A. F. of L. issues a call to American youth in industry to join the various locals of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention urges all international, local trade and Federal labor unions to devise special youth forms of activity such as Labor Sports Leagues, Trade Union Workers' Schools to teach the principles of unionism, etc., designating special youth committees to encourage and foster organization amongst young people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council set up the necessary agencies to initiate organization in unorganized so-called "youth trades"; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor takes a determined, uncompromising stand that there shall be no discrimination against youth in industry, raising as part of its program the demand of equal pay for equal work.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TENANT FARMERS

Resolution No. 197—By Delegates Marx Lewis, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, and A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters' No. 18068, New York.

WHEREAS, Recent disclosures of conditions prevailing on the cotton plantations in the Southern States have brought to light the inhuman levels to which the workers employed on them have been reduced, revealing the existence of standards which resemble more closely those of coolie la-

borers than the standards to which American workers are entitled; and

WHEREAS, These workers, whether they be share croppers, receiving as their wages a certain portion of their crops, or casual day laborers, are working people entitled to the benefits and protection which organization can give them, and require the co-operation and support of the American labor movement in obtaining an improvement in their conditions; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, representing 15,000 agricultural workers and tenant farmers in the States of Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, they have succeeded by such organization in obtaining some improvement, which, however, is woefully inadequate as yet; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, at its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention, that the Executive Council be instructed to give sympathetic consideration to any request for assistance that may come to it for the organization of these workers; that this Convention requests all affiliated bodies to extend similar assistance and encouragement whenever and wherever possible; that the Council take steps to bring about a Federal investigation of conditions of workers in these areas; and that legislation designed to remedy existing conditions and to establish decent labor standards among such workers receive the support of the Federation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RADIO ALLOCATION

Resolution No. 198—By Delegates International Typographical Union, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, Brotherhood of Bookbinders, International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union and International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, recognizing the importance of radio communications, has specifically reserved control of radio to Congress and specified that radio broadcasting licenses be issued only to serve public interest; and

WHEREAS, Contrary to the pronounced intent of the Congress two monopolistic groups now virtually dominate American radio broadcasting and use these radio facilities, the property of the people, simply as a means for additional enrichment rather than to serve public interest; and

WHEREAS, In their mad desire for additional enrichment these radio monopolists have been able to divert almost one hundred millions of dollars of advertising from newspapers and magazines to radio, thereby de-

prising some 40,000 or more skilled printing trade workers of much-needed employment opportunities; and

WHEREAS, These radio monopolists now operate theatres to which are exclusively invited—free—those who advertise by radio and friends of those advertising agencies, which agencies control the placing of advertising; and

WHEREAS, It is apparent that public interest will not be served by those who seek only additional enrichment for themselves and render no service in the public interest and experience has proven that public interest will only be served by having the government, as is done in Great Britain, Canada and most all other countries, exclusively operate such radio broadcasting stations as are necessary to truly serve public interest; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, authorize and direct its officers to petition the Congress of the United States for the enactment of legislation wherein all existing radio broadcasting licenses be cancelled at the expiration of the present license period and that all radio broadcasting thereafter be operated exclusively by a governmental agency, to be set up by action of the Congress, with commercial advertising on such radio stations restricted to not more than two hours of each day, of which not more than one hour be used for advertising after sundown; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all local unions, central labor unions and State Federations of Labor be directed to interview the Congressmen and United States Senators from their respective Districts and States, and secure from them a pledge, if possible, that they will work in Congress for the enactment of the legislation herein proposed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PRINTING TRADES vs. LITHOGRAPHERS

Resolution No. 199—By Delegates International Typographical Union, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, Brotherhood of Bookbinders, International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union and International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor—upon report of a special committee, after thorough investigation—by convention decision in 1916 and since reaffirmed, defined the jurisdiction of the International Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association, and declined to embrace in its charter of jurisdiction, pressmen and plate producers engaged in offset work which it rightfully determined belonged to the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants'

Union of North America and the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America; and

WHEREAS, With the passing of time and the failure on the part of the Lithographers' Association to comply with the foregoing decision, the difficulties experienced at the time of the original complaint have been multiplied, and do now embrace the well being of all the Printing Trades Unions; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' Association, has, during all this time, and is at present engaged in promoting a so-called "Union Label" not recognized by the American Federation of Labor, which activity is causing chaos, misunderstanding and irreparable injury to the Printing Trades Unions in the furtherance of the Allied Printing Trades Label, jointly owned and controlled by the Board of Governors of the International Allied Printing Trades Association, consisting of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the Brotherhood of Bookbinders, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union and the International Photo-Engravers' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to bring all parties directly concerned into conference at the earliest possible moment for the purpose of securing observance of the decisions reached at previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, or to negotiate such understandings and arrangements as may prove mutually acceptable, and in the event no such agreement or understanding be reached within a period of six months after the adjournment of the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council of the Federation be and is hereby authorized to suspend the charter of the International Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association—also known as the Amalgamated Lithographers of America—until the previous decisions of the American Federation of Labor are observed, or to take such other and further action as will seem to the Executive Council best suited to bring about the desired result.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

BUILDING TRADES VS. OIL FIELD, GAS WELL AND REFINERY WORKERS

Resolution No. 200—By Delegates M. J. McDonough, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada; Jos. A. Mulaney, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers; Frank Feeney, International Union of Elevator Constructors; M. J. Collieran, Operative

Plasterers International Association of the United States and Canada; Wm. J. McSorley, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; George W. Jones, United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers Association; M. W. Mitchell, Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America; John Coeffield, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada; L. P. Lindelof, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; Joseph Franklin, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; P. J. Morrin, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

WHEREAS, The Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers were denied a charter by the American Federation of Labor at about the year 1919 because of their intended jurisdiction, which was an infringement upon the jurisdiction of the various International Trade Unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, After jurisdictional agreement had been entered into by various International Trade Unions and after an agreement had been entered into with the American Federation of Labor and the late President Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at that time a charter was issued to the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers; and

WHEREAS, These agreements are definite in their intent and purpose and were intended specifically to provide and to eliminate any possible encroachment by the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers upon the jurisdiction of the several International Trade Unions employed in the Petroleum Industry; and

WHEREAS, Beginning about 1933, shortly after the National Recovery Act was made effective, the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers entered into an active campaign throughout the Petroleum Industry; and

WHEREAS, During this campaign it soon developed that their organization campaign was being carried on without regard to the jurisdiction of any of the International Trade Unions and particularly the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America and the Refinery Workers continued their encroachment and their apparent desire to destroy the agreements and the right extended to them under the charter issued by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In 1934 at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco, a Resolution was introduced by the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, having for its purpose the cor-

recting of the encroachment and the total disregard by the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of the agreements and understandings had with the American Federation of Labor, the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America and the several other International Trade Unions involved; and

WHEREAS, As the result of the introduction of this Resolution, conferences were sought by the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers which resulted in a proclamation and assurances in writing being given to the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, having for its purpose defining the principles and the policies of the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers; and

WHEREAS, This proclamation and statement of their intentions and purposes contained definite assurance that the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers were not only to desist in soliciting membership outside of their jurisdiction, but assurances were given that such members as had been secured would be turned over to the International Craft Unions, together with such money as had been collected; and

WHEREAS, In spite of these assurances and in spite of the fact that the Resolution introduced in 1934 was withdrawn with all good intent and purpose, the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers have continued to violate all of the understandings and agreements, together with the jurisdiction, both of its organization and the International Craft Unions affected; and

WHEREAS, In spite of any and all action on the part of the International Craft Unions the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers have continued to violate their jurisdiction, to actually offer opposition to the organization of Craft Unions; and

WHEREAS, They have actually entered into agreements with certain companies of the Petroleum Industry in which the International Craft jurisdictions have been covered and are involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers be instructed to immediately turn over all members now members of their organization and who come within the jurisdiction of the several trade unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That unless this is accomplished within a thirty-day period that the charter of the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers be revoked as of the date of the expiration of the thirty-day period; and be it further

RESOLVED, That no charter be issued to the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers until such jurisdiction is adhered to and honored; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the jurisdiction of the several International Craft Unions involved in the Petroleum Industry be reaffirmed by this Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to introduce this Resolution into the American Federation of Labor Convention in session in Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 7, 1935; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers and Delegates of this Building Trades Department Convention be instructed to lend every assistance for the securing of its passage.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REV. CHARLES E. COUGHLIN

Resolution No. 201—By Delegate Tom S. Johnson, United Automobile Workers No. 19374, Detroit, Mich.

WHEREAS, The anti-union activities of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, of Royal Oak, Michigan, have been a subject of discussion at two previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Reverend Charles E. Coughlin has recently added to his activities directed against the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions by lending his name, his support and his services as a speaker to a dual union movement in the automobile industry, the Automotive Workers' Industrial Association; and

WHEREAS, In a speech delivered in Detroit on September 5th, 1935, in behalf of this dual organization, the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin opened a vicious attack against the United Automobile Workers of America and the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Policies advocated by the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin for the Automotive Workers' Industrial Association are obviously designed to destroy the United Automobile Workers of America, to prevent any militant action whatsoever by the Automobile Workers in defense of their interests and thereby play directly into the hands of the open-shop employers; and

WHEREAS, A careful examination of the writings, speeches and other public utterances of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin lead to the inevitable conclusion that the tendency of his proposed political program is unmistakably in the direction of Fascism; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby condemns the anti-labor record and present activities of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin and recommends that this decision receive the widest possible publicity in the labor press and otherwise to the end that the eyes of the workers of the nation shall be opened to the true character of this self-styled "friend of the oppressed."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

JURISDICTION OF INTERNATIONAL UNION OF UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS

Resolution No. 202—By Delegates Carl J. Shipley, L. R. Richardson, Tom S. Johnson, George F. Addes, Thomas L. Hoskins, John North, Wyndham Mortimer.

In accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor the facts herein related were presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the above mentioned signers on October 6, 1935. The Council failed to make a decision on the protest, consequently in accordance to law we appeal to the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention for a decision.

Being duly elected by the delegates of the First Constitutional Convention of the International Union of the United Automobile Workers of America, as a special committee to appeal to your honored body that the question of jurisdiction might be definitely defined within our industry;

WHEREAS, It is a recognized fact that the automobile industry is notoriously open shop, that what is known as craft unions, in the thirty-odd years the industry has been operating, have never been able to organize to any degree any part of the industry; also, that the lines of demarcation between crafts would make for endless controversy. In other cases the number of any particular trade even if thoroughly organized, their strength would be negligible; and

WHEREAS, It is also a fact that the worker within the industry is confronted with the speed-up system to the limit of human endurance. He is also confronted with an elaborate spy system as to his actions, that every hindrance is placed before him to prevent organization; and

WHEREAS, The companies promote company unions to intimidate and coerce the workers. Also the worker has before him dual organizations, independent unions, the ambition of one to organize the worker for a purpose unknown. To add to this confusion, since the inception of the NRA, many Federal Labor Unions were organized and in many cases have successfully organized the automobile workers in one mass Union, and now these Unions are being confounded, confused and all but torn

apart because some old line Union would like to kill the fatted calf, made possible through the mass or industrial form of organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That at this Fifty-fifth Annual Convention you end this confusion and give the automobile worker his just privilege and opportunity to thoroughly organize any worker in the industry in the International Union United Automobile Workers of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That only this International Union have jurisdiction over all of these workers and this International Union be the final and last court of appeal through bona fide organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

OFFICERS OF INTERNATIONAL UNION OF UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS

Resolution No. 203—By Delegates Carl J. Shipley, George F. Addes, Tom S. Johnson, Thomas L. Hoskins, Wyndham Mortimer, L. R. Richardson, John North.

In accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor the facts herein related were presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the above mentioned signers on October 6, 1935. The Council failed to make a decision on the protest, consequently in accordance to law we appeal to the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention for a decision.

In our capacity of a special committee of seven elected by the first Constitutional Convention of the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America we present to you herewith a brief review of the facts in a controversy which now threatens the very life of our union. Indeed, the importance of this question extends beyond the borders of our own organization. It concerns the fundamental rights of the membership of an International Union to elect its own officers. The facts are as follows:

WHEREAS, In June, 1934, there met in Detroit, the first National conference of delegates of the Federal Labor Unions in the Automobile Industry. At this first meeting the right of delegates there assembled to elect the organizers who were to serve in the industry, and the National Council which was set up to co-ordinate in the work of the local unions in the industry, was already raised. The right to elect organizers was denied but the delegates were allowed to elect eleven members of the National Council; and

WHEREAS, At the same time President Green publicly declared that as soon as an international union of auto workers

was constituted it would enjoy all rights granted to other international unions including the right of electing its own officers; and

WHEREAS, In October of the same year the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor met in San Francisco. The whole question of the formation of an international union in the automobile industry was there discussed at length and finally the report of the committee on this question was unanimously approved; and

WHEREAS, In connection with the method of selecting of the officers of the new international the report of the committee declared:

"That in order to protect and safeguard the members of such National and International Unions as are chartered, the American Federation of Labor shall for a provisional period direct the policies, administer the business and designate the administration and financial officers of such newly organized unions"; and

WHEREAS, In August, 1935, the various Federal Labor Unions in the industry received from the Detroit Office of the American Federation of Labor the official call for the first constitutional convention of the United Automobile Workers of America. In referring to the Convention, the call stated:

"A Constitution for the new International Union of Automobile Workers will be adopted and officers will be elected and installed"; and

WHEREAS, It was with this clear understanding that the officers of the new International would be elected by the delegates of the convention, that delegates were elected by the various local unions and assembled in Detroit on August 26, 1935; and

WHEREAS, On the second day of the convention the resolutions committee reported favorably on a resolution which read as follows:

"**RESOLVED**, That we respectfully request President Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to appoint Mr. F. J. Dillon because of his long experience in the labor movement and his ability to handle our problems in a very capable manner, to serve the first term as President, with salary and expenses to be paid by the American Federation of Labor; be it further"; and

WHEREAS, The report of the committee was rejected by a vote of 164.2 to 112.3. In other words the delegates expressed in no uncertain terms their resentment against any attempt to appoint even one officer and their demand to elect from the floor all officers; and

WHEREAS, Following the defeat of this resolution President Green spoke at length on the question stating as follows:

"This convention will, so far as we are concerned, be given the widest authority to elect your secretary-treasurer, your executive board, and the officers of your International Union"; and

WHEREAS, In other words President Green himself declared that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had no desire to dictate the appointment of the General Executive Board but only of the President. This was, of course, in line with the clear instructions of the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which by implication gave the first constitutional convention of the United Automobile Workers of America the right to elect all officers other than President and Secretary-Treasurer; and

WHEREAS, The next day a committee of nine delegates met with President Green, who by this time had become thoroughly aware of the very real resentment of the delegates against any appointment of officers. At this meeting President Green declared:

"That he would allow the delegates to nominate and elect all the officers of this International Union. That he would leave Mr. Dillon on the American Federation of Labor payroll to act as an Advisor for the International Union"; and

WHEREAS, During the afternoon session of August 29th, President Green suddenly appeared before the Convention and despite the instructions of the Fifty-fourth Convention and his own solemn pledge, proceeded to appoint not only the President of the International Union of Automobile Workers of America but also the Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer and the entire General Executive Board; and

WHEREAS, We are not so much concerned with the flagrant violation of the most elementary democratic rights of the membership of our organization, important as that is. Rather we are chiefly concerned with the selection of capable national officers, officers with the courage, the patience and the ability to organize our industry, to build the United Automobile Workers of America into a powerful union and improve the conditions of all Automobile Workers; and

WHEREAS, By his actions at our first Constitutional Convention President Green made the selection of officers of this type impossible. He appointed as the General Executive Board to administer the affairs of our International Union the entire National Council which had served from June 1, 1934; and

WHEREAS, The records show that this National Council failed to organize the industry and build the union. They show that in Detroit, where President Dillon maintained his office and a large staff of organizers, there is practically no organization whatsoever. They show that they failed to aggressively combat the attacks of the employers on wages and working conditions and flagrant violations of the NRA code. They failed to develop a National Organization Campaign. They show that the union was built only in those sections, such as Wisconsin, Toledo, South Bend, Cleveland, Norwood, etc., where the local men themselves conducted their organizational drives and built up their own union; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the inefficiency and the sorry record of the old National Council its members have lost the confidence of the vast bulk of the union membership. It is clear, therefore, that now that they have been appointed as a new General Executive Board that they will be unable to secure the support of the membership which is essential if our industry is to be organized; and

WHEREAS, If we are to ward off the attacks of the employers on wages and hours which are already starting; if we are to successfully organize a half a million workers, the union membership must have the right to elect to office men of its own selection, men who have been tried in action, men who have demonstrated their ability to organize on the firing line. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That at the earliest possible moment, and in no case later than March 1, 1936, there be called a special convention of the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America for the purpose of there electing in a democratic fashion the officers of our International Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH AND ENFORCE CODES PROTECTING LABOR CONDITIONS

Resolution No. 204—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, Emil Rieve and Frank Schweitzer, United Textile Workers of America; David Dubinsky, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Charles P. Howard, International Typographical Union; Sidney Hillman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Marx Lewis, Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, For the purpose of combating the existing widespread unemployment

and disorganization of industry which has been undermining the standards of living of American workers, the National Industrial Act was enacted into law in an endeavor to increase the purchasing power of the people of this Nation, to reduce and relieve unemployment, to improve standards of labor and to rehabilitate industry; and

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Administration established under the Act, through codes adopted for various industries, helped to bring about an improvement in the standards of living of American workers by the abolition of child labor, a decrease of the number of hours of the work week and an increase in wages, resulting in a reduction in the number of unemployed and in a rehabilitation of industry; and

WHEREAS, The codes have helped to establish a more fair and equitable basis of competition in industry relating to labor costs and labor standards; and

WHEREAS, The promulgation and administration of the various codes, with few exceptions, were placed exclusively in the hands of industry without any, or adequate, representation of labor; and

WHEREAS, a large number of major industries either failed to voluntarily submit any codes or submitted codes whose low labor provisions were unacceptable to the Administration and could not be approved, leaving large masses of workers without protection of any minimum wage and maximum hour provisions; and

WHEREAS, The codes established under the National Industrial Recovery Act have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Since the decision of the Supreme Court numerous employers have been continuously lengthening the hours of labor and lowering wages, resulting in increased unemployment and in lowering the standards of living of the American workers; and

WHEREAS, the ranks of the unemployed have again reached the staggering number of over eleven million workers, who remain destitute and are compelled to seek public relief; and

WHEREAS, Feeble attempts have been made by a few industries to submit trade agreements which are ostensibly designed to take the place of the codes under the National Recovery Administration but which in reality are mere sham and without any social significance since they do not include any or adequate labor provisions, do not include labor representation, are introduced without labor participation and relate only to trade practices; and

WHEREAS, The present modern industrial system demands the enactment of social legislation to protect the interests of

workers in maintaining decent standards of living and fair conditions of employment, and to enable organized labor to resist any attempts by unscrupulous employers to undermine the labor standards; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention, assembled in Atlantic City, representing the organized workers of the United States, declares itself vigorously in favor of legislation which will enable the Government of the United States to protect labor standards and extend protection to the American workers against unscrupulous employers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That it declares itself in favor of legislation which shall provide for the adoption of codes for each industry containing provisions relating to maximum hours of work, and minimum wage rates; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the legislation for protection of labor standards shall provide that the promulgation and the administration of the codes shall be entrusted to Boards consisting of equal representation of labor and industry, under the supervision of the Government, and that said Boards shall be provided with power to impose codes on any industry which fails to present a code with labor provisions acceptable to such Board, and with power to enforce all codes approved or imposed by said Boards; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declares itself in favor of legislation which will declare any and all manufacturing of products, which are intended to be and/or are transported from one state to another, as interstate commerce; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed and authorized to initiate an immediate campaign for the introduction and passage of the necessary legislation to carry the resolution into effect.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 205—By Delegate J. A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The founders of our Nation, in framing our Constitution, provided three branches, namely, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial, expressly designating the powers of each, the legislative, and executive branches, and then by implication only, gave the judicial branch through the medium of the Supreme Court, certain pow-

ers expressed in the following language: "The Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction in all matters of the law and equity"; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court has assumed from the above quoted language, that it is within its power to nullify the expressed will of the legislative and executive branches, and have on numerous occasions exercised such power; and

WHEREAS, It is desirable that a reasonable check should be placed upon the legislative branch, to the end that hasty action in times of great stress which upon mature consideration may prove to be not in the best interests of the nation might be prevented from becoming effective; and

WHEREAS, The constitution provides proper means of changing its provisions, through amendments, and the right of the people to petition for such change as they may desire; and

WHEREAS, We do not believe that it is desirable or reasonable that the Supreme Court constituted of nine members should have the power to declare an act of the Congress null and void by a five to four decision, such as has been done in a number of cases. A five to four decision emphasizes the fact that the members of the Court, even though they may be the most learned, and the highest type of character, are human and subject to the errors of the mind and flesh just as other citizens are; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we petition Congress to submit to the people an amendment to the constitution having for its purpose the limiting of the power of the Supreme Court to nullify an act of Congress only by a seven to two decision, and that should the number of members of the Court be increased in the future that the same ratio be retained.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPOSING INVESTIGATION OF PRESIDENT ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Resolution No. 206—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The woeful lack of any unified program or policy of sufficient scope and comprehension to reassure the workers of our nation regarding their future well-being is cause for great anxiety and general unrest among them; and

WHEREAS, With our problem of production solved, there is apparently grave doubt in the minds of many that complete recovery and substantial justice for the workers can ever be attained under our present economic system; and

WHEREAS, It is highly desirable, and vital to the interest of the producers generally,

that they focus their attention upon some definite and lasting solution of the problem which has, especially for the past six years, vainly demanded a satisfactory answer; and

WHEREAS, The most logical place to find the answer should be from the most representative organization of the producers of our nation, the American Federation of Labor; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, that we authorize and direct our Executive Council to proceed without delay to make to our membership and to the nation a declaration, based upon factual findings, as to whether or not the producers can ever hope to solve their common problem of proper distribution, and establish social and economic justice under our present system; and also present to them a definite program through which to attain this desirable objective, securing such expert advice and assistance as may be necessary to accomplish their purpose.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ORGANIZING WORKERS ON RELIEF PROJECTS

Resolution No. 207—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Congress of the United States has appropriated large sums of money to be expended in an effort to provide employment so that the working people of this country will have an opportunity to be gainfully employed; and

WHEREAS, It is the express intention of certain branches of the Federal Government to have men and women work for specified periods for maximum monthly allowances; and

WHEREAS, The expenditure of this vast sum of money will put thousands of persons to work, and many of those not now members of organized labor will be in the ranks of these workers; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this State Federation of Labor go on record as demanding on any work performed by the Federal Government, or work let to contract, that not less than the prevailing scale of wages shall be paid on any of this work; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this State Federation of Labor recommend to the American Federation of Labor and to the various international unions that they make a determined effort to institute an organizing campaign which will bring into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor all of those workers not now members.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

PROTESTING DISPLACEMENT OF NAVY YARD EMPLOYEES, BREMERTON, WASH- INGTON, BY RELIEF WORKERS

Resolution No. 208—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The following report has been submitted by the employees of the Bremerton Navy Yard which speaks for itself.

The Central Trades Council of Bremerton and vicinity at a regular meeting August 26 last, appointed a committee to investigate and submit a report on working conditions and discriminations, if any, against certain crafts in the Puget Sound Navy Yard.

A. The Committee finds that the Public Works Division X70 of the Navy Yard has had about 7 helpers General or Laborers painting the interior of the Pipe Shop, X56 since about September 9 to the present date. The supervision in the shops where the work is performed designates the work to be performed by these Laborers or Helpers under the orders from above.

B. Sheet Metal Shop X17 has had 2 to 3 Helpers or Laborers painting the interior of the shop the last three weeks.

C. The New Boat Shop X58 also has had Helpers or Laborers painting the interior of the shop for about three weeks. A crane operator also has to engage in painting the interior of the shop when he is not operating the crane that he is assigned to. In reference to paragraphs "B" and "C", practically all of these workers are employees of the shops indicated.

The above named workers noted in paragraphs "A", "B", and "C" are regular Navy Yard employees and not workers classed as Emergency Relief Navy Workers. The fact that Helpers and/or Laborers are required to perform the work of skilled workmen, such as Painters without receiving the Painter's scale wage, is evident that if the above practice is allowed to continue, it will result in the undermining of the Painters' wage scale, and set an example that will surely be followed in other crafts.

The Emergency Relief, Navy employees, approximately 1100 in number, now working in the Navy Yard and other Navy stations in the vicinity receive the following compensation:

Unskilled—\$55.00 per month, 128 hours, .4230 cents per hour.

Helpers—\$65.00 per month, 128 hours, .50 cents per hour.

Skilled—\$85.00 per month, 128 hours, .6538 cents per hour.

Professional—\$94.00 per month, 128 hours, .7230 cents per hour.

Comparable Navy Yard workers (regular) receive compensation as follows:

Laborers, 1st Class, \$117.02 per month, 174 hours, .6725 cents per hour.

Laborers, 2nd Class, \$106.49 per month, 174 hours, .612 cents per hour.

1st Class Helpers General, \$131.54 per month, 174 hours, .766 cents per hour.

2nd Class Helpers General, \$121.10 per month, 174 hours, .696 cents per hour.

Skilled Mach., 1st Class, \$194.18 per month, 174 hours, \$1.116 per hour.

Skilled Mach., 2nd Class, \$183.74 per month, 174 hours, \$1.056 per hour.

Skilled Mach., 3rd Class, \$173.30 per month, 174 hours, .996 cents per hour.

Skilled Pipefitter—1st Class, \$206.71 per month, 174 hours, \$1.188 per hour.

Skilled Pipefitter—2nd Class, \$196.27 per month, 174 hours, \$1.128 per hour.

Skilled Pipefitter—3rd Class, \$185.83 per month, 174 hours, \$1.068 per hour.

Skilled Painters, 1st Class, \$200.45 per month, 174 hours, \$1.152 per hour.

Skilled Painters, 2nd Class, \$190.00 per month, 174 hours, \$1.092 per hour.

Skilled Painters, 3rd Class, \$179.57 per month, 174 hours, \$1.032 per hour.

Skilled Shipfitter, 1st Class, \$190.00 per month, 174 hours, \$1.092 per hour.

Skilled Shipfitter, 2nd Class, \$179.57 per month, 174 hours, \$1.032 per hour.

Skilled Shipfitter, 3rd Class, \$169.13 per month, 174 hours, .972 cents per hour.

Skilled Patternmaker, 1st Class, \$229.62 per month, 174 hours, \$1.32 per hour.

Skilled Patternmaker, 2nd Class, \$219.24 per month, 174 hours, \$1.26 per hour.

Skilled Patternmaker, 3rd Class, \$208.50 per month, 174 hours, \$1.20 per hour.

Skilled Molders, 1st Class, \$210.89 per month, 174 hours, \$1.212 per hour.

Skilled Molders, 2nd Class, \$200.45 per month, 174 hours, \$1.152 per hour.

Skilled Molders, 3rd Class, \$190.00 per month, 174 hours, \$1.092 per hour.

Professional, Grade 1, \$2,000 to \$2,600 per annum.

Professional, Grade 2, \$2,600 to \$3,200 per annum.

Professional, Grade 3, \$3,200 to \$3,800 per annum.

The daily wage paid Helpers General is similar to that paid Helpers General Machinist, Electrician and Sheet Metal Helpers.

Sheet Metal Workers and Electricians receive a daily wage similar to that received by Pipefitters.

All regular Navy Yard employees work 8 hours per day, 5 days per week, except some Professional and Clerical Workers who work 39 hours per week.

When comparison is made between the compensation received by the Emergency Relief, Navy employees and the regular Navy Yard Workers as noted on page 2, and taking into consideration that those workers have to work together on many jobs, is there any wonder that everybody in the community, organized and unorganized, are emphatically opposed to the present program. The Emergency Relief, Navy employees, should by all means receive the same hourly rate of pay as that received

by the Navy Yard workers. Organized labor here earnestly feels that the present program is the most serious and dastardly blow received by the workers of the country and that a change to a union hourly wage rate should be made as soon as possible; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this report be submitted to the A. F. of L. convention with a request that action be taken by the Convention and instructions be given the Executive Council to contact the parties necessary to change this condition.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PROTESTING IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN EGGS AND MEATS

Resolution No. 209—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The co-operative movement of the farmers and the standards of living of American Workers are being undermined by the large scale importation of cheap Oriental eggs and South American meats by Swift & Co., and other companies;

WHEREAS, The attitude of Swift & Co., and other companies toward such co-operative movements and toward organized labor has been historically antagonistic; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Washington State Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as condemning such practices by Swift & Co. as being detrimental to the best interests of the organized farmer and labor movements; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the question be taken up with the A. F. of L. conventions requesting their support in either increasing the tariff on such products or that the economic and political strength of the A. F. of L. as well as their advertising facilities be used to bring about an understanding with these companies.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

ENDORSEMENT OF GOVERNMENT NAVY YARD EMPLOYEES' LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Resolution No. 210—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The navy yard employees are endeavoring to secure, through the activity of their labor unions, various legislative improve-

ments, which will tend to shorten hours, improve working conditions and otherwise be of benefit to both the Government employees and the public generally; and

WHEREAS, All of these objectives are in keeping with the program and policies of the American labor movement, and are deserving of support; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president and officers of the American Federation of Labor, be and hereby are, instructed to support and work for the advancement and successful accomplishment of the legislative program of the Navy Yard employees, as follows:

Abolition of second and third class mechanic rates.

A thirty-hour work week for all navy yard employees.

Optional retirement after thirty years of service.

Restoration of former thirty-day leave with accumulative privilege.

Extension of sick leave to include all Government employees.

Establishment of a Civil Court of Appeals. Recognition of union committees representing the employees.

Definite restrictions against the practice of using enlisted men to perform work which should rightfully be done by civilian mechanics.

Naval vessels, munitions and other implements of war to be constructed and manufactured in Government owned or operated establishments in order to reduce the cost of maintaining adequate military and naval defenses and to eliminate private profit, which will remove the incentive of war profiteers to provoke or aggravate wars and thus minimize the possibility of war; also to build up the Government plants so as to be of maximum value in emergency.

A fair share of the new naval vessels to be awarded to the Puget Sound Navy Yard for construction.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

TO PROMOTE DEVELOPMENT OF MANGANESE DEPOSITS OF UNITED STATES

Resolution No. 211—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has been ascertained by the Mineral Research Department of the State of Washington that the State of Washington contains some of the world's largest deposits of manganese ore; and

WHEREAS, It has been shown by actual survey that the manganese tonnage in sight of the deposits of the United States is ample to supply all the domestic needs of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The demands of the United States Steel industry for manganese are now supplied by foreign countries where impossible labor conditions exist and where, in some instances, convict labor is employed; and

WHEREAS, If the need of the American steel industry could be supplied from the United States area, a minimum of seven thousand miners could be employed in securing the necessary manganese ore; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Washington State Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, hereby urge the adoption of such laws or regulations by the authorities of the United States of America as will tend to promote the development of manganese deposits in the State of Washington and elsewhere in the United States and the employment of United States citizens in such development, and tend to discourage the use of foreign manganese produced by pauper and convict labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the members of Congress from the State of Washington and to William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

Amended to read as follows:

Committee recommends that as a substitute for this resolution and in keeping with its action for the Government acquisition of natural resources the convention go on record as favoring Government acquisition and development of the manganese deposits of the State of Washington and the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

UNITED BREWERY WORKERS

Resolution No. 212—By Delegate Wyndham Mortimer, F. L. U. 18463, Cleveland, O.

WHEREAS, The International Union of Brewery Workers has been deprived of the jurisdiction over the teamsters and chauffeurs in the delivery of their product by a ruling of the convention of the American Federation of Labor and said jurisdiction granted to the International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In many parts of the country the members of the International Union of Brewery Workers have refused to work with members of the Teamsters' Union who were taking their rightful jobs, said Brewery Workers being on strike; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs are furnishing strike-breakers in all departments of the

breweries and furnishing them with a card sponsored by the International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our allegiance to the righteous cause of the International Union of Brewery Workers in their fight for jurisdiction over all employees in and around and about a brewery, including the delivery of their products; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this dispute between the International Brewery Workers and Teamsters and Chauffeurs be referred back to the Executive Council for reconsideration, and solution, to the end that this disgraceful situation be brought to a solution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 213—By Delegate Wyndham Mortimer, of Federal Labor Unions No. 18463, 18614 and 19268.

WHEREAS, Strong sentiment exists in the ranks of organized labor and among the working people generally, to organize an independent political party; and

WHEREAS, International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies and local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have already adopted resolutions favoring the formation of a broad Labor Party; and

WHEREAS, President William Green in his opening speech at the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor stated:

"The American Federation of Labor will, in my judgment, declare itself in favor of independent political action in the formation of an independent political party when the crystallized opinion of the workers indicates that they believe their interests can be better served through such action rather than through the pursuit of non-partisan political policy"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in accordance with the desires expressed by the above named organizations as well as by President Green, the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to initiate a nation-wide referendum on the Labor Party not later than Jan. 1st, 1936; and be it further

RESOLVED, That local unions affiliated with Internationals receive their referendum blanks directly from their respective Internationals, and Federal Labor Unions and Central Bodies receive their referendum blanks from the Executive Council.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 214—By Delegate Hartwick Dahl, representing Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court on the railway pension act and the NRA have endangered the future of all social and labor legislation and legislation which would give the government greater control over industry; and

WHEREAS, Representative Vito Marcantonio, of New York, has introduced into Congress H. J. Res. 327 which proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States known as the Workers' Rights Amendment; and

WHEREAS, Said resolution is now before the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, The passage of this amendment would legalize afore-mentioned legislation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of said Workers' Rights Amendment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request from the House Judiciary Committee an immediate hearing on H. J. Res. 327 so this vital amendment can soon be brought on the floor of Congress for action; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to Representative Hatton W. Sumners, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and to all United States Congressmen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ANGELO HERNDON

Resolution No. 215—By Delegate Irving Matlin, Russian Turkish Bath Rubbers and Workers' Union No. 18702, Newark, New Jersey.

WHEREAS, Angelo Herndon, a young Negro labor leader, is now facing a twenty-year sentence on the chain gang in the State of Georgia; and

WHEREAS, He was convicted and sentenced for the violation of the old Slave Insurrection Law, which had been legislated in the pre-Civil War days, by the slave owners, as a means of perpetuating the institution of chattel slavery which the American people had to crush by armed revolutionary action against it, and it is indisputable that the "crime" for which Angelo Herndon was convicted was the

crime of organizing labor and advocating actions which would advance its position; and

WHEREAS, At this time there is more open action on the part of employers and the Government to limit and deprive the political, economic, and civil rights of labor, and to dismember and shackle its organizations, the case of Angelo Herndon takes on a special significance for the entire labor movement, and all believers in democratic rights for workers, in the sense that if Angelo Herndon can be convicted on this old and obsolete statute every worker will be in the same position, and what can be done in the State of Georgia will be repeated elsewhere; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention demand that the Governor of the State of Georgia order the immediate, safe, and unconditional release of Angelo Herndon.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SCOTTSBORO CASE

Resolution No. 216—By Delegate Jack Rand, Display Fixture and Figure Workers' Union No. 20039, New York City.

WHEREAS, Nine innocent Negro boys, known to the world as the nine Scottsboro boys, have been condemned to death in the electric chair, and have been confined in prison, where they have lived under conditions of torture, for more than three years; and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming weight of evidence in the case has established their innocence beyond the shadow of any doubt, even to the point where the accusers of the nine boys have declared, under oath, that the boys are innocent of the crime with which they are charged; and

WHEREAS, The Scottsboro case rises from and expresses the awful oppression of the 13,000,000 Negro people, which the landowners and all exploiters and oppressors of labor are determined to perpetuate; and

WHEREAS, The dangers of war and fascism, and the general interests of labor, make the defense of the Scottsboro boys a more vital issue than ever before, if the rights of labor are to be preserved and its position advanced; and

WHEREAS, The unity of the entire working class, regardless of race, nationality, or organizational affiliation, has become more vital than ever before if the sharpening attacks upon labor are to be beaten back; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record demanding the immediate, safe, and

unconditional release of the nine Scottsboro boys.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PREVAILING UNION SCALE ON RELIEF PROJECTS

Resolution No. 217—By Delegate Jack Rand, Display Fixtures and Figure Workers' Union No. 20039, New York City.

WHEREAS, Organized labor is threatened with the destruction of its union wage standards built up by the greatest self sacrifice, due to the determination of the government to force men to work on relief projects at a 50 per cent cut in the hourly union wage rates; and

WHEREAS, The government wage scale of \$19-\$94 monthly was adopted despite overwhelming opposition by organized labor, constituting a threat to trade unionism and establishing a precedent by means of which private industry may smash trade union standards; and

WHEREAS, Relief workers in many sections of the country are on strike or are preparing to strike to defend the union scale; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges to carry on a persistent fight to establish the prevailing union scale of wages on all relief projects; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all possible aid and support be given to the strike movement and struggles of the relief workers to enforce the prevailing union scale of wages on relief projects; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council carry out immediately the promises made by President Green to aid in organizing the unorganized workers on every relief job to enable them to defend their interests and maintain union standards of employment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO U. S. CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 218—By Delegate Marx Lewis and I. H. Goldberg, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is on record as being opposed to the continued exercise by the courts of the power to declare legislation unconstitutional, having declared that such power "is a most flagrant usurpation" and a "repudiation and

denial of the principle of self government," and having in the past urged the Executive Council and all State organizations to exert every effort to arouse the public mind and conscience to the danger which the exercise of such power exposes the liberties of our people; and

WHEREAS, Since the Federation has expressed its opposition to the "judicial autocracy and despotism which has been slowly developing in our midst" legislation intended to afford labor a measure of protection against the continued encroachment and domination of special interests who have been the beneficiaries of governmental aid and bounties, has been nullified by the Supreme Court of the United States, and there is a danger that other measures beneficial to labor may suffer the same fate when passed upon by that Court; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor at its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention that it reaffirms its opposition to the power of the courts to nullify the acts of the chosen representatives of the people, and that it instructs the Executive Council to renew its efforts to have the people, through the adoption of a Constitutional Amendment, deprive the Court of such power; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, pending the adoption of such Amendment, consider the possibility of drafting an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon Congress the power to enact social welfare legislation and legislation enabling the fixing of minimum wages and maximum hours in industries that are intrastate as well as interstate in their character.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONDEMNING TACTICS OF NATIONAL LIBERTY LEAGUE

Resolution No. 219—By Delegates Marx Lewis and I. H. Goldberg, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, A Lawyers' Committee appointed by the National Liberty League, professing to give a disinterested legal opinion concerning the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act recently enacted by Congress, has issued an opinion that such Act is unconstitutional and a legal nullity, and that it may therefore be violated by employers with impunity; and

WHEREAS, The said Lawyers' Committee consists of corporation lawyers who have repeatedly sought to nullify measures which do not meet with the approval

of their clients, and their opinion is therefore the expression of their clients' opposition to the measure and not the unbiased opinion of lawyers interested in a consideration of the actual constitutional validity of the said Act; and

WHEREAS, The rendering of such opinion under a cloak which sought to conceal the real basis for the views which it contains has been universally condemned as unethical and an attempt to prejudice the action of the Supreme Court of the United States against whose judgment it sets up the judgment of special pleaders working for corporations interested in invalidating the Act; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor condemns as unethical the tactics and methods to which the Lawyers' Committee and the League have resorted to to defeat an Act of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. OF L. LEGAL DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. 220—By Delegates Marx Lewis and J. H. Goldberg, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The preservation of rights acquired through the enactment of legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor requires adequate legal machinery which is frequently beyond the means of smaller trade unions to provide, with the result that rights won by legislative enactment are lost through inadequate and ineffective representation in the courts and before commissions charged with the enforcement of such rights, and decisions and rulings are made which become precedents difficult to combat in subsequent cases; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention, that the Executive Council be, and it hereby is, authorized and directed to call a conference of representatives of affiliated international and national unions with the view of providing ways and means for the establishment and maintenance of a legal Defense Department as part of the American Federation of Labor financed, if necessary to the successful conduct of such Department, by a per capita tax, or by such other means as will insure adequate legal facilities to trade unions requiring such facilities and unable to provide for them themselves.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR PARTY

Resolution No. 221—By Delegate Marx Lewis and I. H. Goldberg, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Legislative gains won by the American Federation of Labor have frequently been nullified either through nullification, through judicial construction, or by the use of governmental agencies which have been found to be subservient to the interests which control and dominate the two existing major political parties; and

WHEREAS, The nonpartisan political policy which the Federation has therefore pursued, and the continuance of which its Executive Council now recommends, while helpful at times, has in the main failed to mobilize and make articulate the political and economic aspirations of its millions of members and of millions of others who would endorse such aspirations of labor because of the general benefit our nation would derive from their realization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, at its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention, that it approves the establishment of an independent party of labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to invite the representatives of bona fide farmer organizations to confer with representatives designated by labor to join with labor in the establishment of a party that will represent the interests of the industrial workers and the farmers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNION OF GAS, BY-PRODUCT COKE AND ALLIED CHEMICAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 222—By Delegate Thomas B. Lilly, Gas Distribution Workers' Union No. 15268, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, The gas, by-product coke and allied chemical workers of New England are an infant in this great organization; and

WHEREAS, We seek your co-operation and assistance in the maintenance of our National Council of Utility Workers; and

WHEREAS, Every employe of said gas, by-product coke and allied chemical workers is opposed to segregation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this the Fifty-fifth Annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as in favor of the

industrial form of union for gas, by-product coke and allied chemical workers of New England.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CHILD LABOR

Resolution No. 223—By Delegate William B. Clark, Cleaners, Pressers and Dyers' Local 20001, New Haven, Conn.

WHEREAS, The economic plight of the workers has brought thousands of children into industry; and

WHEREAS, These children are forced to work at occupations and hours in excess of their strength, and the wages that are paid offer a direct threat to the scales and demands of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, By virtue thereof and the need of some substance of sustenance for these children child labor has increased and continues under even worse conditions, homework, bootlegging of children in shops, etc.;

WHEREAS, This situation is depriving these children, and sons and daughters of workers and farmers of this nation of the right which is theirs, namely to a normal healthy development; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declare itself for the abolition of child labor for youth under sixteen years, with government maintenance for children displaced from industry, agriculture or street trades at no less than three dollars per week, and for vocational training at a graduated scale for youth between sixteen and eighteen at the expense of the employers and the government. This training to be under trade union direction with all youth receiving full wages for the type of work performed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ANGELO HERNDON

Resolution No. 224—By Delegate William B. Clark, Cleaners and Dyers' Local 20001, New Haven, Conn.

WHEREAS, There is today on the statute books of Georgia a law known as the "insurrection" law, which has come down from slavery days; and

WHEREAS, Angelo Herndon, Negro organizer of the unemployed, is today under sentence of 18 to 20 years on the chain-gang because of his activities in behalf of labor; and

WHEREAS, Two young white women, Annie Mae Leathers and Leah Young, were arrested on the picket line during the textile strike of September, 1934, and indicted under the "insurrection" law; and

WHEREAS, The law hangs like a sword over the head of every organizer of labor and every advocate of social justice; and

WHEREAS, The Atlanta Federation of Trades has in a resolution condemned the existence of this antiquated law; be it therefore

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the 55th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we make known to Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia our strong opinion that Angelo Herndon and all other persons indicted under the "insurrection" law should be at once set free, and that the necessary steps be taken to wipe this law off the statute books of the state.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EAGLE PICHER LEAD COMPANY

Resolution No. 225—By Delegates Paul M. Peterson, Reid Robinson and Alex Cashion, International Union Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, The mine, mill and smelter workers of the Tri-State District of Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri who are members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are on strike; and

WHEREAS, The issue involved is recognition of the unions and improved working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The methods and tactics employed by the employers are savage, brutal and un-American, in their efforts to break this strike, resorting to violence and bloodshed in their efforts to keep the workers of this section unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the products of the Eagle Picher Lead Company be placed on the unfair and we do not patronize list; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use their good offices to the end that the United States Government shall be informed of the actions of the Eagle Picher Lead Company; and be it further

RESOLVED, That every effort be used to the end that the Government shall not purchase any materials containing, in whole or in part, the products produced by the Eagle Picher Lead Company.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

NATIONAL UNION OF STATE, COUNTY
AND CITY EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 226—By Delegate Arnold S. Zander, Wisconsin State Employees' Association No. 18213.

WHEREAS, There are many federal locals of employees in state, county, and city service affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, some of which have been affiliated for a long time; and

WHEREAS, There is similarity in the problems of these unions and in the interests of the groups; and

WHEREAS, There is growing interest among these employees in union organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers and Executive Council give special attention to the early formation of a national union for employees in state, county, and city service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SAM FINKELSTEIN CLOTHING COM-
PANY, NORFOLK, VA.

Resolution No. 227—By Delegate E. L. Pickler, Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Since August 14, 1935, a strike has been in progress at the Sam Finkelstein Clothing Company plant located at Norfolk, Va. The strike being called after four members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Local No. 92, had been discharged for belonging to a trade union and every effort having been made to settle the controversy peacefully and amicably; and

WHEREAS Sam Finkelstein, owner of the Company, has refused to meet William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, after arranging for a conference through the Director of the Regional Labor Board, and has refused every means of settlement, including arbitration by impartial persons; and

WHEREAS, The Company has coerced workers into signing petitions contrary to organized labor and has performed other acts in violation of the letter and spirit of the law of the land and obtained a sweeping injunction restraining strikers, organized labor and sympathizers from peaceful picketing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled request all members of International Unions, Trade and Federal Unions, State Federations and Central Labor Bodies to refrain from purchasing clothing manufactured by

the Sam Finkelstein Clothing Company, until the above firm is fair to organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

SUPPRESSION OF TRADE UNIONS IN
CUBA

Resolution No. 228—By Delegate Paul M. Peterson, International Union, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, All bona fide trade unions in Cuba have been suppressed by the Batista-Mendieta Military dictatorship, their funds confiscated, and their headquarters demolished, the right to strike outlawed, and the Cuban workers deprived of their means of achieving better conditions;

WHEREAS, Trade union leaders are suffering untold persecution at the hands of the Cuban government, having been driven into hiding and exile, many thousands imprisoned for exercising their right to organize and strike, and some, such as Arturo Isert, being sentenced to thirty years in jail for leading the Cuban workers on just strikes;

WHEREAS, The Cuban workers have been deprived of all civil liberties, freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assemblage;

WHEREAS, The Batista-Mendieta government has, through a campaign of terrorism and military force, robbed the Cuban workers of the gains they had won through collective bargaining and strikes, outlawing the genuine trade unions, organizing company unions under military supervision;

WHEREAS, The Cuban government has maintained the eight-hour day law and minimum wage law on the books; in practice both of these laws are continually broken by the employers without the workers having any recourse since their bona-fide trade unions have been outlawed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the anti-trade union actions of the Batista-Mendieta military dictatorship of Cuba and demand that it cease its military supervision and terrorism of the Cuban working class, and particularly of organized Cuban labor, that it restore all civil liberties and the right to organize and strike; be it further

RESOLVED, That we support the demand of the Cuban people, whom we helped with our blood in their War of Independence in 1898 for a general amnesty of trade unionists and political prisoners except the gangster followers of Machado; be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention approve the naming of a Committee of the American Federation of Labor to keep close contact with the labor movement in Cuba, to inform the American working class of developments in Cuba particularly in relation to labor, and in every way possible establish the closest and deepest solidarity between American and Cuban workers; be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to Colonel Fulgencio Batista, Camp Columbia, Havana, Cuba; to President Mendieta, Presidential Palace, Havana, Cuba; and to Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, Washington, D. C.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CASE OF INDICTED MEMBERS OF MINE AND MILL WORKERS' UNION NO. 203, JUNEAU, ALASKA

Resolution No. 229—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin, Paul M. Peterson, International Union Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, The Juneau Mine and Mill Workers' Union, Local 203, struck on May 22nd, 1935, for union recognition, higher wages, better working conditions and adequate protection against the needless destruction of miners' lives and limbs; and

WHEREAS, The owners of the Alaska Juneau Gold Mining Company, in an attempt to smash the strike and destroy all organized labor in Alaska, are trying to frame sixteen innocent workers on trumped-up charges and railroad these men to prison for a long period of years; and

WHEREAS, At this time these sixteen innocent workers are bound over to the Grand Jury under exorbitant bail; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we do hereby urge the Delegates assembled at this Convention of the American Federation of Labor to take up this matter immediately with the proper authorities to have these cases dismissed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to Attorney General Cummings, Madame Perkins, and President Roosevelt.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

BREWERY WORKERS VS. TEAMSTERS

Resolution No. 230—By Delegates Joseph Obergfell, A. J. Kugler, A. E. Zusi, International Union United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction fight between the Brewery Workers and the Teamsters

has reached the stage where it has seriously affected many local and state labor movements, dividing the workers and creating utter confusion among the public in general; and

WHEREAS, Such divisions are becoming more pronounced as the fight drags on with no end in sight, creating bitterness and disunity instead of a labor solidarity so essential for the growth and progress of our movement; and

WHEREAS, Central Labor Unions in several localities have issued fake Union Labels to breweries that have locked out the brewery workmen, and who are employing scabs and professional strike breakers, which action is making a mockery of our movement; and

WHEREAS, The brewery workmen contend that the Executive Council's action in April, 1933, reversing the 1913 Seattle Convention decision in this jurisdictional dispute was in direct violation of the laws of the Federation; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this jurisdiction dispute be referred back to the Executive Council with instructions to endeavor to reach an understanding between the contending organizations and put an end to the destructive conditions which have followed in its wake.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 231—By Delegates Sam Baron, B. S. & A. Union No. 12646; Tom S. Johnson, United Automobile Workers No. 19374; Wyndham Mortimer, United Auto Workers No. 18463; John Lyding, Passaic C. L. U. No. 1733; Elmer Davis, United Automobile Workers' Local No. 20012; Thomas L. Hoskins, United Automobile Workers' Local No. 19940; E. P. Hanlon, Federal Labor Union No. 18872; Freeman White, Federal Labor Union No. 18529-No. 18350; George F. Addes, U. A. W. F. L. Union No. 18384; Louis O. Harper, Technical & Research Employees' Union No. 20049; C. H. Schilling, Radio & Television Workers' Local No. 18368; Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456; Harold G. Cross, Utah State Federation of Labor; Harry Kraus, Linoleum Workers' No. 19990; Leif A. Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996; C. S. Taylor, Battery Workers' Local Union No. 19311; Morris Fine Mdsae. Service & Delivery F. W. U. No. 20036; William Beedie, Radio Factory Workers' U. N. Y. C., No. 18609; Reid Robinson, Internat. U. of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers; Alexander Ravitch, Doll & Toy Workers, N. Y. City, No. 18230; Herbert Gormley, Federal Union No. 18195; Paul M. Peterson, F. U. M. M. & S. W.; Alex Cashin, F. U. M. M. & S. W.; Pearl Barr, Radio & Refrigerator Workers' No. 19214; Ed Mc-

Closkey, Radio & Refrigerator Workers' No. 18369; J. A. Burks, F. L. U. No. 18388; James B. Carey, Radio Workers' No. 19774; Alex. J. Ross, F. L. U. No. 18526; Thomas J. Killeen, F. L. U. No. 18454; N. H. Eagle, U. R. W. F. L. U. No. 18320; Joseph T. Masucci, Federal Unions Springfield No. 18476—Chicago, No. 18518—Mass., No. 18469; William E. Kuehnle, F. L. U. No. 19393, Hartford, Conn.; Norman Ratkin, Photographic & Photo-Finishing Employees' No. 19893; Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union Local No. 20048; Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union Local No. 19306; Frank Marek, Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18415; Susan Jenkins, Technical, Editorial & Office Assistants' Union No. 20055; Clair B. Bellows, Federal Labor Union No. 18344, Syracuse, N. Y.; Charles Goff, Battery Workers' No. 18551; Jack Rand, Display Fixture & Figure Workers' Union Fed. Local No. 20039; John Soltis, United Automobile Workers, F. L. U. No. 18432, Cleveland, Ohio; Michael A. O'Gorman, Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.; William Kics, United Automobile Workers Union No. 18615, Cleveland, Ohio; Herman Templeman, Brush-makers No. 16303; Jim North, Federal Auto No. 19970.

WHEREAS, The tremendous advance in production and engineering technique has largely transformed the industrial structure of our country in recent years, replacing more and more, especially in the so-called mass production industries, the skilled craftsman by unskilled or semi-skilled production workers; and

WHEREAS, Specialization and subdivision of labor has progressed so far that the line of demarcation between the various crafts and trades has become largely obliterated rendering it difficult if not impossible, to even classify these workers as to craft or trade, to say nothing of organizing them in unions operating on a craft or trade basis as proven by the experience of our craft unions in their efforts to organize the mass production industries; and

WHEREAS, The few genuinely skilled workers still left in these industries such as the tool and die makers and maintenance workers in auto, radio, rubber, aluminum, cement, etc., are completely submerged in the great mass of unskilled workers, and therefore unable to protect and advance their own special interests except through the organized cooperation and assistance of the production workers; and

WHEREAS, The experience of the Federal Labor Unions, operating on an industrial basis in the automobile, rubber, radio, aluminum and other industries has clearly demonstrated that only unions of the industrial type are capable of organizing the mass production industries, and that with the issuance of charters for National In-

dustrial unions even greater progress will be recorded in our efforts to bring the millions of unorganized workers in these industries under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It has also been demonstrated that the interests of the skilled workers in these industries can be adequately protected and advanced in an industrial union set up, by the creation of special departments within each union to handle the special problems relating to the higher wage scales due these workers because of their skill, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The interests of the organized skilled workers outside of the mass production industries will best be conserved by raising the standard of the skilled workmen within these industries, by the only instrumentality capable of successfully doing the job, that is national industrial unions in the mass production industries; and

WHEREAS, The 54th convention of the American Federation of Labor indicated its growing recognition of the above stated facts and its belief that industrial unionism alone can solve the problems of the workers in mass production industries, by its decision to grant national or international charters to the Federal Labor Unions in these industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby declare it to be the policy of the American Federation of Labor to promote the organization of industrial, national and international unions in the mass production industries, with jurisdiction over all workers employed in their respective industries, irrespective of craft or trade, and does hereby instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to be governed in all its decisions relating to these industries by this declaration of policy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONCERNING WORKERS' EDUCATION IN CENTRAL LABOR COUNCILS AND OTHER LABOR ASSEMBLIES

Resolution No. 232—By Delegates Lee Roy Musgrave, Vigo County Central Labor Union, Terre Haute, Ind.; S. A. Sweeney, South Bend Central Labor Union and W. A. Matchley, Denver, Colorado, Trades and Labor Assembly.

WHEREAS, The rapid changes taking place in American industry are bringing new problems of adjustment to workers; and

WHEREAS, There is a general lack of understanding of the principles, history and practices of organized labor among union members, as well as non-union members; and

WHEREAS, There is a lack of understanding of the purposes and objectives of workers on the part of the public generally; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Central Labor Councils shall assume leadership in educational promotion in local communities by

1. Appointing educational committees to see that labor is adequately represented in direction of public educational systems;
2. That, so far as possible, Central Labor Councils shall conduct public discussion periods as a part of their regular sessions and that wide publicity of these discussions shall be sought in the public press;
3. That union label league exhibits shall be encouraged;
4. That training institutes and colleges for labor leadership shall be encouraged; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Workers' Education Bureau of America be commended for its work in stimulating educational interest among organized labor groups and we urge central labor councils everywhere to co-operate with the Bureau in developing an adequate program of workers' education.

Referred to Committee on Education.

TO ASSIST LAUNDRY WORKERS IN ORGANIZING WORK

Resolution No. 233—By Delegate Walter C. Brooks, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of the United States and Canada are at this time only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Laundry Workers' International Union at this time will not warrant or permit in placing any additional organizer in the large number of cities and the various states to organize the unorganized Laundry Workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to all the State Federations of Labor and City Central Labor Councils and to all of the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize the Laundry Workers in their districts and localities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OFFICE WORKERS

Resolution No. 234—By Delegates Sam Baron, B. S. & A. U. No. 12646, and Paul

A. Rasmussen, Office Workers' Union No. 16456, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement must progress to succeed in its avowed purpose, to advance the interest of its membership; and

WHEREAS, While the Federal Labor Unions, otherwise known under different names as Bookkeepers, Stenographers, Accountants, Assistants, etc., by numbers are individually engaged in organizing in their own locality, naturally using their only limited means to succeed; and

WHEREAS, It is apparent that these Federal Labor Unions as now chartered by the American Federation of Labor could extend their agitation, influence and power by combining into an international Union of Office Workers, organizing all workers employed in any clerical work throughout the United States; we are sure that being thus chartered by the American Federation of Labor our profession will be strengthened, and through co-operative method by these Federal Labor Unions as one, will be able to inaugurate a country-wide organizing campaign which will bring into the American Labor movement thousands of office workers who under present conditions cannot be aroused; be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to instruct the incoming Executive Council to consider the granting of an international charter to the Office Workers as at present organized in Federal Labor Unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LEGISLATORS SPONSORING LAWS FAVORABLE TO LABOR

Resolution No. 235—By Delegates M. J. Colleran, M. J. McDonough, John H. Donlin, John E. Rooney, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada; John Coefield, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada; Jos. A. Franklin, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association; P. J. Morrin, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Frank Feeney, International Union of Elevator Constructors; Jos. Gavlak, United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association; J. A. Mullaney, International Association of Heat

and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers; W. J. McSorley, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; M. W. Mitchell, Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America; L. P. Lindelof, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, We wish to call to the attention of the delegates representing our affiliated International Unions in the Twenty-ninth Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, the important bills pertaining to labor enacted during the 74th Congress and approved by President Roosevelt; and

WHEREAS, An act known as the Wagner-Connelly Bill (Public No. 198—74th Congress) to diminish the cause of labor disputes burdening or obstructing interstate and foreign commerce; to create a National Labor Relations Board and for other purposes and establishing the rights of collective bargaining between employers and employees in industry was approved July 5, 1935, by President Roosevelt; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Senator Robert F. Wagner sponsored Public No. 271 which provides for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal old age benefits, and by enabling the several states to make more adequate provision for aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment compensation laws; to establish a social security board; to raise revenue, and for other purposes; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Edward R. Burke, Senator from Nebraska, sponsored Public No. 321 (74th Congress) which requires contracts for the construction, alteration and repair of any public building or public work of the United States to be accompanied by a performance bond protecting the United States and by an additional bond for the protection of persons furnishing material and labor for the construction, alteration or repair of said public building or public work; and

WHEREAS, Public No. 403 (74th Congress), to amend the Act approved March 1, 1933, relating to the rate of wages for laborers and mechanics employed by contractors and sub-contractors on public buildings, was sponsored by Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts. This bill, known as the Kick-Back Bill, was one of the outstanding legislative enactments of the past Congress. It guarantees that labor employed on public works must receive prevailing rates of wages; it predetermines a minimum rate of wages on all construction contracts; and provides that contractors who violate the agreement as to wages be blacklisted from further Government contracts. The "kick-back" was an in-

defensible violation of the rights of labor and mechanics and other workers by unscrupulous contractors. The brazen operation of this kick-back racket forced the employee to pay back a portion of his wages to his employer for the right to obtain compensatory work. It violated every element of decency in common relationship between employers and their helpless employees. Previous to the Walsh bill, no Congress had ever made provision for criminal prosecution of contractors when they were found guilty of vicious kick-back operations; and

WHEREAS, In Joint Resolution No. 117 providing four billion dollars for work relief and unemployment, Congress had made no provision for the prevailing rate of wages for projects under this Joint Resolution, and Honorable Patrick McCarran, of Nevada, proved that he was the champion of labor in submitting an amendment providing for the prevailing rate of wages to be paid on all projects under the resolution; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we express our most sincere appreciation of the untiring efforts put forth in behalf of labor by the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, Senator from New York; the Honorable William F. Connery, Jr., Congressman from Massachusetts in securing the enactment of Public No. 198 and Public No. 271; to the Honorable Edward R. Burke, of Nebraska, in securing the enactment of Public No. 321; to the Honorable David I. Walsh, of Massachusetts and the Honorable Patrick McCarran, of Nevada, and all of the members of the Senate and the House supporting this legislation which is favorable to labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to send copies of this resolution to all affiliated International Unions and Central Labor Organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROTEST AGAINST HOD CARRIERS, BUILDING AND COMMON LABORERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION TAKING IN WORKERS THAT DO NOT COME UNDER THEIR JURISDICTION

Resolution No. 236—By Delegates M. J. Colleran, M. J. McDonough, John E. Rooney, John H. Donlin, Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association.

WHEREAS, The membership of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union is entering into agreements with Road Building Contractors in the State of Illinois, which provide that they perform work which has always been done by the mechanical trades in affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The members of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union is trespassing on the jurisdiction of the mechanical trades including the membership of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association; and

WHEREAS, It is the desire of the executive officials of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association to maintain harmony among those employed on road construction in the State of Illinois; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary that the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, take an action which will bring about the harmony desired, which will develop trade union organization in this industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention notify the officials of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, that they have their membership cease encroaching on the jurisdiction of the Cement Finishers and the other mechanical trades; failure to observe the mandates of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the constitutional penalty be imposed.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

OVERTIME PAY FOR GAS INDUSTRY EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 237—By Delegate Thomas B. Lilly, Gas Distribution Workers' Union No. 15268, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, There is a tendency in the gas industry to pay employees a bonus for overtime worked; and

WHEREAS, The working of overtime for a bonus deprives workers of time one-half; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That anyone working more than eight hours per day or forty hours per week shall be paid time and one-half; and be it further

RESOLVED, That anyone working more than eight hours per day or forty hours per week shall not take time off, but shall be paid time and one-half for all hours worked over eight per day or forty per week.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

UNION GENERAL HOSPITAL CORPORATION, NEW YORK CITY

Resolution No. 238—By Delegate Charles W. Hanson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

WHEREAS, The Union General Hospital Corporation will erect a hospital building at 72nd Street and West End Avenue, New York City; and

WHEREAS, As its name implies, this corporation has for its purpose the placing of standard hospitalization within the reach of the ordinary worker and his family; and

WHEREAS, This greatly welcomed and much needed medical and surgical service will be made possible to the worker and his family at a minimum cost; and

WHEREAS, The introducers of this resolution and many others have acquainted themselves with all the details in connection with this proposed venture; and

WHEREAS, They know it to be bona fide in every respect as that the worker and his family should expect it to be; and

WHEREAS, The New York State Federation of Labor has endorsed this venture of the Union General Hospital Corporation and calls upon its affiliates to give the co-operation necessary in bringing standard hospitalization service to the worker and his family at a cost commensurate with his position in life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse this project and recommend that its affiliated bodies give full co-operation to this much needed service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LEGISLATION FOR PROTECTION AGAINST CHEAP SUBSTITUTES FOR DAIRY PRODUCTS

Resolution No. 239—By Selma Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Throughout the depression there has been a necessity, because of unemployment and inadequate wages, among the workers and their families to turn from high-class, health-giving foods to cheaper substitutes; and

WHEREAS, Studies made by Dr. C. E. Bloch, and confirmed by studies made at Johns Hopkins Hospital indicate serious danger to the eyesight of our children caused by xerophthalmia, a disease arising in a large degree out of a diet lacking in Vitamin A; and

WHEREAS, Vitamin A is now recognized by scientists as an element which is vitally necessary in abundant quantities in the diets of our children; and

WHEREAS, This disease is occasioned in large part by the use of cheap substitutes for milk, butter and other dairy products and it is necessary at this time, when all are hopeful of better economic conditions, to call to the attention of our members

the dangers to their families which may be brought about by the use of synthetically composed substitutes in place of wholesome dairy products; and

WHEREAS, We recognize the necessity and the value of the organized workers co-operating with the producers of dairy products in protecting themselves and their families against the destructive competition of synthetic substitutes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we pledge our support to the dairy farmers of this country in securing legislation which will insure protection against these substitutes and at the same time require that these substitutes pay their proportionate share of the local, state and federal tax burden as is now or may be imposed upon those engaged in the dairy industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS IN CIVIL SERVICE RULES

Resolution No. 240—By Delegates C. B. Noxon, Colorado State Federation of Labor; J. B. Easton, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; Reuben Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The officials in governmental departments have adopted certain civil service rules and requirements with which personnel appointees must comply before being permitted to hold certain clerical, supervisory and other positions, in the general recovery and re-employment activity; and

WHEREAS, Many of these rules and requirements are educational in nature and require as a condition of employment graduation from a high school or college; and

WHEREAS, There are thousands of members of organized labor whose close contacts and years of experience with the working people of the country are eminently and peculiarly qualified to hold many positions of importance and trust in government service, except that they have been deprived of high school and college education through circumstances over which they had no control; and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned educational qualifications should be stricken from such civil service examinations because they amount to discrimination against those whose circumstances have demanded their labor instead of attending school, which discrimination affects literally millions of American citizens and actually deprives those workers of sympathetic representation in countless instances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor enter vigorous objections to these unfair educational qualifications adopted by certain governmental agencies, and sincerely request that such agencies and individuals modify their requirements so that real representatives of the working people may be given opportunity to serve their fellow workers and the nation in cases where such representatives can demonstrate reasonable practical qualifications and ability as the real nature of such positions demand.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PLASTERERS VS. HOD CARRIERS

Resolution No. 241—By Delegates M. J. Collieran, John H. Donlin, John E. Rooney, M. J. McDonough, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union is infringing upon the jurisdictional rights of the Cement Finishers on projects at Hammond, Indiana, by performing the patching, rubbing and grinding of concrete walls and surfaces, which work has been ceded to the Cement Finishers by the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These disputes are causing strikes which are affecting all of the Building Trades workers on these jobs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled direct the officers of the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union to have their members cease doing the work of the Cement Finishers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

BUYING AMERICAN

Resolution No. 242—By Delegate Carl J. Shipley, Federal Labor Union No. 18347, South Bend, Indiana.

WHEREAS, The press, compilers of statistics, and many publications inform us of the increasing trend of the investment of American finance in foreign countries where labor and living standards are lower, and later shipping products of these investments for American consumption; and

WHEREAS, One can go into businesses, stores and shops throughout the Nation and find goods and articles made in foreign countries instead of being made in America; and

WHEREAS, If these articles were made in this, our America, that the unemployed

beyond estimation would be re-employed and thus eliminate suffering and raise the American standard of living; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to urge its officers and membership to promote as far as possible the buying of American-made goods, that American labor may benefit in the buying of the necessities and luxuries used by American people and in also so doing look for the union label.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

CONDEMNING ITALY'S ATTACK ON ETHIOPIA

Resolution No. 243—By Delegate Norman Ratkin, Photographic Photo Finishing Employees' Union No. 19893.

WHEREAS, The Italian Fascist regime dominated by the dictator, Benito Mussolini, acting in behalf of the biggest capitalists, the one who has driven the Italian trade union movement into illegality and persecuted and imprisoned thousands of active trade unionists in Italy, is now waging a wholly unwarranted and unjustifiable war against Ethiopia in an effort to rob the country of its resources and enslave its people; and

WHEREAS, This war is launched in open violation of the Kellogg Pact, adhered to by both Italy and Ethiopia, and to the Covenant of the League of Nations to which both nations subscribed; and

WHEREAS, Mussolini has rejected the efforts of the Soviet Union, England and France, the League of Nations, and the United States Government (the latter through invoking the Kellogg Pact) to find a peaceful settlement of all questions in dispute; and

WHEREAS, The Fascist dictatorship has flagrantly shown its disregard for the efforts of the peoples of the world to prevent this war and to preserve peace, including the declarations of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, the outbreak of war in East Africa threatens the peace of the entire world, tending to break down the elaborate peace machinery created after the last war, and bringing to the fore the possibility of an early military alliance of the Fascist nations (Italy, Germany, Austria, Poland, etc.) against those nations which still stand on the fundamentals of democracy at home and for world peace (United States, Soviet Union, France, England, etc.), thereby carrying with it not only the danger of a new world war, but of the spread of Fascist reaction; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor un-

sparingly condemns Italy's war against Ethiopia, brands it as an unwarranted war of aggression against a weaker people, and pledges itself to do everything within its power to further the defeat of Mussolini's army and to bring victory to the Ethiopian people in their efforts to defend their homeland and to maintain their independence; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention calls on the government of the United States to join with the League of Nations in its efforts to restore peace by instituting sanctions (international penalties) against Italy in accord with Article XVI of the League Covenant, carrying out on its part all penalties which may be instituted (embargo on all goods to Italy, cutting off of all credits, breaking of diplomatic relations, closing of the Suez Canal to Italy, etc.), and to lift immediately the embargo on arms and supplies to Ethiopia; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention calls upon all affiliated bodies, international unions, state federations, city central bodies, and local unions, as well as the public generally, to refuse to load or transport goods destined for Fascist Italy, to join in protests before the Italian consulates and the Embassy in Washington, and to do all other things possible to arouse the people of the United States against Italian Fascism in accord with the spirit of this resolution; and, finally, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council organize direct aid and assistance (collections of medical supplies, clothing, food, etc.) for the Ethiopian people, aiding them with all our power to maintain their independence, knowing as we do that a victory for Ethiopia, the defeat of Mussolini, will help to end his dictatorial rule at home and to free also the Italian people from Fascist tyranny.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMERICAN YOUTH ACT

Resolution No. 244—By Delegate George O. Buckingham, Federation of Trade Unions, York, Pa.

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration, established by the Executive order of President Roosevelt on June 26, 1935, pays recognition to the fact that there is a distinct youth problem in the United States;

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration is inadequate to meet the needs of unemployed youth in providing 50 million dollars for 500 thousand young people, the program to be terminated in June, 1936;

WHEREAS, Six dollars a month benefits to needy high school and vocational school students do not further the American tradition of free public education;

WHEREAS, Fifteen dollars a month wages to young apprentices as provided in the National Youth Administration would further reduce employment and wages among adult workers;

WHEREAS, Student and trade-union and other organized youth are not represented in the councils and administration of the National Youth Administration, thereby making that governmental agency undemocratically controlled;

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act, which is sponsored by the American Youth Congress, will be introduced into Congress at the next session;

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act provides for an adequate program for putting young people to work at trade union wages;

WHEREAS, It provides educational opportunities for those in need;

WHEREAS, The Act provides youth itself with the responsibility, acting with representatives of organized labor, social service, education and consumers' organizations through the Secretary of Labor and the Commission of Education, for the administration of the program for the welfare of American youth; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in 1935, endorse the American Youth Act and strongly urge its adoption by Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council communicate with the city central labor bodies, and the state federations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to urge them to call upon their respective Congressmen and Senators to support the American Youth Act in Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

COMPANY UNIONS AND COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

Resolution No. 245—By Delegate Geo. O. Buckingham, York, Pa., Federation of Trade Unions.

WHEREAS, The growth of company unions during the past two years has been alarming, embracing over three and one-half million workers and in the steel industry alone covering nearly 90 per cent of the workers; and

WHEREAS, This growth which came immediately following upon the enactment of the NRA can be directly charged to the aid and encouragement given the company union form of organization by the Labor Boards which pursued a policy of recog-

nizing company unions on election ballots giving them equal status with the bona-fide organizations of the workers and otherwise stimulated their development; and

WHEREAS, These organizations dominated and controlled by the employers are created in order to drive down the conditions of the workers, to prevent them from fighting for improvements and to stifle the free expression of the workers, thus serving as semi-Fascist instruments; and

WHEREAS The Wagner Disputes Act contains a specific provision defining the "employer unit and employes representation plan" as units of collective bargaining thus giving legal status to company unions to forestall and prevent the development of the real trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, The trade unions have learned that they cannot depend upon or rely on any other means except their organized power and strength to win their struggles and that only strong trade unions will free the workers in the powerful trustified industries from the yoke of company unionism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record:

1. To arouse the labor movement and the public generally to the menace of company unionism and the fascist danger inherent in their development.

2. To fight unceasingly to defeat compulsory arbitration and for the right of the workers to strike, to organize and picket

3. To give aid and support to the workers in the company unions who seek to smash the chains of company union domination and join the free trade unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WPA

Resolution No. 246—By Delegates Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor; Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For many years the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions in the building industry have fought militantly to secure a decent standard of wages on all construction work; and

WHEREAS, The recent interpretations of State Administrations in certain states of orders promulgated by the officials of the Works Progress Administration destroy the prevailing union wage standards; be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention that they record themselves as vigorously opposed to a lowering of the standards of wages for construction workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor immediately request Administrator Harry Hopkins to place in effect in the various

states through the State Administrator of the Works Progress Administration the prevailing rate of wages on all projects under his supervision and control.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, October 9th.

THIRD DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.

October 9, 1935.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock a. m.

ABSENTEES

Lucchi, McCabe, Beardsley, Leon Williams, Morningside, Hannah, John C. Lawson, Olander, Kaiser, Evans, Lenti, John J. Egan, Rosqvist, Wade, Palmer, Osborne, Nord, Patterson, Shave, Slout, Mayer, Al Flynn, Nadelhoffer, Jeffries, Komaroff, Humphrey Mitchell, Katz, Dewitt, Eardley, Slich, Regan, Paul David, Hanoway, Swetland, Rivin, Howat, Sager, Dahlager, Edmundson, Hymes, Saltus, Bender, Tom Johnson, Long, McGurk, Rundie, Caraway, I. J. Fitzgerald, Rand, Doane, Wise, Ross, Dance, Sigman, Dallas, Bradley, M. J. Burke, Henderson, Weinberg, Lovell, Burns, Serra, Matlin, Dougherty, Malkovich, Turner, Makman, John C. Taylor, Cannizzaro, Mack, James A. Ryan, Marzocca.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Gillooly, of the Credentials Committee, for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gillooly, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We are in receipt of communication from General President John Possehl, of the International Union of Operating Engineers, requesting that Anton J. Imhahn, of that organization, be substituted for him as delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

In compliance with his request we recommend the seating of Anton J. Imhahn to represent the International Union of Operating Engineers with 70 votes.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

President Green: Perhaps the delegates and officers in attendance at this convention may know, but if they do not know, I wish to announce that Brother John Possehl has been duly appointed to represent labor at a meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labor Office at Geneva. It will be necessary for him to leave immediately in order to be in attendance at this meeting on October 18. Because he is leaving, the organization has recommended

the substitution of Brother Imhahn to represent that organization at this convention.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was carried by a unanimous vote.

Protest of Laundry Workers' Delegate

Hearing on this protest was held in Rooms 204-205, Ambassador Hotel, Tuesday evening at 8:00 o'clock, and after careful consideration of the evidence presented your committee recommends that Delegate-Elect Walter C. Brooks be seated as the accredited delegate to represent the Laundry Workers' International Union.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE ON PROTEST AGAINST SEATING OF E. M. CURRY

We, your Credential Committee, to whom was referred the protest of the Credentials of E. M. Curry, President of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees, by the President of the International Molders' Union, Lawrence O'Keefe, after reading the following protest submitted by President O'Keefe, which reads:

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 5, 1935.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor.
Dear Sir and Brother:

The International Molders' Union of North America finds it necessary to protest the credentials of Mr. E. M. Curry, President of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

The basis for our protest is, first, that Mr. Curry has been expelled from the International Molders' Union for conduct unbecoming a union man. The second is that Mr. Curry was a candidate for Congress on the Communist ticket in Michigan in 1932. Further, he was one of the group of Communists who endeavored to secure entrance to the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Cincinnati in 1932.

The International Molders' Union desires to present the evidence in its possession to the Committee on Credentials of the A. F. of L. For your further information, may I inform you that Mr. E. M. Curry presented credentials as a delegate to the convention of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. The convention declined to accept his credentials. There is enclosed a copy of the proceedings of the convention of the Metal

Trades Department containing its action on the report of its Committee on Credentials.

Fraternally yours,

LAWRENCE O'KEEFE,
President, International Molders'
Union of North America.

We base the foregoing protest on the provisions of Section 5, Article IV, of the American Federation of Labor constitution.
L. O'K.

You will note the charges are all based upon Section 5, of Article IV, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which is herewith quoted:

Section 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any central body or national or international union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Mr. E. M. Curry admitted that he was a candidate on the Communistic ticket for Congress in Michigan in 1932. He admitted that he was an expelled member of the International Molders' Union.

He denied that he was a part of the Communist group that stormed the Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of Labor, stating that he was a delegate to the meeting of that Communist group, representing Molders' Local Union No. 333, of Kalamazoo, Michigan, but was not a part of the demonstration.

The Committee, after carefully considering all evidence presented against E. M. Curry, recommend that he be denied a seat in this convention, and recommend that the General Secretary-Treasurer, Henry D. Dannenberg, be seated as a delegate to represent the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: A question of information, please, Mr. Chairman. I rise to inquire whether the letter written by President O'Keefe, of the International Molders' Union, also the statement made by Secretary Gillooly, of the Credentials Committee, will be included in the record.

President Green: The report of the Committee, which includes a copy of the letter sent by Brother O'Keefe, will be made a part of the proceedings of today's convention.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary Gillooly, of the Auditing Committee. You know

this Committee serves in a dual capacity. It is the Credentials Committee of the convention and also the Auditing Committee. This Committee will now report its audit of the books and accounts of the American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

Delegate Gillooly, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Auditing Committee appointed by President Green, pursuant to the requirements of Article III, Section 4, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, presents the following report for the consideration of this Convention:

Your Committee has thoroughly studied and examined the books and records pertaining to all financial transactions of the American Federation of Labor during the fiscal year beginning September 1, 1934, concluding August 31, 1935, and is prepared to report that the examination disclosed all books and records accurate and correct in every respect.

Herewith is the tabulated record of the receipts and expenses credited to and charged against the several funds of the American Federation of Labor for the period under consideration.

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1934	\$ 565,706.36
Per Capita Tax	\$454,839.05
AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST	280,415.12
Defense Fund for local trade and Federal labor unions	167,186.47
Initiation Fees ..	76,108.02
Reinstatement Fees ..	9,526.75
Supplies	13,395.22
Interest	17,651.25
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	9,603.77
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts ..	3,599.66
Dividend on Union Labor Life Insurance Stock	150.00
Total receipts	\$1,032,475.31
Grand total	\$1,598,181.67

EXPENSES

General	\$769,792.33
AMERICAN FED- ERATIONIST ..	151,721.97
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions...	45,650.71
Premiums on bonds of officers of af- filiated unions..	8,062.13

Total expenses\$ 975,227.14

BALANCE OF FUNDS ON
HAND AUGUST 31, 1935..\$ 622,954.53

RECAPITULATION	
In General Fund	35,376.10
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	587,578.43

BALANCE ON HAND, AU-
GUST 31, 1935.....\$ 622,954.53

WHERE FUNDS ARE DEPOSITED
AND INVESTED

The bank balances of the Secretary were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories.

Your Committee has ascertained that the funds of the American Federation of Labor are deposited and invested as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	\$225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds (4¼-3¼%) (\$50- 000.00) @	49,281.25
98 18-32	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%)	1,531.25
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%)	742.71
Accrued Interest on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%) ..	

Total Investment in U. S.
Treasury Bonds\$378,625.53

\$102,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%) Par Value \$100.00 @ 86½% ..\$	88,230.00
\$80,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%) Par Value \$100.00 @ 92¾% ..	74,200.00
\$18,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%) par Value \$100.00 @ 85½%	15,390.00

Total Investment in Fed-
eral Land Bank Bonds..\$177,820.00

Riggs National Bank, Washing- ton, D. C. (Subject to check)..\$	49,509.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock)	15,000.00
Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C. (Subject to check of Secretary Mor- rison)	\$ 11,065.48
Outstanding checks..	9,065.48 2,000.00

Total.....\$622,954.53

VICE-PRESIDENT DUFFY'S COMMITTEE
REPORT

Washington, D. C.,
September 17, 1935.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In compliance with your instructions and the directions of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at a meeting of that body held in August, 1935, the international officers whose names are attached hereto, met in Washington, D. C., September 16-17, 1935, and made an audit of the funds of the American Federation of Labor in possession of Mr. Frank Morrison, treasurer pro tem., of the American Federation of Labor, at the end of the fiscal year, August 31, 1935, and herewith submit our findings:

	Face Value	Cost
29 United States Treasury Bonds \$375,000.00 \$	375,000.00	378,625.53
31 Federal Land Bank Bonds ..	200,000.00	177,820.00
1 Certificate of Stock, Union La- bor Life Insur- ance Company..		15,000.00
Checking Account, Riggs National Bank, Washing- ington, D. C. Au- gust 31, 1935..		49,509.00
		\$ 620,954.53

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK DUFFY,

First Vice-President,
American Federation of Labor,
General Secretary,
United Brotherhood of Car-
penters and Joiners of
America.

LEO E. GEORGE,
President,
National Federation of Post
Office Clerks.

HENRY W. STRICKLAND,
Secretary,
Railway Mail Association.

Subscribed and sworn to before
me this 17th day of September, 1935.
W. ROBERT PROHEY,
Notary Public.

My commission expires March 1, 1940.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, to affiliated organizations for contributions to be used for the erection of a suitable Memorial to the late President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20,
1924, to and including August
31, 1935\$ 118,073.23
Interest on fund investments 15,510.89

Total Receipts\$ 133,584.12
Expenses, January 12, 1929,
to and including August 31,
1935 117,748.87

Balance on hand August
31, 1935\$ 15,835.25

Funds deposited as follows:
Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust
Account\$ 1,266.66
Riggs National Bank check-
ing account 13,724.15
The City Bank checking ac-
count 844.44

Balance on hand August
31, 1935\$ 15,835.25

Your Committee was informed that an itemized statement of all moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correct.

SLEEPING CAR PORTERS' INJUNCTION FUND

Receipts from January 13,
1933, to and including
March 31, 1933\$ 660.00
*Amount forwarded to M. P.
Webster, President 660.00

*The full amount of this fund was paid over to the Sleeping Car Porters from the General Fund, American Federation of Labor, pending the reopening of the Mt. Vernon Bank. The Mt. Vernon Bank consolidated with the Washington Mechanics Saving Bank and released forty per cent of deposits. The records show that this forty per cent or \$264.00 was transferred to the General Fund of the A. F. of L. We were advised that the

remaining sixty per cent or \$396.00 will be transferred as it is released by the Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correct.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR BUILDING FUND

Balance on hand August 31,
1934\$ 52,106.12
Receipts 35,935.77

Receipts and Balance..\$ 88,041.89
Expenses 30,624.03

Balance on hand August
31, 1935\$ 57,417.86
(See Page 14, Executive Council's Re-
port, for itemized account of receipts and
expenses.)

We find the balance of \$57,417.86 in-
vested and deposited as follows:
\$40,000.00 Consolidated Federal
Farm Loan Bonds, 3½% re-
ceived in exchange for \$40,-
000.00 Federal Land Bank
Bonds, 5% plus premium,
¾% \$300.00\$ 38,050.00
\$6,000.00 3½% U. S. Treasury
Bonds @ 99 21-32 5,979.38
Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust.. 1,218.31
City Bank 561.80
Riggs National Bank 11,608.37

Balance on hand August
31, 1935\$ 57,417.86

We also personally inspected and counted the Consolidated Federal Farm Loan Bonds and the United States Treasury Bonds as well as the records covering the following accounts as certified to by the officers of the respective institutions and depositories.

Mt. Vernon Liquidating Trust..\$ 1,218.31
The City Bank 561.80
Riggs National Bank..\$11,624.77
Outstanding checks, 16.40

and found them correct. 11,608.37

CONCLUSION

Your Committee desires to conclude this report with the following observations:

The total balance of all funds on hand, as of August 31, 1934, amounted to \$565,706.36, whereas the total balance of all funds on hand as of August 31, 1935, amounted to \$622,954.53, an increase for the twelve-month period in the amount of \$57,248.17. We wish to point out, however, that the General Fund has decreased from \$99,663.69 on August 31, 1934, to \$35,376.10 as of August 31, 1935. All of

this decrease in the General Fund, together with the increase of funds on hand August 31, 1935, is reflected in the Defense Fund. In other words, the Defense Fund has increased from \$466,042.67 on August 31, 1934, to \$587,578.43 on August 31, 1935.

We observe that the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, the official publication of the American Federation of Labor, has continued to prosper and has turned in a very substantial sum to the treasury of the American Federation of Labor. We wish to congratulate the officers of the Federation on their efficient and excellent management of the magazine.

The detail involved in making this audit of the books of the Federation has been tremendous. However, the excellent condition of the books and records and the able co-operation afforded us by Secretary Morrison and his assistants has made the duty assigned to us agreeable as well as pleasant throughout. The system of book-keeping is exceedingly clear and easy to interpret.

We wish to congratulate the Federation on its selection of careful and well-trained assistants. Finally, we wish to extend our sincere appreciation to Secretary Morrison for his friendly co-operation and help in the performance of our task.

Respectfully and fraternally submitted,
AL. TOWERS, Chairman;
EDWARD CANAVAN,
M. J. GILLOOLY, Secretary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: It has been customary at conventions of the American Federation of Labor to receive an address from the Director of the Workers' Education Bureau. We have always listened with great profit and with deep interest to the messages which Spencer Miller, Jr., brought to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. I know that the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, and the members of the American Federation of Labor, appreciate very deeply the education work which is being carried on by the Workers' Education Bureau.

During the past year the Workers' Education has been especially active, active in holding institutes where the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor has been most ably expounded, where the administrative affairs of the organized labor movement have been emphasized, and where educational work has been carried on in a

most valuable and interesting way. The Executive Council fully appreciates the work of the Bureau. For that reason, at a recent meeting of the Executive Council, it was decided that a very large degree of closer co-operation would be established between the American Federation of Labor and the Workers' Education Bureau. Brother Miller is deeply interested in this work; he is giving his life to it; his services to the movement are of the highest value. I am pleased to present him to you this morning for another address—Brother Spencer Miller, Jr., Director of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

THE SUPREME ISSUE AND THE EDUCATION OF LABOR

By SPENCER MILLER, Jr.

President Green and Delegates to the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Three significant events in the history of the Federation of Labor are inseparably linked with Atlantic City Conventions. I claim for each of them a place in the formulation of labor's educational policies. Two of these events go back to the Convention of 1919, when the American Federation of Labor met in annual convention at the close of the World War. To reread the record of the proceedings of that convention is to catch a glimpse of labor at one of its moments of great triumph, when its leaders were prepared to take statesmanlike action on major questions of domestic and foreign policy. It was on that occasion that the delegates to the 39th Annual Convention, now sixteen years ago, had before them the carefully prepared survey and report of the development of workers' education as it had been worked out under the leadership of such organizations as the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and through the work of the Central Labor Councils in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles. The concluding words of their report deserve to be quoted:

"* * * that central labor bodies, through securing representation on boards of education, and through the presentation of a popular demand for increased facilities for adult education, make every effort to obtain from the public schools liberally conducted classes in English, public speaking, parliamentary law, economics, industrial legislation, history of industry, and of the trade union movement, and any other subjects that may be requested by a sufficient number, such classes to be offered at times and places which would make them available to workers. If the public school system does not show willingness to co-operate in offering appropriate courses and type of instruction, the central labor body should organize such classes with as much co-operation from the public schools as may be ob-

tained. Interested local unions should take the initiative when necessary."

Out of the impulse given by this affirmative action taken by the convention, the program of education among industrial workers has proceeded. All that has happened in these intervening years may be described as the length and shadow of this report and pronouncement. I would remind you of your historic service to the cause of workers' education then, as I purpose to urge upon you now the necessity of taking appropriate steps for an expansion of this activity which you set in motion in 1919.

The second historic milestone which was set up at Atlantic City in 1919 was concerned with the relation of American labor and the American Commonwealth to the whole question of our international relations. You will recall the situation. Samuel Gompers had just returned from his triumphant service as the indispensable aide to President Wilson at the Peace Conference in Paris. He had served in the highly responsible position of Chairman of the International Commission on Labor Legislation, a post which had been voted to him in recognition of his unique position as the dean of the labor leaders of the world. In the year 1918-1919, as he reminded the convention, he had crossed the Atlantic four times in behalf of the re-uniting the various elements of the international labor movement. He had brought to this convention the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations; he had brought as well the Charter of the International Labor Office. He had done more. He brought to the support of these two instrumentalities of international cooperation his unflinching courage and his passionate devotion. No person who heard his historic address in defense of these two institutions that have since become associated with the principles of collective security at Geneva or who reads again his memorable address before this convention can fail to realize how large a part of his own being had become this desire to establish a great international institution in which the voice of labor should be heard in the councils of the nations. The delegates to that convention after a spirited debate acted with extraordinary unanimity in giving a vote of confidence to their leader by supporting the League and the International Labor Office by a vote of 29,909 to 420 with 1,820 not voting. Since that day, no succeeding convention has rescinded that affirmative action. I insist that this convention action was of great moment in the life of this organization, not only because of what it did but because of the fact that this public support of the International Labor Office was even at that stage an appraisal of the important educational work which was to be performed by this world industrial conference.

If the 1919 Convention was significant because of its formulation of a program

of workers' education for the Federation and its support of this world-wide forum for the consideration of international labor standards the Convention of 1925 was no less important for its formulation of economic policy. During all these years I have been making a plea to these conventions for the necessity of the education of labor. I would remind you that labor on its part has performed a notable service in the economic education of the American public. As an example of this service of public education by labor I refer specifically to the remarkable pronouncement made at the Federation convention ten years ago on the subject of wages. On that occasion your convention, in response to the action taken by the Executive Council and after the outline of the theory had been hammered out on the anvil of convention discussions there was enunciated the productivity theory of wages, the essence of which was stated in these terms: "Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production." For a decade now labor has been witnessing the manner in which industrial leadership has been bringing its practices into correspondence with this wage theory. Many of the serious situations which have developed in connection with the depression may be properly laid at the door of those groups in the country who, ignoring the essential soundness of this theory of wages, have attempted to meet the problem of economic readjustment by the slashing of wages while still maintaining the productivity of their plants. After six long years of the depression the validity of this labor theory is now being widely recognized not only at home but also abroad. It has been said that an unsound theory can wreck a movement; the converse is undoubtedly true—that a sound theory can not only save a movement but give it a position of importance in the economy of the country that cannot be gainsaid. I assert without fear of contradiction that the wage theory as promulgated by the Atlantic City Convention of 1925 will remain as one of the significant contributions which labor has made to the education of the American public on the basic questions of economics.

But no historian of the American labor movement would fail to appraise the significant contrast between the Conventions of 1919 and 1925. In 1919 Samuel Gompers stood at the very zenith of his leadership of the movement both at home and abroad. During the war years he had become the intimate of presidents, prime ministers and kings—without losing the common touch. In 1925, however, the curtain had come down upon his active career. Here in this city a decade ago there was held one of the most moving memorial serv-

ices for a departed leader that I have ever had the privilege of attending.

But if the two previous conventions have marked these three significant milestones in the past, certainly no one could doubt that the convention which assembles here in this place and at this crisis in our western civilization has before it the opportunity of making decisions of large public import that should be bound to take their place in the history of labor. No one can read over the comprehensive report of the Executive Council, with its thoughtful analysis of our domestic and foreign problems, without being made aware of the responsibility which rests upon each delegate to take common thought for a program of action which shall concern the public welfare. For American labor the situation literally bristles with social and economic problems of the first importance. A new and significant frame of reference has been fashioned by the Congress of the United States which has so recently drawn to a conclusion. The whole new pattern of social and labor legislation has set up a new series of obligations upon the part of labor not only to understand the precise terminologies of these laws but also to understand the deeper implications of this extension of governmental interference in the whole realm of our economic and industrial life. It is in a very special sense for American labor! As an educationalist and a student of labor problems, I am bound to say that there are a hundred educational implications in all of this new legislation which has been enacted.

But beneath this whole legislative program there is an issue which nowhere is expressly stated in the Executive Council report, but is, I believe, implicit in much that has been stated. It is in one respect the supreme issue before the American people today. It has been recently stated for us by that distinguished American historian, Dr. Charles A. Beard, in a recent weekly journal. That issue is no mystery. It is not "priming the pump or public works"; it is not one of personalities, nor the invisible money power, nor is it the implied powers of the Constitution. The issue, in the "bigness" of our national economy. As Dr. Beard says: "American economy is national, not local and provincial. Operated at full capacity it might provide a fairly decent standard of life for every family in the country. . . . Still the reality of bigness—national economy—remains. Fifty years of tilting at the windmill have been in vain. Prosecutions, trust-busting and cursing have availed naught. It is bigger today than ever—more integrated, more interdependent, more efficient in its use of inventions, science and machinery. It can produce more goods than ever. It has brought the nation into sight of a high standard of life. If its crisis is deeper that only makes the issue more exigent, more imperative. . . ."

"Yet there, waiting its destiny, stands giant

national economy, interdependent in all its parts. According to careful estimates, it could produce annually \$120,000,000,000 worth of wealth a year, instead of the miserable \$50,000,000 now turned out and badly distributed."

It is this major issue which must not only be faced but the whole program of labor and government brought into correspondence with this essential fact. We who live in America must attempt to understand America! We all of us need to lift our sights to encompass this broader view of an America which is continental in its proportions, whose productive capacities can with a properly integrated economic system provide a life of abundance for all. We may temporarily thwart the larger realization of this purpose, we may deny its implications, but it is impossible that for long labor or any other sections of the American community should fail to recognize the implications of this supreme issue.

"Where is the statecraft with will enough and power enough to make it function?" Concludes Dr. Beard. "That question may be averted by war or postponed temporarily by evasion, but it will remain the supreme issue in American life."

That issue is a challenge to labor statesmanship no less than to statecraft generally. Has this great body of American labor the will, the power, and may I add, the imagination to grasp the significance of this supreme issue? With 10,000,000 of our fellow workers unemployed after two years of lavish governmental expenditure, it should be clear to anyone that subsidizing scarcity to resolve the problem of misery in the presence of plenty is not only a fallacious economic theory but also aggravates the very problem which it seeks to solve. The way out for labor is to increase productivity, to expand consumer demand, to adjust wages to such increased production, and establish a moving equilibrium between our productive and consumptive capacity under some form of economic control in which labor will not only have a voice but a clearly defined function.

And there is another side to this issue which it seems to me it would be folly for us to lose sight of upon this occasion. It is the responsibility which America has in the world community. While the doctrine of isolation will continue to be preached and while the immediate gravity of the present Ethiopian crisis impels statesmen to take a position with reference to our neutrality, America cannot stay big without assuming its rightful part in a world-wide economy. America is not only in the world but of it. However we seek to preserve our rights as neutrals it seems to me inevitable that America cannot remain outside of the councils of nations, when the issues of imperialism and injustice raised by the present world crisis come to be finally adjusted. Isolation is not a policy but a pre-

dicament. We may delay a program of international action, but the logic of our economy, the pervasiveness of our technology, the products of our mass production links our destiny inevitably with the world's economy.

But I am discussing these questions as they affect our economy both domestic and foreign because in the last analysis the very essence of any program of education for labor that is worthy of the name must seek to make explicit to labor the nature of the world in which labor moves and functions. Ours is not a "horse and buggy" economy, nor can the content of labor thinking be circumscribed by the limitations of such an outlook.

Let us consider then some of the educational problems that have been projected into the foreground of Labor's policy with the New Deal legislation that has been passed in response to this concept of a comprehensive National economy.

First of all, there is the question of understanding and interpreting the basic legislation that has been passed in the Congress of the United States in the past three years. Now that the basic elements of the New Deal have been enacted into law, it is not too much to say that there devolves upon the part of Labor the task of interpreting their new privileges and responsibilities under these laws. Take four such important pieces of legislation as the Trades Dispute Act, the Social Security Law, the Transportation Act, and the Guifey Coal Bill. How many officers, let alone members of the rank and file, can expound in detail the purpose and practical outcome of such measures? What valid criticism can be made of these new laws; what amendments or changes should be urged to remedy some of the serious defects that have gone into the drafting of such legislation as the Social Security Law; what criteria should be set up to measure the social utility of these laws? These are but a few of the questions which immediately arise in connection with the introduction of these laws to the membership of Labor.

In the second place there is the problem of the administration of these laws. It is a truism to assert that in all such legislation sound and non-partisan administration is of the essence. Indeed Labor has long since learned that a law is no better than its administration. For this vast new body of legislation which affects the basic problems of labor relations, the question of the development and enforcement of labor standards is of vital importance. The NRA broke down because of a lack of effective administration long before the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional! There is no reason to suppose that we shall have better success with these new laws unless we learn from the experience of these past failures. Consider for a moment how important are the administrative problems involved in the National Labor Relations Board, Social Security Board, the Federal Employment Service, to mention but three. The labor

standards set up in the first year will be of special importance, as the Secretary of Labor assured us in her address yesterday.

How can we hope to secure adequate labor representation without some type of a program to train labor for such administrative posts. Let no one assume that the administration of labor laws can be done effectively by anyone. It requires a special skill for which training is indispensable.

Or, consider for a moment another area of labor strategy, namely, the legal field. If labor is to build up a body of sound labor law in America, it must set about the deliberate task of planning its legal procedure. To select test cases, to prepare sound economic briefs in support of labor's position, is the intelligent way of building precedent upon precedent. It will not do to trust to the "happy accidents of history," for frequently these accidents do not turn out too happily. It has been stated that employers have long since substituted preparedness for luck in their legal procedure.

Or turn for a moment to some of the problems of internal relations of the union which will be modified by this new legislation. If the State is to do for the workers what the trade union has done in the past how will it affect the appeal of organization? How will the question of labor turnover be influenced? To what extent will the techniques of collective bargaining be altered? How much larger part will research data play in wage conferences in the future? And finally, to what extent will State intervention compel labor to re-examine its relation to the processes of the political government. These are not academic questions, they are a few of the primary issues which are implicit in this new situation for labor.

Let us consider for a moment ways in which we may cope with these problems which are functional and therefore fundamentally educational. If we turn to the older leadership of the movement for counsel in dealing with these newer problems, we find that the generation of men who have grown up with the movement, and have directed its policy through changing conditions, are being rapidly decimated by death. A year ago, I stated to the San Francisco Convention that over 300 officials of the trade union movement had died in ten years. Yesterday, the roll call of the departed members added forty-nine more names! Three of these were International Presidents, fourteen were Vice Presidents, Secretaries or Treasurers of the unions. One union alone has lost three of its executive officers in a year, including its President and Secretary-Treasurer; another has lost five members of its Executive Board in the last two years. And so I might go on. But you know the results, what the loss to the movement is with the passing of these old and experienced leaders. In the second place, many of the older leaders are already so burdened with executive duties that it is literally impos-

sible for them to add to their administrative burdens. It would be inefficient for them to do so.

The conclusion seems to be clear and inescapable. The Labor Movement must begin without further delay a systematic training program of qualified members for an understanding of these laws and for these new administrative posts. There is no question of the availability of such qualified men nor of the possibility of securing facilities for developing such a training program. The Workers Education Bureau is prepared to set up such a program of training in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor and the International Unions. Already the experience of some of the unions in the railroad industry and the needle trades has validated the practical value of such programs. The notable advancement made by these groups may be traced directly to these training activities.

As a start in this direction, the Executive Committee of the Bureau suggests that a Conference of Organizers be set up to consider these various legislative and administrative problems under the general auspices of the Federation, with the co-operation of the Bureau. Today such "in-service training," as it is described, is recognized as a necessity for business men, teachers, doctors, ministers, personal representatives and others to keep step with scientific developments. Already our Bureau has had specific requests from organizers of the Federation for such a conference. In the last twelve months the Bureau has also conducted a series of preliminary conferences with Organizers and Business Representatives of Trade Unions in Chicago, New York and San Francisco. The purpose of these conferences has been to help in the preparation of a Case Book on Collective Bargaining, which we are preparing for the guidance of newer officers in the organizations. The conferences have been eminently successful; we have had the most complete co-operation of the Union officials. It has proved conclusively that such Conferences for the exchange of opinions and the development of training programs is thoroughly practical and of great value.

For delegates of Central Labor Councils, we are proposing the development of monthly labor forums to consider, under competent instructors, the economic aspects of these new labor problems.

For the local leadership that seeks the guidance of university instructors in analyzing, objectively and scientifically, the larger implications of these problems we have developed the labor institutes, study classes, labor chautauquas and summer schools. Almost without exception we have found our universities and college faculties willing to co-operate in such educational programs.

There is another great asset that has come as a by-product of this co-operative educational program. Today there are in the colleges and universities of the country well over a million young men and women

who are going out year after year into the professional and business life of the country to help form the American electorate. If they can know something of the nature of the labor problem; if they understand something of the history, philosophy and policy of the American labor movement, they will, in the years to come, be more open minded and friendly to the American labor movement.

In his address to the convention yesterday, President Green said that the American Federation of Labor "will declare itself in favor of independent political action, in the formation of an independent political party when the crystallized opinion of the workers indicates that they believe that their interest can be better served through such action rather than through the pursuit of a non-partisan political policy." To this, both reason and history must give assent! But I should like to recall an incident out of the British Workers' educational experience with which an American educator was inseparably linked, that throws light on this conclusion by President Green. At the turn of the last century, Dr. Charles A. Beard, while a graduate student at Oxford University, joined with Walter Vrooman, another American, in establishing Ruskin College, for the education of British labor at Oxford. Upon one occasion, Dr. Beard was arguing in one of the common rooms of Oxford University on the need of labor education for the British working class. Said he, "I predict that in another 25 years there will be 75 labor members in the House of Commons. If labor is to help govern England, it should be trained for the task of government." To this youthful prophecy and plea, one of the older Dons of the University replied, "If labor should ever rise to power, we should know how to deal with them, we'd give them the rope!" Within less than a quarter of a century British labor was the government of England. Labor was in office, even if not in full possession of the seats of power.

But the moral of this story is this—for 25 years labor developed a comprehensive program of workers' education in Great Britain in co-operation with the universities of that land to prepare its leaders and members not only for the governments of England but also for the more adequate functioning of their economic movement. I have yet to meet a responsible leader of the British trade union movement who does not acknowledge the invaluable preparation of workers' education for their tasks. I am not arguing that the hour is here for a Labor Party; I do assert that if it is to be successful it must rest upon an educational basis.

May I also add the new educational responsibility for labor with our membership in the International Labor Office. It carries with it not only the obligation of attendance at the meetings of the Governing Body and the annual conference, but the obligation of the effective utilization of the vast storehouse of educational material which reposes in the files

of this important secretariat at Geneva. For it must be remembered that the International Labor Organization is both an educational agency and a world legislative assembly. It is especially fitting that we shall have a full and extended report of the important place of this institution in our world economy, at Atlantic City, where sixteen years ago, Samuel Gompers brought for the first time the charter of this new agency.

You will want a word of our co-operation with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration of the Government. We have continued our regional directors in the areas where they worked with such effectiveness in the past year. Three of these, in the East, Middle West, and on the Pacific Coast, have performed a service of unusual value in relating the labor movement in the various sections of the country to the resources and the opportunities which were present in this Emergency Program. In two of the areas, namely, the East and the Middle West, we have supplemented the services of the regional directors by field representatives, who have brought to this program their intelligent cooperation.

In our plans for the future, the Bureau purposes to carry forward the publication of books and pamphlets in our series, which have been prepared by qualified students of labor problems for workers. Our list of publications now numbers upward of ninety titles. We regard the use of the printed word as one of the most important educational tools we can place in the hands of the new officials and members of the movement to assist them in understanding something of the history and policy of the movement, and to give them some comprehension of current economic and industrial problems.

Then I am happy to be able to announce to you on this occasion that we purpose to inaugurate on October 18th next a series of ten educational broadcasts over the nationwide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System. You will recall that three years ago we carried on a series of twenty broadcasts on American labor and the nation, with the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor and the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. It proved a unique accomplishment. Two years ago the convention at Cincinnati gave its unqualified approval of educational project. The Columbia System was generous in its praise. Now we shall begin a third series of ten broadcasts which will begin on Friday evening, October 18th, with a review of this convention. This new medium of communication—the Fifth Estate—will enable labor to present its own analysis and interpretation of the new legislation which has been passed by the Congress of the United States. We shall attempt a new technique in our broadcast this time. Instead of set speeches, we shall attempt the informal conversation or fireside chats among trade union officials, a man from the trade and the director of the Bureau.

We have already received the cordial co-operation of a number of officials of the

American Federation of Labor is planning this program; we expect the help of others in making this program known to your membership and inviting them to listen each week to these programs. It will help us in our educational work; it should serve to give your members a better idea of the new responsibilities which rest upon labor with this new legislation.

And I conclude with three observations. First, I should like to express in behalf of the Executive Committee of my Bureau our cordial thanks to the Executive Council and to this Federation for whom they acted our grateful appreciation for the annual contribution of \$5000 voted for the support of the bureau. We are honored to accept this in the words of President Green as an expression of appreciation of the work we have done, and as an earnest of continuing support for the future. We shall regard this grant as a pledge for an even more extensive program of education for the future.

In the second place, I attended this last summer the first International Conference on Workers' Spare Time, which was called in Brussels during their world's fair. It so happened that I was the only American invited to address this great international conference. It afforded me the opportunity to say to the delegates who had assembled there from 21 countries something of our rapidly developing movement for workers' education which is, by its very nature, developed during a worker's free time. I pointed out my own conviction that the movement for the shortening of working hours is a social as well as an economic proposal. It is not only a device to relieve unemployment, but to increase leisure. Labor would often make greater headway with our hours movement if it insisted upon the affirmative right of workers to leisure as well as the right to work. Today leisure and work have become so inseparable that it is impossible to consider one without reference to the other. We shall not solve our unemployment problem until we have solved the problem of the wise utilization of our leisure. Upon the right solution of both of those depends the future of our Industrial Society.

And one final observation: In June of this year the 19th session of the International Labor Conference was held at Geneva. That great conference had not been in session more than twenty-four hours when a request was made to receive a demonstration of young unemployed who wished an opportunity to appear before that Congress and urge some constructive solution for the problems of unemployed youth in Europe. None of us who had an opportunity of witnessing these fine, upstanding youths, three hundred of them, marching with their banners to the Conference Hall will forget that great demonstration. They came not only bearing banners but as well the petitions of 800,000 unemployed youth of Europe. When their spokesmen came upon the tribune to speak to that conference they said in the most impassioned and most forceful words which you can imagine,

"Give us work—for if we have no work, we, the unemployed youth of Europe, must go to war."

Work or war—what an alternative! Today in Europe dictatorships have not solved the problem of unemployment; they have simply deferred its incidents. They have put the unemployed youth into the army, into the munitions factories, into the labor camps. In turn, the vast war machines thus created become great pressure groups on government for action. War provides one outlet. How little did we realize that within three months after that dramatic appeal of the unemployed youth of Europe to our conference that the marching legions of Fascist Italy would have crossed the boundaries of the ancient empire of Ethiopia and set in motion what may develop into another great world crisis. Mark this fact—our failure to solve unemployment is one of the great causes for vast military machines today and the increasing threat of war.

I have a concern these days. My concern is to give to the men and women of labor in America something of the vision of that dramatic appeal of the unemployed youth of Europe, "Give us work or we go to war!" How adequately are we solving the problem of our young unemployed? Our CCC camps are a splendid start, but they are not reaching a fraction of our unemployed youth. Have we the competence to apply our minds to the sound solution of these basic economic issues with which we are confronted? Is it possible for this convention, in the knowledge of the milestones erected by previous conventions in Atlantic City, to take some great decision here which shall be fraught with human destiny? I lay this solemn charge upon your conscience. And I add this word. Never before in the history of the free trade union movement the world over has the issue of democracy versus dictatorship been raised to such a point.

We now know that dictatorship in spite of its pretense means imperialism and war. It means the suppression of every civil right of free speech, free press and free assembly. The one cohesive international force in the world today that can challenge dictatorship, that has the sense of unselfish service to act as interpreter, and guardian of human freedom is the organized labor movement.

We who love liberty, who still believe in the democratic way of life, cannot rest in our labors until we have made that movement not only powerful and cohesive but intelligent and spiritually strengthened to meet this challenge.

Your vision of the high destiny of labor as reflected in your decisions here will hearten the lovers of freedom and democracy and social justice the world over. You will not fail!

Upon the movement of labor, organized, cohesive, militant, and educated, devolves the responsibility of upholding the very fabric of our western civilization.

President Green: I am indeed pleased to express to Director Miller your very

deep appreciation of the illuminating and highly educational address which he delivered this morning. He has maintained the high standard he set when he addressed the first convention of the American Federation of Labor. Your expression of appreciation speaks to him more eloquently and emphatically of the way and the manner in which his address was received than any words that I might use.

Brother Miller, I thank you for your visit and for your address.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT NATIONAL COMMANDER MURPHY, OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

President Green: I desire to appoint a committee to escort the National Commander of the American Legion, Mr. Ray Murphy, to the convention at this afternoon's session. The National Commander is in the city and prepared to address us at 2:30 o'clock. I appoint on the committee to escort him to the hall Brother Harvey Fremming, of the Oil Workers' International Union; Brother J. C. Lewis, representing the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and Brother Claude Babcock, representing the American Federation of Government Employees. I ask that this committee arrange to call upon the National Commander at the Traymore Hotel, where he is stopping, and escort him to the hall this afternoon.

The photographer is prepared to take the official picture of this convention immediately after adjournment of this morning's session. All arrangements are made just outside the hall for taking the photograph and I hope all will arrange to be in this historic picture.

LABOR HOUSING FORUM

Secretary Morrison: I have been requested to announce a meeting of the sponsors of the Labor Housing Forum in Room 4 of the Chelsea Hotel after adjournment of the morning session. The committee of sponsors is made up of the following:

W. C. Brandt, St. Louis Trades and Labor Union.

John Carroll, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

John Edelman, American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

J. F. Friedrich, Milwaukee Federated Trades Council.

Francis Gorman, United Textile Workers of America.

Charles Hollopeter, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

Thomas A. Lenehan, Cleveland Federation of Labor.

Louis Marclante, New Jersey Federation of Labor.

George Meany, New York State Federation of Labor.

Spencer Miller, Jr., Workers' Education Bureau.

A. Steve Nance, Georgia Federation of Labor.

John Phillips, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

James C. Quinn, New York Central Trades and Labor Council.

B. Charney Vladeck, New York City Housing Authority.

Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

CHAIRMAN

James L. McDevitt, Philadelphia Building Trades Council.

SECRETARY

Catherine Bauer, Labor Housing Conference.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Chair recognizes Secretary Richardson, of the International Association of Fire Fighters for an announcement.

Mr. Richardson: In behalf of Local 198, Atlantic City, I want to make this announcement. Most of you delegates will remember the situation which prevailed last year, when the fire fighters in Atlantic City wanted to form an organization and we were refused permission to organize. Therefore, at the convention held in San Francisco, our organization objected to this convention being held here. Since that time, however, the situation has changed and the men have organized and we are now going along in a very fine manner.

It has been customary for our organization in a number of cities to hold annual entertainments at which time funds are raised to aid the widows and orphans of those who from time to time are injured or die in the service. We have an

annual affair which is held in Madison Square Garden, New York City, and which President Green has attended, and we have them also in a number of other cities. The boys in Atlantic City are trying this as an experiment in the Auditorium tonight and they are anxious that the delegates and their friends here may attend this affair. Some of the star radio performers from New York are here and we have arranged a very interesting entertainment, which will include dancing. Some of the boys have tickets for sale in the rear of the hall.

President Green: The Chair desires to make the following announcement: On Thursday afternoon at 2 o'clock, the Honorable Joseph W. Madden, Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, will be our guest and will address the officers and delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention.

On Friday, October 11, we will be honored with the presence of Governor Winant, of the National Security Board, Chairman of that Board. His address will be at 2:30 o'clock Friday afternoon.

At 3 o'clock on Monday afternoon, October 14, the Honorable John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, will deliver an address to the convention. I might inform you that this distinguished gentleman, the Commissioner of Education of the United States of America, has always been an honored member of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

It now appears that we have completed the work of this morning's session and the Chair will call for announcements from chairmen of the committees.

Opportunity was given for the announcement of committee meetings.

Delegate Canavan, Musicians, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention be recessed until 2:30 o'clock Wednesday afternoon.

The motion was seconded and carried and the convention recessed at 11:40 a. m.

THIRD DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock p. m.

ABSENTEES

Lucchi, McCabe, Beardsley, Leon Williams, Morningstar, Hannah, John C. Lawson, Olander, Kaiser, Evans, Lenti, John J. Egau, Rosqvist, Wade, Palmer, Osborne, Nord, Patterson, Shave, Slout, Mayer, Al Flynn, Nadelhoffer, Jeffries, Komaroff, Humphrey Mitchell, Katz, De Witt, Eardley, Silch, Regan, Paul David, Hanoway, Sager, Dahlager, Edmundson, Hymes, Saltus, Bender, Tom Johnson, North, Long, McGurk, Rundle, Caraway, I. J. Fitzgerald, Rand, Doane, Wise, Ross, Dance, Sigman, Dallas, Bradley, M. J. Burke, Henderson, Weinberg, Lovell, Burns, Serra, Matlin, Dougherty, Malkovich, Turner, Makman, John C. Taylor, Cannizzaro, Mack, James A. Ryan, Marzocca.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Vice-President Woll: The Committee on Resolutions has set aside the hour of three o'clock this afternoon for the hearing on resolutions pertaining to the formation of a Labor Party. All delegates wishing to be heard on that question by the committee will please arrange to be at the committee room at that time. Tomorrow morning a hearing has been set for those who wish to be heard on resolutions pertaining to industrial unionism. All interested in that question wishing to be heard will arrange to appear before the committee at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

President Green: We are honored this afternoon by the visit of the Commander of the American Legion. Our good friend, Mr. Murphy, was recently elected Commander of the American Legion for the next year. He comes from the State of Iowa, and I have been informed by President Lewis, of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, who knows the Commander very well, that he is the type of man that we will delight to know—broad visioned, progressive and in the State of Iowa he has always been known as a true and devoted friend of labor. With that introduction I am sure you will realize at once, the Commander will occupy a very large place in our affections and in our minds.

We have maintained an unbroken custom since the formation of the American Legion of exchanging fraternal delegates. The American Federation of Labor has sent a representative to American Legion conventions for all the years that have intervened since the organization of the Legion up to the present time. These fraternal delegates have carried to the American Legion conventions the message of labor. In return the American Legion has sent fraternal delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and these splendid men have brought to us their messages.

As a result of that there has developed between us a fraternal relationship, a bond of friendship and understanding. It is easily understood how and why that has been made possible, because while there has been some disagreement upon some matters, nevertheless there has been agreement upon so many matters that we find ourselves working in common accord and co-operating in fine fashion.

I am pleased to present to you this afternoon, our distinguished guest, Mr. Ray Murphy, Commander of the American Legion, who will now address you.

MR. RAY MURPHY

(National Commander, The American Legion)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention:

It is with profound pleasure that I bring to the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor the warm greetings and sincere felicitations of the American Legion, an organization of loyal American citizens which has much in common with your own.

Within our ranks are many men who carry the card of membership in the American Federation of Labor. The ideals and aspirations of our two great institutions, though directed through different channels, are striving toward a common goal. That is the perpetuation and the perfection of our American form of government; the firm determination that the guarantee of personal equality of opportunity, freedom of speech, freedom of worship and liberty for all, shall be maintained and consolidated.

So I meet with you on common ground.

There may have been some differences of

opinion in the past as between individual members of both of our organizations. It is inevitable that in two such vast, nationwide institutions, with memberships reaching into every State, every community, such occasions should have arisen. The important fact, the big fact, which remains is, that since its very beginning the American Legion has marched shoulder to shoulder with the American Federation of Labor toward an objective which is the first interest of every good citizen. As Americans and comrades we shall continue along that road.

At our recent convention in St. Louis, the American Legion had the privilege of hearing an inspiring message from your representative, and our beloved comrade, Major George L. Berry. In the course of his address, Major Berry said:

"The American Legion and the American Federation of Labor have stood steadfastly in support of general and fundamental principles which have to do with the very life of the nation itself, and it is my opinion, gathered from the expressions of the representatives of the labor movement in this country, that the American Federation of Labor will not change its attitude as one of the supporters and sponsors of the American Legion."

To that statement, the Legion replies unitedly, "Aye!"

I can not stand here before you without saying with all of the sincerity, with all of the emphasis at my command, that the American Legion is proud to stand with the American Federation of Labor. America has reason to be grateful for the fine, stalwart type of citizenship which is represented within your ranks. In the dark days of economic distress, from which we hope we are now emerging, your mettle was tried in the crucible of patriotism, and it was not found wanting.

If there is any one organization in this land which deserves the praise, the commendation and the gratitude of the American people for its courage and loyalty amid the gloom of the past five years, it is the American Federation of Labor. While factories closed by the thousands, while breadlines lengthened and the unemployed tramped the highways and byways in an endless procession of desperation, you kept the faith; you remained true to American principles; you refused to heed the temptations of those who would have led us into chaos. If the American Federation of Labor had done nothing else (and its record of service to America is long), it still would merit the undying thanks of every man, woman and child who loves freedom and liberty.

The American Legion came into being because there was a mission to be performed. It was only natural that those of us who had served in the armed forces during the great war should have wanted to perpetuate the memories and the incidents

of that service through organization of the World War veterans into a permanent, peacetime institution. But there was a yet greater motive behind the birth of the American Legion. Let me take you back briefly to that morning of November 11, 1918, when the carnage ended.

Two million American citizens had been wallowing and fighting in the mud and fire of the western front; another two million, and more, were being prepared for battle in cantonments here in the United States. Suddenly the symphony of death and destruction ceased. Europe was aflame with unrest, governments generations old had fallen and others were wavering. In the hush of peace the world was afraid. Here in America many feared the return of their soldiers because they had heard that the men who had fought and bled for America might return to overthrow their government.

The American Legion quickly dissipated that phobia. It drew within its membership men who had worn shoulder bars and those who carried the rifles or worked the triggers of machine guns, but rank was banished, and to this day only honorable service without respect to rank is recognized and accepted within the Legion. As our first principle we declared ourselves unqualifiedly for God and Country—for the America of our fathers and the America of the future. From the very beginning we took our stand firmly against the subversive movements which sought to destroy our form of government, and with increased activity, are still at it. From that line we will never retreat.

The American Legion does not hold that changes in government are either impossible or impracticable. The world changes, America with it. The basic law of our land has been amended, and may be amended many times. The Constitution was created for the people. Within the elastic limits of that great charter, as written now or later amended, will be found the means to accomplish all that is needed for the common good. The right of the people to change their basic law cannot, and must not, be denied. It is provided in the constitution itself. We do not fear, we do not oppose, the right to propose changes to be brought about in the orderly, constitutional way, reserving the right to support or oppose such changes as we see fit.

The American Legion does say, as you say, that whatever changes are necessary the American people themselves can bring about without interference from abroad. We shall cherish and foster friendly relations with other governments, but when it comes to the question of internal problems of our own government, we can neither accept nor tolerate interference from outside, nor from those subversive groups

within our borders which harbor alien theories that will lead us to anarchy and destruction. On that front the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion stand steadfast.

For long the Legion has had an Americanism Commission, with a full time director and staff. To a committee of the Federation of Labor, as such committee may now, or hereafter, be constituted, we extend an invitation to work with our commission in close co-operation, in complete sympathy and understanding, to the end that such subversive elements may be well identified and vigorously and unreservedly opposed.

Our country is now in the process of social readjustments, to which some have referred as "social experimentation." It is self-evident that capital and labor are dependent upon each other. I believe I am correct in saying that the American Federation of Labor accepts that principle. We can not have industries, and thereby jobs for the working man, without capital and investors to support those industries. On the other hand industry can not expect to survive unless its employes receive an adequate income sufficient to maintain an American standard of living. In the proper inter-relation of these principles rests the future prosperity and progress of our country.

There can be neither prosperity nor progress as long as millions of men tramp our streets looking for work which does not exist, as long as American standards of living remain below normal, or as long as our farmers are obliged to sell their products for less than it costs to raise them. Nor can we overlook the fact that capital has the same American right to receive a reasonable return upon investment. I have enough confidence in the American business man, the American working man, and the American farmer to believe that there is a middle ground upon which a sound agreement can and will be made for the good of America and for the good of all of our people.

I take you now to that phase of the American Legion's activity which we place second only to the duty we owe to our country. I refer to the care of our disabled comrades of the World War and to the widows and orphans of those who have passed on. When the war ended, the country was without facilities to hospitalize the wounded or domicile those whose minds had been shattered by the shock of combat, or preparation for combat. The American Legion holds that the care of those victims of war belongs to the Federal Government, and not to the states or private charity.

One of our first efforts was to have hospitals and domiciliary wards constructed for the care of the disabled veterans. At the same time we requested the gov-

ernment to provide certain allowances for the disabled in an effort to compensate them in some measure for the reduction in opportunities they had sustained as a result of their service to the country. We do not fear the criticism that has been directed at us because we rendered this service to our disabled comrades. We had a duty to perform and we performed it. This service is not confined by any means to members of the American Legion; it is given freely and willingly to every truly disabled World War veteran.

In a moment of hysterical "economy" the majority of benefits that had been obtained were swept away. A year later, through executive and Congressional action, most of them were restored. It remains our duty to have restored those further benefits which properly belong to disabled veterans. We will perform our duty. At the same time we shall ask the government to give the widows and orphans of deceased World War veterans the same protection it has provided for the widows and orphans of the veterans of all other wars. We ask no special privileges for these widows and orphans. Neither are we asking for pensions for able-bodied men.

The American Legion has seen enough of war; it desires peace. We shall fight with all our strength to prevent this country being dragged into another foreign war not our direct concern. The lessons of the past were dearly bought and will be long remembered. The last session of the Congress passed important neutrality legislation to protect us against becoming involved in the present European crisis. Our convention in St. Louis unanimously approved that legislation and we pledged all our strength to the enforcement of strict neutrality.

We have fought for an adequate national defense because in the present state of world affairs that is the best insurance for peace. The national defense program proposed by the Legion can never be used for aggression; it is sufficient only to give us some reasonable measure of assurance against invasion. With proper enforcement of neutrality laws, the only serious danger of war involving the United States would be through invasion or a direct act of aggression against us. As long as we are prepared as against aggression and invasion, remaining ever ready to consider reduction in armaments on a basis of equality, the possibility of war is minimized.

In this connection I want to discuss briefly our efforts for the adoption of a Universal Service Act. I realize that this program has caused some concern in the ranks of organized labor for fear that its primary purpose is conscription of labor. That is not the thought of the American Legion. We say that if war must come, then it should be a profitless business; that in time of war the country shall be entitled to the services of capital, industry

and manpower on a basis of equality, with special privilege and profit for none.

All of us remember what happened in the World War. The cheapest product of that conflict was manpower. Men were taken from well paid jobs and put into the service to fight and to die for a dollar a day. We have no quarrel with the right of America to call its manpower to its defense in a moment of crisis; no loyal citizen would shirk that duty. But we do quarrel with a policy which failed to conscript dollars on the same basis, which put a higher premium on money than on human lives, and made possible the scandal of profiteering and the orgy of inflation that is responsible in large measure for the present economic depression.

The American Legion wants to prevent a repetition of these conditions, if another war is forced upon us. We hold that a few persons should not have the right to build up great fortunes upon the crosses of the dead and the sacrifice of the living. With this principle I am sure the American Federation of Labor will agree. The matter of formulating a legislative vehicle which will protect the interests of all is a detail which can be accomplished without impairing the deep principle of justice involved in this issue. When the profit motive is removed from war a great source of propaganda for war will have been eliminated.

Probably no part of the Legion's program has caused more comment than our request for immediate payment of the Adjusted Service Certificates, or "bonus", to the average citizen. Let me make it as clear as possible will permit that we are not asking for prepayment of this debt. These certificates represent an adjustment in the war time pay of the five per cent of us who were sent out to do the fighting for the rest of us. That adjustment should have been made at the time we left the service. The question remained a matter of heated debate until 1924, when Congress acknowledged the debt but decided to pay it in 1945.

At the termination of the war the Congress settled the nation's debts with every group except the men who had toiled the guns. If, in postponing final payment to the soldiers and sailors, the Congress had settled on the same basis that was accorded the war contractors and others, every dollar represented on the face of our Adjusted Service Certificates would have been due and payable in September, 1931. Therefore, this debt is past due and no good reason exists for further delay in payment. That the government is able to pay has been admitted by the highest governmental authorities.

In our convention at Miami a year ago, the American Legion went on record for immediate payment by an overwhelming majority. In St. Louis, a few weeks ago, our convention voted unanimously for immediate payment of the Adjusted Service Certificates at full face value, with cancellation of accrued interest and refund of interest paid. This was the first time the American Legion ever voted

unanimously for immediate settlement of this debt. The money if thus paid will give stimulation to business, will hasten recovery from the depression, and thereby provide more jobs for labor.

In our resolution asking for immediate cash payment of the Adjusted Service Certificates, we request the Congress, in clear, unmistakable language, to settle this issue on its own merits, without complicating or confusing it by other issues of government finance or theories of currency with which the Legion does not intend to become involved. The American Legion does not say that inflation or expansion of the currency is good or bad. We hold that to be a question entirely apart from payment of the debt the government owes the World War veterans. It should be handled by the Congress as a separate issue.

On that basis the American Legion will make its fight in Washington this winter for payment of the Adjusted Service Certificates. I am neither a prophet nor a seer, but unless I wholly misunderstand the sentiment of the vast majority of Americans, unless I mistake the sentiment of the Congress, this question will soon be removed permanently from politics and public concern on the basis of American Legion recommendations.

Mr. President, and members of the American Federation of Labor, it has been a privilege and an honor to come before this great body of loyal American citizens with this message of friendship from the American Legion. To those of you who are not members of the Legion, I extend a warm and sincere invitation to know the Legion better. Our widespread activities only begin with the few things I have mentioned in this message. Our child welfare program, calling among other things for adoption of the Child Labor Amendment, our interest in highway safety, in community service, in crime suppression and many other worthy projects must remain for future discussion.

In conclusion may I leave with you this thought? As with the Federation, so with the Legion. No individual, no group of individuals, has the right to act or speak for the 850,000 members of the American Legion. Our program is limited by the mandates of our national conventions. Those mandates are available for any one who desires to know them. If incidents should arise in the future which might cause you to question the sincerity of the American Legion's friendship—and we trust they will not—ever remember that the Legion cannot be committed by the actions of a few and that the Legion itself will be quick to correct any wrongs committed in its name.

My own sincerest hope is that the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion, two of America's great institutions of loyal citizens, will continue together along the road of mutual understanding.

good friendship, close cooperation, and sound Americanism.

President Green: It seems but fitting and appropriate that I should, in your behalf, express to the distinguished Commander of the American Legion our very deep appreciation of his visit with us this afternoon and our gratitude to him for the very inspiring, patriotic and educational address which he delivered. I wish to assure him in your name that the American Federation of Labor will give most sympathetic and sincere consideration to the suggestion made in the address which he just delivered. I know it is the sincere purpose of the American Federation of Labor to develop and strengthen the bonds of fraternity, good will and friendship which exists between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion. We shall give to this great organization a full measure of support in its efforts to develop and maintain a hospitalization service for the disabled veterans of the world war. We shall insist that our great government shall accord proper and adequate protection to the widows and orphans of these men.

And lastly, we want to assure the commander that the American Federation of Labor will support the American Legion in its efforts to secure a fair and just settlement of the compensation due the veterans of the World War.

It is indeed gratifying to know that in this great fight led by the American Federation of Labor for the protection of the child life of America, in spite of the tremendous opposition coming from all sources in different sections of our country, we have with us such a powerful influence as the American Legion helping us to fight for the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Such team work as that in itself is worth cultivating to the limit, and we ask the American Legion to stand with us as we go out and fight for the adoption of this amendment in the remaining twelve states we need in order to make it a part of the Constitution of the United States.

I know that it would be impossible, and you as reasonable men know that is true, for every member of the American Legion to conduct himself in accordance with the standards set by that organization. It is human to err, and in some localities mistakes are made. Men act impulsively, they act hastily and not always in accordance with the co-operative and fraternal understanding which exists between these two organizations. But I can declare to you publicly that never during all these years I have served you as president of the American Federation of Labor, have I failed to secure an adjustment of any complaint of the conduct of groups of members of the American Legion when that complaint was

presented to their officers at Indianapolis. I ask and invite, as I know the Commander would do if he was speaking to you now, the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor to report to me, when in any community, in any section of our land, there are those either within our ranks or within the ranks of the American Legion who do not live up to the standards which we have builded and which we are endeavoring to maintain, and I know that through co-operative understanding a settlement will be reached satisfactory to all concerned.

Now, Mr. Commander, I thank you sincerely for your visit to us. I ask you to convey to your members the best wishes and the good will of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, and I ask to please carry back with you to your office and to your home a most delightful memory of a pleasant visit spent with us.

We have with us this afternoon a very able representative of the National Women's Trade Union League, the President of that organization and a vice-president of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. I know you will be pleased to receive a message from her this afternoon. She is sitting with us and I will appoint Brother Andrew Furuseth, Sister Elizabeth Christman and Brother Mills as a committee to escort Miss Rose Schneiderman to the platform.

ADDRESS OF MISS ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN

(President, National Women's Trade Union League)

Fellow Trade Unionists: It is indeed a pleasure to be present at this Convention and to be afforded the opportunity of addressing you. The last time I had the privilege of representing my organization, the National Women's Trade Union League—of which I have the honor to be president—was at the Detroit Convention. Those were the days of so-called prosperity. Prosperity, however, which was only manifest in the stock market where millions of dollars of worthless stock daily passed over the counter of brokerage houses. We remember, of course, that during this mad orgy and so-called prosperity there were at least three million men and women walking the streets in search of work which was not to be found.

During desperate times of the depression the women wage earners suffered untold agony. Their wages even in the best of times were insufficient to allow for any margin of savings. And with the loss of their jobs destitution stared them in the face.

Our local leagues, situated in the industrial centers, know of the heartbreaking

ordeal that the industrial women and girls were subject to. The plight of the untached girls was especially sad. We know how inadequate were the means of the private relief agencies and girls were often faced with having to take shelter in the municipal lodging houses—a most degrading and soul destroying experience, I assure you. Not much better off were those who did succeed in getting work. The wages offered were so low that it was difficult to keep body and soul together. The \$2 a week wage and the 50- and 60-hour week became again the standard in a good many of the women employing industries. Where unions were able to exercise some measure of control, wages were a little better, but even there many officials of trade unions had to close their eyes to the continually shrinking pay envelopes because the time was not ripe for militant trade union action. This was the heyday of the unscrupulous employers. The havoc brought about by squeezing the very life blood out of defenseless men and women is unforgettable.

It was to remedy these deplorable conditions that the NRA was called into being. No fair-thinking person can deny that the NRA was a God-send to the unskilled and semi-skilled working men and women. There were industries in which code wages meant an increase of 100 to 200 per cent and the decrease in hours was just as considerable.

The codes also carried with them the security that the minimum wage specified was the bottom wage and that the wage could be increased but not decreased. That meant that the wage-earner could definitely count on what the earnings were going to be and gave assurance to the workers that they were not at the mercy of the wage-slashing whims of the employers. In addition, the abolition of child labor and the outlawing of homework (a trade union objective of long standing) in a given number of the codes eliminated serious obstacles to trade union organization.

Section 7A was a definite proclamation on the right of the workers to organize. Our American girls are "snobbish" I am sorry to confess and we have been hampered in our efforts of organization because of their false notions that to belong to a union was not the ladylike thing to do. With the President's pronouncement and the inclusion of 7A in the Recovery Act, trade unionism had become the law of the land and it suddenly became patriotic to belong to a union.

We know that those international unions which took advantage of this new understanding and new born spirit for trade unionism reaped a generous harvest in the increase of their membership.

We also know that where unions were strong as a result of their activity and the tremendous increase in their membership they were able to get much better codes with considerably reduced hours and classified minimums, thus demonstrating the fact that trade union organization is basic and is the best

means of bringing real and lasting improvement to the wage earners.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court was a bomb shell to all of us. The nullification of the NRA worked untold harm to millions of working men and women who were in the low paid area. This same Supreme Court which held that to set minimum rates of pay and maximum hours of work could not be done by the Federal Government ruled when the minimum wage law of the District of Columbia was challenged that the District could not set minimum wage rates for its working women. This decision was made on the freedom of contract myth. We know what this freedom means—freedom for the employers to pay as little as possible and drive his workers as hard as possible. Thanks to the decision of the Supreme Court employers are once more free to chisel and undercut their competitors—to cut wages and lengthen hours. We have abundant information showing that these practices are now in vogue in a good many of the industries, and before we know it the wages and hours in unorganized industries will be just as low as they were prior to the NRA. That this will defeat the efforts made by the government to bring about recovery there is no doubt. We have always known that a decreased earning power brings with it decreased purchasing power and we cannot have prosperity so long as wages are inadequate.

I feel certain that the men and women now outside of the organized labor movement have learned their lesson. They should be convinced by now that there is nothing surer, nothing more lasting, nothing more effective than a powerful 100 per cent organized industry. That women can be organized is shown by those international unions which have gone out and done it. There are millions of potential women members still outside of the ranks of organized labor.

The 1930 census gives the following figures of trades in which women are employed and who are eligible to trade union membership: Bakery and Confectionery Workers, 54,329; Barbers, Beauticians, etc., 113,194; Bookbinders, 30,414; Boot and Shoe Workers, 86,293; Building Service Employees, 89,168; Musicians, 79,611; Papermakers, 36,892; Potters, 7,637; Teachers, 853,967; Textile Workers, 461,602; Typographical Workers, 10,269; Government Employees, 87,506; Cigarmakers and Tobacco Workers, 74,435; Railway Clerks and Telegraphers, 17,463; Retail Clerks, 716,169; Hatters, Capmakers and Milliners, 49,856; Jewelry Workers, 16,172; Electrical Workers, 284,271; Garment Workers and Tailors, 352,525; Glass Workers, 9,104; Glove Workers, 14,119; Hotel and Restaurant Employees, 435,349; Iron, Steel and Metal (Machinists), 80,027; Laundry Workers, 160,460; Leather

Workers, 11,055; Meat Cutters and Butchers, 13,751.

Having been in the organized labor movement for 30 years, my main experience being that of an organizer, I know that women are not easy to organize—but neither are men—due to many reasons which time does not permit to discuss.

On the other hand there are also international unions whose laws almost prohibit the organization of women. By that I mean that the per capita being built on the wages of its membership—who are largely men—these unions have no provision for the lower paid wage earner who cannot possibly pay the assessment and per capita that the constitution calls for. And until such time as the international unions recognize this condition and make allowances for workers in the less skilled industries of which they have jurisdiction, some other way will have to be found of bringing them into the trade union movement.

We cannot expect girls who earn less than \$10 a week to pay 80 cents and more per capita a month. Of course international unions have to be supported so that they can widen their sphere of influence, but it is also obvious that dues should be within the range of the earnings of the group. I am convinced that if we could put forward intensive organization campaigns that very favorable results could be had. A revival of the labor forward movement would bring courage and enthusiasm to a large group of men and women now outside of the trade union movement and would result in widespread organization. In behalf of the National Women's Trade Union League I pledge our sincere and unstinted co-operation to such a campaign.

Then, I should like to plead that the recognition which churches and political parties have accorded their women members be accorded to the women in trade union ranks. President Roosevelt has shown his faith in the ability of women by appointing Frances Perkins as a member of his Cabinet, a woman as ambassador to Denmark, as assistant secretary of the treasury, another as assistant secretary of the mint and many other women to high places in the Government.

Our trade union movement has an enviable record for its traditional struggle and promotion of the democratic principles, and I know that the labor movement has always stood against sex discrimination.

The conviction of a lot of us women in the labor movement is that the time has come when there should be women seated in the highest council of the labor movement—that of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Only by increased responsibility, by her knowledge that she is a member of an

organization where there is every opportunity, will the woman in our trade union movement be encouraged to give of her best energies to the upbuilding of her union. Only in this way will we be able to develop a lasting and intelligent leadership among women.

The need for training of our young men and women in the philosophy and the experience of our trade union movement grows more and more imperative and I wish that that question could receive the attention and discussion that it merits. Unless I am mistaken, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is the only international that is carrying on a wide educational and recreational program. Why is it not possible for the labor movement to pool its resources and to establish short training courses to which its young men and women could go to receive the historical background and practical experience of the trade union movement—where they can study the accomplishments and its ideals and aspirations, so that they can serve their organizations more intelligently?

If the labor movement is to grow we must have a large well equipped reservoir of young men and women trained to carry on.

In conclusion may I convey the sincere congratulations of the National Women's Trade Union League to President Green and his associates on the Executive Council for the outstanding record made this past year. We know that the Social Security Law, the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill, the Guffey Bill—never could have been enacted into law had it not been for the untiring effort of the American Federation of Labor. May I also express my appreciation of the work done by President Green, John Lewis, Major Berry, John Frey, Sidney Hillman, Ed. Tracy, Arthur O. Wharton, Michael J. McDonough, Joseph A. Franklin and Frank Duffy as members of the Labor Recovery Board.

Spencer Miller said this morning that the NRA had already gone to pieces before the decision of the Supreme Court was made. I want to refute that as far as the Labor Advisory Board is concerned. Labor had a group of representatives that they could well be proud of. When the NRA was declared unconstitutional the Labor Advisory Board had its feet on the ground, had worked out definite principles of procedure and would have gone on to much better understandings and efforts far greater than had been made up to that time.

It was a great privilege to have served under the leadership of the President of the American Federation of Labor and to have had the opportunity of working with this fine outstanding group of men. I shall always look upon that experience with a great deal of pleasure.

We thank Miss Schneiderman for her visit to us and for her address. Miss Schneiderman served as a member of the Labor Advisory Board for the National Recovery Act, and in other positions under the administration of the National Recovery Act. It was my privilege and pleasure to work with her, and I wish here to express publicly and officially my appreciation of the very fine public and private service and labor service that she rendered while serving in those responsible positions. Her counsel was solicited, her judgment was accepted and appreciated and her devoted service challenged the admiration of all her associates. No one, I care not who it was, ever placed in a position of responsibility rendered finer or more valuable service. On behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, I thank you, Miss Schneiderman, for the very fine address you have made.

The Fraternal Delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will be prepared to submit their addresses to the convention tomorrow, beginning at eleven or eleven-thirty o'clock.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Your Committee on Credentials begs to report that we have examined the following credentials and recommend the seating of B. A. Michelson to represent the Miami, Florida, Central Labor Union, with 1 vote.

John O'Leary to represent the Kiski Valley Central Labor Union, Pennsylvania, 1 vote.

The report was adopted and the delegates seated.

In accordance with request received from W. W. Campbell, who has been recorded as delegate representing the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, we are recommending that he be seated as a delegate to represent the Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council, with one vote, and his name be stricken from the list as a delegate representing the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted and the substitution made.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that on the matter of the protested credential of the delegate from the Building Trades Department I have been advised by my representative, who has been serving in a mediation capacity, that a meeting of representatives of building trades organizations will be held tonight and that my representative will meet with them for the purpose of exploring the situation in an endeavor to compose the differences that exist.

Now, I am insisting that an answer shall be made tonight to the President of the

American Federation of Labor as to what attitude will be assumed by all parties at interest in an effort to reach a settlement. This answer must be submitted to me tonight because I am going to call upon the Credentials Committee to make a report upon this matter at ten o'clock tomorrow morning. That is final, and the report, I hope, will be submitted by the Credentials Committee for consideration of the delegates tomorrow morning.

The Secretary of the Committee on Credentials advises me that he will be prepared to make a report to the convention for action tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

The various committee chairmen announced the time and place of meeting of their respective committees.

RESOLUTIONS

SCIO POTTERY COMPANY, SCIO, OHIO

Resolution No. 247—By Delegates James M. Duffy, John McGillivray and James H. Grafton, of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

WHEREAS, The Scio Pottery Company, of Scio, Ohio, manufacturing semi-porcelain, dinner and table ware, were declared several years ago when they began operation for the non-union shop; and

WHEREAS, The said Scio Pottery Company have exploited women labor in the most extreme way in addition to compelling all employees to buy stock as a basis of employment; and

WHEREAS, The above mentioned company has most definitely and decisively indicated their abhorrence of anything in the nature of a decent standard of wages under a bona-fide Collective Bargaining system permitting their employees to organize into a union of their own choosing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, go on record as condemning the tactics used by the Scio Pottery Company management and publicly brand this firm unfair to union labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all state, federal and central labor bodies of the American Federation of Labor be notified of the action of this Convention on this Resolution.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

**S. S. KRESGE—MT. CLEMENS POTTERY,
MT. CLEMENS, MICHIGAN**

Resolution No. 248—By Delegates James M. Duffy, John McGillivray and James H. Grafton, of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

WHEREAS, The Mt. Clemens Pottery Company of Mt. Clemens, Michigan, manufacturing semi-porcelain, dinner and table ware, is owned and operated by the S. S. Kresge Five and Ten Cent Store Company; and

WHEREAS, The said S. S. Kresge Co., Mt. Clemens Pottery Executives, announced several years ago their intention to operate the above mentioned pottery on the American or non-union shop plan and have in every sense of the word carried out the then publicly announced plan of operation, even setting aside and ignoring in all aspects the NIRA Collective Bargaining requirements; and

WHEREAS, The National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, the parental National Union having jurisdiction under the American Federation of Labor covering pottery workers, have repeatedly during the last eight years been prevented from unionizing the said Mt. Clemens Pottery Company because of the unfair and un-American tactics of the plant management; and

WHEREAS, The management of the Mt. Clemens Pottery Company recently incited, influenced and intimidated to the point of frenzy, citizens of Mt. Clemens, resulting in an attack upon Organizer Brother Frank Hull and Mr. Gordan C. Norman, a former employee, who were endeavoring to organize the employees, and a brutal attack was made upon the above two mentioned Organizers, they threatened to do them bodily harm unless they agreed to immediately leave the city of Mt. Clemens; and

WHEREAS, The above set forth acts of violence against lawful and peaceful efforts to organize the Mt. Clemens shop frustrated legitimate organized labor activity on the part of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, go on record as condemning the tactics used by the S. S. Kresge, Mt. Clemens Pottery Company management and publicly brand this firm unfair to union labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all state, federal and central labor bodies of the American Fed-

eration of Labor be notified of the action of this Convention on this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

**SHENANGO CHINA COMPANY, NEW
CASTLE, PA.**

Resolution No. 249—By Delegates James M. Duffy, John McGillivray and James H. Grafton, of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

WHEREAS, The Shenango China Company, of New Castle, Pa., manufacturers of hotel and restaurant china ware, in the midst of a two year wage agreement, declared for the non-union shop plan of operation and attempted to force upon their workmen, drastic reductions in wage rates thereby compelling their employees, members of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters to strike in defense of their organization; and

WHEREAS, This Company is now operating as a non-union shop paying wages considerably less than the union scale for pottery workers, as established by ninety-five per cent of the manufacturing potters of America through a wage contract with the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, go on record as condemning the tactics used by the Shenango China Company management and publicly brand this firm unfair to union labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all state, federal and central labor bodies of the American Federation of Labor be notified of the action of this Convention on this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

No further business coming before the convention, Delegate Koveleski moved that the rules be suspended and an adjournment taken to the usual time Thursday morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 4:15 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Thursday, October 10th.

FOURTH DAY—Thursday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 10, 1935.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock a. m.

ABSENTEES

Beardsley, Slout, Rivin, Leon Williams, Mayer, Howat, Morningstar, Al. Flynn, Sager, McGrady, Nadelhoffer, Dahlager, Billet, Jeffers, Edmundson, John J. Egan, Komaroff, Hymes, Humphrey Mitchell, Saltus, Rosqvist, Katz, Bender, Wade, DeWitt, Tom S. Johnson, Palmer, Eardley, Osborne, Slick, Long, Nord, Regan, McGurk, Patterson, Paul T. Davis, Rundle, Crawford, Hanoway, Caraway, Shave, Sweetland, Rand, Lovell, Doane, Thomas F. Burns, Wise, Serra, Ross, Matlin, Dance, Dougherty, Sigman, Malkovich, Dallas, Makman, Bradley, M. J. Burke, Cannizzaro, Henderson, James A. Ryan, Weinberg, Marzocca.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Baltimore, Md.,
October 10, 1935.

Frank Morrison,
Secretary American Federation of Labor,
Ambassador Hotel,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Baltimore Federation of Labor sends greetings and best wishes for a successful convention.

FRANK J. MEEDER.

New York, N. Y.,
October 8, 1935.

Hon. William Green,
President American Federation of Labor,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Atlantic City, N. J.

I deeply regret that unforeseen duties which accumulated during my vacation prevent my attendance at your great convention. The past year has been filled with magnificent achievements. Congress has reaffirmed and reinforced the right to bargain collectively. Security steps have been taken to check the hardships of orphanhood, of unemployment and of old age. New legislative measures to safeguard wage and hours standards, while not perfected, have been auspiciously commenced. Not one of these gains would have been even thinkable without the initiative and co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, including its wise leaders and its millions of enlightened members. Because of their active participation in social re-

form the whole nation owes them a debt. These gains mark a new era for the workers of America in their struggle for economic freedom. They represent the aspirations and ideals of the American Federation of Labor. I know you will not rest content until this new deal for the American worker is perfected. That is your intent and it will be your accomplishment. I extend to you every good wish in your fight for economic and social justice.

ROBERT F. WAGNER.

Chicago, Illinois,
October 9, 1935.

Mr. William Green,
President American Federation of Labor,
Ambassador Hotel,
Atlantic City, N. J.

To The American Federation
Of Labor Convention:

Brothers:

In connection with terrible loss of life caused by the disaster of the United Air Lines aeroplane at Cheyenne, Wyoming, yesterday, we are broadcasting the following over Station WCFL, The Voice of Labor. "For weeks past we have been broadcasting the information that the United Air Lines discharged the members of the Aircraft Mechanics' Union and required their employees to sign a yellow dog contract. The shops of the United Air Lines were moved from Chicago to Cheyenne, Wyoming, to avoid the employment of first-class aircraft mechanics in Chicago. After the removal of the shops to Cheyenne, Wyoming, students and apprentices from the Boeing Aeronautic School were employed to service airplanes at the Chicago airport. The terrible loss of life at Cheyenne, Wyoming, because of the disaster of the United Air Lines airplane, was reported as caused by motor trouble. Must we have more such disasters and loss of life before the officials of the United Air Lines will protect the public interest by maintaining their equipment in first-class shape by employing first-class aircraft mechanics instead of using students, apprentices and employees working under yellow dog contract."

Chicago Federation of Labor,

JOHN FITZPATRICK, President.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT THE HON. JOSEPH W. MADDEN, OF THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of a committee to meet Joseph W. Madden, Chairman of

the National Labor Relations Board, and arrange with him to address the convention this afternoon. I am not certain whether he is in the city at this moment or when he will arrive. I ask the committee to make inquiry and get in touch with him and find out when it will be convenient for him to address the convention.

I will appoint upon this committee Vice-President Harrison, President Manion, of the Telegraphers, and Vice-President Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Please call on Chairman Madden at your convenience and arrange to escort him to the hall.

The Chair now calls for the supplemental report of the Committee on Credentials.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gillooly, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We have two reports we desire to submit to this morning's session, a supplemental report which first will deal with Credentials accepted and the recommendation that the delegates be seated.

The second will deal with the protest against the seating of J. W. Williams, of the Building Trades Department.

Your Committee on Credentials begs to report that we have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Alice Dodge, representing Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers, and Assistants' Union No. 14965, Boston, Mass., with 1 vote.

We further recommend that William Warren be seated as a delegate to represent the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association in place of Samuel Lumley, who is unable to attend the convention on account of illness.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PROTEST AGAINST SEATING OF J. W. WILLIAMS AS DELEGATE TO REPRESENT BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

We, your Committee on Credentials, met in Rooms 204-205, Ambassador Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J., on Monday evening, October 7, 1935, at 7:00 p. m., in regard to the protest against the seating of J. W. Williams to represent the Building Trades Department in this convention.

The Committee having heard both sides of the controversy, as well as having called President Green into the meeting, while

both parties at interest were in attendance, to explain fully the dispute in the Building Trades Department, and the action of the delegates, who comprise the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1934, and the subsequent actions of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in carrying out the instructions of the aforementioned convention on this dispute, and having read and re-read all the records of the San Francisco Convention, as well as the Executive Council's report, which is now in the possession of the delegates, appearing on pages 85-105, dealing with this subject, and other records of this case presented by the delegates contesting the seating of the aforementioned delegates, have unanimously agreed that the actions of the San Francisco 1934 A. F. of L. Convention, and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, be sustained and that J. W. Williams be seated as a delegate to represent the Building Trades Department.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

Delegate McDonough, Plasterers: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention—I believe it my duty to briefly outline to this convention the happenings with particular reference to this case since the last convention. As the delegates to this convention know, a certain action was taken at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, and pursuant to that action a convention of the building trades organizations was called by President Green in the city of Washington November 26, 27, and 28, 1934. At that convention there were in attendance the representatives of seven building trades organizations. At that convention officers were elected.

The twelve organizations which I have the honor to represent did not attend that convention, as we felt that we were the legally constituted Building Trades Department. After that convention the representatives of the seven organizations went into the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, asking that a mandatory injunction be applied against the twelve organizations to restrain the officials of the Building Trades Department from acting as officials of the Building Trades Department of the American Fed-

eration of Labor. They also asked the Court to compel the defendant to turn over to Mr. Williams and Mr. Rivers, et al., the moneys, books, properties, seals and records, office equipment and furniture of the Building Trades Department.

The first ruling of the Judge hearing the case was that he denied the plea for a mandatory injunction. I am sure that the delegates to this convention are conversant with the definition of a mandatory injunction. A mandatory injunction is an injunction that the employer has always sought against the employees. I just want to leave that point with the delegates of this convention—the type of injunction sought against us was a mandatory injunction. The Court saw fit to deny that injunction. In addition the Court denied the cross bill which was asked by our Building Trades Department.

It might interest the delegates of this convention for me to quote from the decision of the Court:

"The Court: You gentlemen are so expert on this matter and have pointed out the law governing the case and have presented the case so well, I think I am in a position to decide it now.

"First, as to the plaintiff's case, it depends, of course, upon the validity of the convention in November. I am unable to reach the conclusion that the American Federation of Labor had the right to change the constitution of the Building Trades Department."

Now the Court decreed that it was not within the province of the American Federation of Labor to change the constitution of the Building Trades Department. Shortly after that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued another call for a convention of building trades organizations. At that convention the seven organizations which attended in November were again in attendance. The twelve organizations which I have the honor to represent remained away from the convention and notified President Green that in accordance with the law the Executive Council was not authorized to call another convention.

I want to say in line with the decision of the Court that the constitution of the Building Trades Department which has been approved by the American Federation

of Labor provides for the method in which conventions can be called. It specifically states that upon the application of a majority of the International Unions in the Building Trades Department a convention can be called. The records of the American Federation of Labor will conclusively prove that more than a majority of the organizations in affiliation with the Building Trades Department notified the President of the American Federation of Labor that they would not participate in a convention. It is our contention that within the law and the decision made by the Court, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had no authority to call the convention which was held on August 1, 1935. We contend that the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is nothing but a repetition of what the Court declared illegal.

I want to say that we did not go into court. We contend that when the Judge dismissed our cross bill he left intact a legal, bona fide Building Trades Department, and to prove that point to this convention, if the Court had felt that we were not a bona fide legal Building Trades Department, he would have issued a mandatory injunction. In line with the statement made by the Judge in a colloquy between the attorneys for both sides—I will just repeat it. In the discussion between the two attorneys certain questions were asked with regard to the rights of the two organizations.

"The Court: Well, they would have the implied right to do that until their successors were legally elected."

We contend that in accordance with common law and in accordance with all law the officials of the Building Trades Department elected at the previous convention are the officers that are elected within the law, and we contend that to date every action taken by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has not been within the law.

Getting back to the law again, we contend that within the law the only penalties that can be imposed upon the Building Trades Department is the revocation of the charter. We challenge the officials of the American Federation of Labor to demonstrate where any action has been taken by the American Federation of Labor re-

voking our charter. The charter is in our possession. There has been no demand made for the charter, there has been no action taken by the American Federation of Labor to revoke that charter and we contend that within the law, any action taken here to seat Mr. Williams today is contrary not only to the laws of the Building Trades Department, but contrary to the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and we earnestly urge that the delegates in giving consideration to the vote on the credentials of Mr. Williams, consider the law and vote with what is contained within the law.

I desire to thank you.

Delegate Knight, Railway Carmen: I desire to make a motion. The only object I have in making that motion is to harmonize this question without long drawn out debate on this floor.

I therefore move that action on this subject matter be deferred pending the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Bates, Bricklayers: The maker of this motion, in my opinion, is attempting to delay the issue. The same tactics were used at the San Francisco Convention, when the merits of this question were discussed and settled. After the opposition had had an opportunity to present their side of the case a motion was made there to defer, which was an attempt to shut off debate, so that the Council of which I am a part would be unable to present their case to the convention. There is absolutely no use in delaying this issue any further. The issue is clear cut and while the opposition has already had one opportunity this morning through their leader to go into the so-called merits of the controversy it was useless to occupy the time of this convention with that argument. The question to be considered at this time is the report of the Credentials Committee on the seating of J. W. Williams, and there will be ample opportunity later on in this convention to deal with the merits of this controversy at length.

The question before this convention is whether the previous action of the convention and the previous action of the Executive Council and the actions of the President

of this American Federation of Labor have any weight or bearing upon a certain group or element set up under the American Federation of Labor. The last convention decided the issue. The issue has been discussed at several conventions of the Executive Council, with always one decision.

We come to this convention and we find the Credentials Committee reporting favorably upon the seating of this delegate, but still for some unknown reason there is a tendency upon the part of some to delay action on this question, to consume the time of this convention which could be better used in considering other matters more vital to the interest of the workers of this country. I say this question should be settled now. It is clear cut and no good will come from delaying the issue any further.

I therefore ask the convention to vote down the motion made by the brother and confine themselves to consideration of the committee's report.

Delegate McSorley, Lathers: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention—I rise at this time to support the amendment to the report of the committee, because I believe it is the proper method and the proper course. We, connected with the Building Trades Department as officered by M. J. McDonough, William O'Neill and others believe that we are the right and proper Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. We had our charter granted to us in 1908. All of the organizations on our side have been continuously in that Department since that time. Our charter has never at any time been revoked. We are still in possession of that charter. Then how in the world can the Credentials Committee come into this convention and recommend the seating of a delegate who is not a part of that Building Trades Department without first revoking the charter of that Building Trades Department?

The appeal of the organizations taken at the San Francisco convention petitioned the Executive Council in that convention to revoke that charter. The convention at San Francisco did not see fit to do that. They demanded that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call a convention within forty-five days after the convention at San Francisco. This

was done by President Green. The twelve trades on our side refused to participate in that convention because we held at that time that the American Federation of Labor had no right to call that convention. After our refusal to take part, President Green proceeded with the election of officers in that Department. They elected a new set of officers. Then they demanded the books, records, papers, and moneys of the Building Trades Department. These we refused to surrender.

Then the seven trades connected with that Building Trades Department sued for a mandatory injunction, asking the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to compel us to turn over the records, moneys and offices, and even went so far as to say that we would be restrained from acting, or using in any way the name of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. The application for that mandatory injunction was denied by the judge, but he went further in his conclusions of law.

Mind you, ladies and gentlemen, we did not bring this case into court. We only went into court to defend ourselves against the mandatory injunction that was brought against us by the other side. We have all been trade unionists for a long number of years, and we have all fought militantly against any application for injunctions, against our people from employers.

What does the judge say in his conclusions of law? The judge says:

"That portion of said last mentioned decision which directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to preside at a convention of the Building Trades Department was in violation of the constitution of that Department and therefore void."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, if that action of the American Federation of Labor in trying to take away from us without due process within this organization was wrong at that time, then the repetition of the action of the Executive Council in calling the second convention was also wrong. Our contention is that we are legally and rightfully and justly the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor until such time as this convention revokes our charter, and it is for that rea-

son that I am supporting the amendment to the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Hutcheson, Brotherhood of Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, I don't know whether I am going to talk directly on the motion before the house or not. However, you have permitted the former speaker to refer to certain tactics. Therefore I take it that you will give me the same privilege. That being so, Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well to call to the attention of the delegates here the fact that the previous speakers, in making reference to the court action, did not quote fully the findings of the court. Neither did they relate why it was necessary for the representatives of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor to ask for Court action.

The reason for that was, following the action of the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor, your President in carrying out the instructions of that convention, called a convention in the month of November in the city of Washington, in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. During the sessions of that convention the President of the American Federation of Labor made a request upon the officers of the former Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor to turn over to him the records of the Department so that he might conduct the affairs of that convention in a proper and orderly manner. The Chairman can correct me if I make a wrong statement in connection with that when I say that they refused to come to that convention on the request of the American Federation of Labor. They also refused to give to him the records of the Department. The president therefore went forward with the holding of the convention and officers were elected. Again a request was made, according to my understanding, that those records be turned over and that request was refused.

The former speakers would lead you to believe, judging from their remarks, that the labor movement entered into the usual procedure of an employer asking for an injunction. What is the usual procedure

of an employer when he asks for an injunction? It is to restrain us from union activities. There was no such action asked for in that petition for an injunction. The petition was for the purpose of endeavoring to get men who had been previously selected as trustees to do their duty, and when they refused to make an accounting to the President of the American Federation of Labor of their trusteeship, how else would you get it only to ask that the civil court issue instructions and that they do their duties as trustees and make a report?

Let me read to you the findings of the court after hearing both sides of the controversy. Portions of the findings were read by one of the former speakers, but he did not read all of it.

The court, after summing up the evidence, arrives at the following conclusions of law:

"An appeal lay to the American Federation of Labor from the action of the September convention of the Building Trades Department.

"The decision of the convention of the American Federation of Labor that the action of the September convention of the Building Trades Department was illegal and void was within the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor."

"That portion of said last mentioned decision, which directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to preside at a convention of the Building Trades Department was in violation of the constitution of that department and therefore void.

"Plaintiffs are not the duly elected officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

"The terms of office of the defendants expired on January 1, 1935, and they then ceased to be the legal officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor."

Now under the findings of the court, the conclusions of law as stated, on January 1, 1935, there were no legally elected officers of the Building Trades Department; therefore, after the findings of the Court were made known the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor when considering the matter, instructed the President of the American Federation of Labor to first appoint a committee in an endeavor to get an under-

standing between the two groups. Failing to do so, the president was instructed to call a convention for the purpose of electing officers, so that the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor might be offered in a proper and legal manner.

The President of the American Federation of Labor called that convention on August 1, 1935, and in calling it he invited all the building trades organizations to participate in the convention. Those who are represented by Brother McDonough declined to participate in that convention or to be present, with the result that the convention was held under the chairmanship of President Green, who called the convention to order, after which the delegates elected their own temporary chairman and then proceeded to elect regular officers of the Building Trades Department. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor carried out the instructions of the San Francisco convention and in conformity with the findings of the civil court proceeded to see that there were regularly elected officers of the department, J. W. Williams is entitled to a seat in this convention, and I can see nothing to be gained in deferring action in reference to the report of the Credentials Committee.

President Green: May the Chair take advantage of this brief opportunity to try to clarify the situation. I am greatly pained and have been because of this terrible division in the Building Trades Department. I have been moved by one common desire and purpose, and that was to organize a Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor representative of all the building mechanics of the nation, a department in which every building trades organization eligible to membership was affiliated. Notwithstanding the distressing situation which now prevails, I still hope that that objective may be reached, for it is my judgment that departments of the American Federation of Labor can serve their membership best when all the departments eligible in the organization are members.

During my term as President of the American Federation of Labor controversies existed between the building trades organizations. Jurisdictional disputes arose.

Some organizations were in the Department and some were out. That made it very difficult to find a solution of their jurisdictional problems. At the request of the officers of the Building Trades Departments I appealed to the organizations on the outside to come in. They responded to that appeal, and in June, 1934, they made application to join the Department and their application was accepted. They came into the Department and paid their tax with the definite understanding that they would be given representation in the Building Trades Department convention which was held in San Francisco last year. I was happy. I thought that the American Federation of Labor had realized its objective—a united Building Trades Department for the first time in more than a decade. They were all in. We all went to San Francisco feeling that the question was settled, positively settled. A department created by the American Federation of Labor finally had achieved its purpose, and united in it all organizations eligible to membership. We were surprised and disappointed when we learned on arriving in San Francisco, and even before arrival that for some reason or other the convention of the Building Trades Department refused to seat the delegates from these national unions who were members of the Department.

Now the question is about analogous to this. Suppose your organization had paid per capita tax into the American Federation of Labor last May or June and it had been accepted and you had paid tax up to the time of the convention was held and then when you came to the convention you were told that your delegates could not be seated. How would you have felt? Well, when that occurred the organizations denied seats in the convention appealed to the Executive Council. That was, of course, the legal step. The Council heard the appeal. They felt that I had obligated these organizations to be represented in the convention. Their tax was paid. They were admitted. They were a part of the Department, legally, and could not be denied seats in the convention. The Council decided to sustain their appeal and I went before the convention in San Francisco and appealed to that convention not to do that thing, to refrain from doing it. I advised

them that it was wrong, that it was illegal. And I said to them:

"You have made a grave mistake. Your action is wrong—I was going to say indefensible. I know it is illegal, it is not in accord with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor. I feel I have to tell you that, if it is the last word I speak as an officer of this organized labor movement, I feel that these organizations were in your Department from June 14th—that is the date when they became affiliated—and they were a part of this Department from then until now. I regard them as a part of this Department, because they have met every requirement. They paid their tax, they paid their initiation fee; there is no law they have violated, and, furthermore, I made the agreement, I pledged the honor and the good name of the American Federation of Labor in support of that agreement. We cannot have it stained or blurred, it must stand."

Notwithstanding that the delegates in that Building Trades Department said, no, they shall not be seated. Immediately when the Council then sustained the appeal of these organizations who were denied representation, an appeal was taken to the American Federation of Labor convention and then, after an extended debate there in San Francisco, the delegates in attendance at the convention sustained the appeal of these delegates, said the Building Trades Department convention was wrong, could not deny them seats, because they were in, and directed that the matter be taken up and declared the action of the Building Trades Department convention illegal and void. I did not do that. The Executive Council did not do it. The Supreme Court of Labor did it—a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

It seems inconceivable that a supreme body hearing the facts a year ago and ordering the Council to do something would find that another convention immediately held would repudiate that action.

Pursuant to the instructions of the convention I called a convention of the Building Trades Department within forty-five days after the adjournment of the San Francisco Convention one year ago. An invitation was sent to all building trades organizations to come in and be represented. Unfortunately the organizations that were in the old Department refused to send delegates. At any rate those who

did come and were eligible transacted the business. Then came the question about getting the books and records. Of course the charter was not revoked. There was no necessity for its being revoked. It was merely a question of a convention of the Building Trades Department transacting business that the supreme body of the American Federation of Labor had held was illegal and void. So in order to correct that, the creator, the parent body that creates departments directed the Executive Council to do certain things, to hold a legal convention, one where all could be represented who were eligible, to correct the mistake made in San Francisco. We could not help it when they would not come in. They did not come. The business was transacted.

Unfortunately the case was taken into court. I don't believe in settling our troubles in court. I am one of those who believes our troubles ought to be settled within the family. But the case was taken into court.

I want to make this point clear without appearing to favor either side. The court considered the constitution of the Building Trades Department, and very properly so, and held that the constitution of the Building Trades Department provided that no one was clothed with authority to call a convention of the Building Trades Department except its President during his term of office; that therefore the American Federation of Labor was not within its power and rights in calling a convention during the term of office of the president of the Building Trades Department.

The term of office of these men expired on January 1, 1935. The court held that the American Federation of Labor convention held at San Francisco was within its proper rights in declaring the action of the Building Trades Department illegal and void because it denied representation to affiliated unions in the convention. The court sustained us on that. Then it decided that the terms of office of the defendants expired on January 1, 1935, and they then ceased to be the legal officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. That meant, according to the decision of the

court, that when January 1 arrived there were no officers of the Building Trades Department, no officers—none whatever. Now the Council was confronted with the situation of having a department with no officers. Then the Council directed me to call a convention, to issue a call to all building trades organizations to come in and participate. I did that. Just like the other one, some came and some remained away. Those who remained away sent communications giving reasons why they were remaining away, and those reasons were very strong and very impressive. But the Executive Council, transacting the business of conventions of the American Federation of Labor between conventions, decided we must have a Building Trades Department with officers. So we called that convention and the convention elected officers, and the officers elected in that convention were Brother Williams as President and Herbert Rivers as Secretary. What would you have done? How could you have done anything else? Now the San Francisco convention made the decision. It directed the Executive Council to put that decision into effect. The Council has done it. The Executive Council directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to carry it into effect and I have done it.

Is this convention now going to sustain that position taken or not? How can we have order? You know after all it devolves upon the American Federation of Labor to protect the rights of organizations when they get into a jam among themselves. That is the reason why the San Francisco convention, I think, decided to protect the rights of these organizations who had been denied representation in the Building Trades Department Convention.

Now we are confronted with this situation. I went before the Building Trades Department in convention assembled and told them they were wrong, gave them an opportunity to right that wrong. I decided against them. An appeal was taken to the Executive Council and the Executive Council decided against them. Many of you who were delegates in the San Francisco convention decided against them. You are here now to vote on this question. You de-

cided then. Were you wrong then and right now, or wrong now and right then? Then the court decided against them. Now who else must decide against them? It is a matter of order, it is a matter of procedure, it is a matter of whether organizations affiliated with a department with all dues paid, with no law violated, with their initiation paid and accepted are entitled to representation in a convention when a convention is held. That is all there is to it.

Delegate Heber, Scranton Central Labor Union: I would not like to see this convention go on record with a vote at this time until all possible ways of settlement are exhausted. I believe that if there is some common sense used in this, if a committee of six absolutely impartial men are appointed and seated with those men in a session immediately, a report could be brought back to the convention tomorrow. I believe that something will come out of that that is better than what will be decided now. No matter what is done today, there will still be dissension in the trades. I believe something will come out of such a committee meeting with the parties concerned. Many times there are occasions arise in the labor movement where we think the matter can not be solved, but when we get together we solve it.

Delegate Colleran, Plasterers: I am not going to rehash or carry on the story that was told to you at the last convention and which you are very familiar with, but you have heard very precisely what has taken place since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. You have heard of the actions of the Executive Council, you have heard of the actions of the court and the decision of the court. President Green has made very plain certain points of what was done by the Executive Council since the San Francisco convention. But there are other points which make it necessary for the delegates to know that although the constitution of the Building Trades Department does set out and specify that the convention must be called by the President of the Department, it also specifies very clearly and definitely that a special convention can be called when a majority of the international unions in the Building Trades Department desire it.

When the President of the American Federation of Labor, through the order of the Executive Council, proceeded to call a convention, he received seven answers which were favorable to holding a convention. He also received twelve answers, which would be the majority of the international unions in the Building Trades, and those answers were all practically the same, just quoting the constitution of the Building Trades Department. Now, that was not done. The orders of the Executive Council were carried out by President Green. Not one convention was called but two conventions were called. One was declared null and void, and in no uncertain terms the judge in the case ruled that President Green had no right to call that first convention. Assuming that, he followed on and called the second convention upon the orders of the Executive Council, that went into session after the judge ruled.

The motion before the house is the only proper action. It has been said that some people want to delay this case. That is not true. We have come thousands of miles and we want time for discussion. If President Green called the convention at which President Williams was elected it is only natural to assume what action is going to be taken on the action of the Executive Council; so, therefore, the amendment to defer action on the seating of Williams until such time as action is taken on report of the Executive Council is the only motion we can act upon.

Delegate Franklin, Boller-makers and Iron Shipbuilders: May I ask a question? The question before the house, as I understand it, is a motion to defer action?

President Green: Yes sir.

Delegate Franklin: There has been a debate on the merits of the case instead of deferring action. After the motion to defer was acted upon, will we have an opportunity to discuss the case?

President Green: The Chair will rule that you have a right to discuss the report of the committee, and that will enable you to cover a pretty wide field.

Delegate Franklin: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention: It seems to me that some of the explanations just made by one of the previous speakers have not given us a clear conception of the

real facts of the question before us. We talk about the laws and procedure of this convention as being fundamental with us. We are all, not only as delegates to this convention but as officers of national and international unions, wedded to compliance with the laws governing us. This is an unfortunate situation to be placed in. We are here among friends contending for what we believe to be the real merits of the question involved, and I am not sure that you have not received an erroneous understanding of some of the questions involved in this controversy.

Those of us who acted in the convention in San Francisco believed we were acting solely under the laws of the Building Trades Department. My purpose this morning is to endeavor to convey to you the fact that we were absolutely right in our position if we are to be judged by the laws of the Department and the procedure established by this American Federation of Labor in convention.

I recited in the last convention at San Francisco, briefly, an action taken in the case of the Boilermakers-Machinists in a convention in San Francisco in 1915. In that convention those two international unions were unseated without any charges, without any complaint, without any reason whatever, if you please, except the desire of those in the convention to unseat us, and we were unseated. Now, we thought that was wrong and we disagreed with that position. We felt they acted contrary to the law and procedure of the Building Trades Department, and the American Federation of Labor particularly.

As a result of that in representing the international union I represented then, and have the honor to represent now, I appealed from that decision of the Building Trades Department to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council denied my appeal and ruled that the Department had full autonomy over its own affairs and had full authority to select and determine its membership.

Not feeling satisfied with the decision of the Executive Council, I appealed from the Executive Council to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Baltimore in 1916, and I want to dis-

cuss with you this morning the action of that convention. I will discuss the proceedings of that convention and the action of the committee and the position taken by that old patriot of ours, Samuel Gompers, in declaring the law of the Department and of the American Federation of Labor, and declaring the policy governing the departments of the American Federation of Labor. And I want to present to you now what was then decided by a convention of this American Federation of Labor to be the law and the policy of the convention and of the Departments. I felt at that time that they were erring in judgment. My old friend sitting down here, who is the chairman of the committee, will recall that we had a very extended argument among the members of the committee. We have many delegates here who were members of that committee, members who believed that they then were wrong, and who tried to correct it in the convention. The delegates saw fit to support the decision of the committee, as predicated upon the majority report, and upon the advice and counsel of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, the convention at that time decided that that was the law, that that was the procedure, and the committee brought in three specific points covering the questions in dispute.

I am going to read them to you, and in the face of that decision of that convention, regardless of what I thought of it at the time, regardless of what others thought of it, it became the law of this American Federation of Labor. And it was laid down for the guidance, if you please, of the department and it sets forth clearly what the department's rights are, and that has never been changed, if you please, there has never been a reversal of the law and procedure.

There was an action taken in the San Francisco convention predicated upon desire rather than upon the law of the American Federation of Labor and the law of the Department. I am now going to read to you, after setting forth the issue before us, the action that was taken in the Baltimore convention. It came up on my appeal from the decision of the Executive Council. Just briefly, because I don't want to read

you all the proceedings, because much of it is the discussion of the delegates. In addition to this report of the Committee on Credentials you have before you, is the report of the Executive Council. You will find in that report recommendations that will change the fundamental law of the department. In that report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report in the Baltimore convention the committee says:

"The action taken by the Building Trades Department in convention and the protest made by the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America go to the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor"—Get that, delegates! They declared that it goes to the "fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor and the existence of the departments organized under its laws."

Now, what is the issue? The right of the Departments to dismiss an international union? I want to give you what the President of the American Federation of Labor thought of the situation when this same question was up in the Baltimore convention. "And any national and international organization is guaranteed full autonomy in conducting its own affairs."

Get this! "Departments are maintained through taxation upon the organizations that constitute their membership, and necessarily are voluntarily levied and paid by themselves. While the American Federation of Labor may recommend to an organization that it affiliate with the department, it has not, and should not have, the power to compel any union to become affiliated. The organizations constituting the department cannot be deprived of their freedom to accept or reject any organization without destroying the principle of voluntary association that is fundamental in the American Federation of Labor." Get this significant thing, ladies and gentlemen of the convention: "Nor is there any way in which the American Federation of Labor can enforce any order upon a department to accept into its membership any organization which it declines to accept, because the expenses of the department come from the voluntary contributions made by the constituent organizations. If compulsion is applied, it may be met by cessation of such contributions, and the department would necessarily go out of existence."

Now, what does that mean, delegates? It means that the department has full autonomy over its own affairs.

"Your committee is aware that the existing law governing the departments may be, and has been, construed in different and contradictory manner. We believe that this uncertainty should cease, and the convention should declare."

I am going to read the declaration of that committee which was finally adopted.

"First: Any organization's affiliation with a department is a matter for the organization in question to decide.

"Second: That the acceptance of an organization into the department by the organizations constituting its membership, is a voluntary act upon its part dependent upon a majority vote.

"Third: That the expulsion from the department of any organization affiliated therewith is a matter to be decided by the department, a majority vote to govern."

What does that mean? Does it mean that the President of the American Federation can, by an order, order a department to rescind any action taken? Now, can we change law overnight? Can we change it because somebody wishes it? Can we change procedure because somebody wishes it? It may affect one group today, it may affect another group tomorrow. Where are we going? Can we change this procedure taken upon the advice of the President of the American Federation of Labor? We are dealing with something that is more far-reaching in its consequences probably than you anticipate if you act upon this simply upon sentiment, or upon friendship, or upon any other element that enters it except the law of the American Federation of Labor and the law of the Department. Those are the things that must govern.

The committee says further: "We can see no other way of preserving the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor and in perpetuating the departments except by adopting these rules and thus maintaining the voluntary principles. For these reasons we justify the ruling of the Executive Council on this matter and recommend concurrence in its decision."

The committee justifies the ruling of the Executive Council which ruled that the

Department in San Francisco had a certain right to unseat the Boilermakers and Machinists and they were acting within the law.

And now, going further than that, they set out the position of the committee, and it was adopted by an overwhelming vote of the Baltimore convention in 1916. A minority report was offered, it was argued before that convention and we lost. The minority report was that the Executive Council erred. There were two votes on the question, one upon the approval of the Executive Council and the other upon the declaration of principle that should govern these departments. Now you have a question before you this morning, gentlemen, that is identical in every particular with the one I have quoted. Has a department the right to admit or suspend or expel an organization if the convention of the department orders it by a majority vote? That is the law of the department.

Now let us see what our friend Gompers had to say about it (quoting from condensed proceeding of Baltimore Convention):

"President Gompers discussed the question at some length. In opening his address he stated that his services had always been given to protect the smallest organization as well as the largest, and referred to the position he had taken during the controversy of the Brewery Workers with the Engineers and Firemen, when he opposed the action of the convention in ordering the Brewery Workers to do certain things or be expelled. He spoke at length of the voluntary character of the organization and warned the delegates against taking any action that would restore a policy of endeavoring to compel an affiliated organization to take certain action."

Now that applies to the department as well as to our international unions, and, by the same token, under the construction placed upon this by President Gompers that they can do the same thing to any international union that they had proposed to do with the department.

"He called attention to the fact that the minority report, if adopted, would then place the American Federation of Labor in the position of making an effort to compel organizations to take certain action, to which he

objected and asked that the voluntary character of the Federation be maintained.

"President Gompers quoted Article XV of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor which contains the general rules for the conduct of the departments, and called attention to the fact that these rules provided that each department is to be considered as the official method of the American Federation of Labor for the transaction of that portion of its business, indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be a part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions. He stated that if it is voluntary for an organization to affiliate with a department it cannot be made compulsory for a department to accept an organization; that it is either mutually compulsory or it is mutually arbitrary.

"He emphasized the fact that the section provides that organizations should be a part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions."

Now, gentlemen, we have been told that the Department had no officers. It is true that the terms of the officers had expired on January 1, 1935. The Court said, however, that you must naturally assume that these officers would be the de facto officers until officers could be elected in a legally constituted convention of the Department. We maintain now, and the court so ruled, that there had not been a regularly constituted convention, and we further maintain that the officers who now occupy the positions of officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, whose terms expired January 1, 1935, are the de facto officers until a regularly constituted convention is called by the Department itself.

The Department was not declared illegal by the San Francisco convention, but only the action of the convention. You know that fact is a statement of truth. If this American Federation of Labor should happen to postpone a convention and not able to hold it within a year, would it be considered without officers until a convention could be held in accordance with the laws of the Federation? It would be foolish to assume a position of that kind. They declared the action of the

San Francisco convention illegal, but the Department was still intact and prepared to transact business in accordance with its laws. We maintain that the decision declaring the action illegal is decided in this book by the laws of the Department and by every law that governs our great labor movement in this country. It is not the correct position to take. If we do, it will simply be the Banquo's ghost that will ride us and haunt us.

I say to you this morning that the motion before you to defer action is the only logical, sensible action to take. If you hope to harmonize and conciliate the situation, don't put a stone in the way of doing it. There is too much at stake to be governed by prejudice, or passion, or anything else. We must be governed by the laws of the Department which gives it full autonomy. I appeal to the delegates to take the sensible action that will pave the way to clear up this mess, which is not a mess caused by the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor but by those who separated from this Department. I appeal to you to support and vote for the motion to defer action on this matter until the action of the Committee on the Report of the Executive Council is acted upon.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Did the Building Trades Department accept these organizations as members and accept their tax and then refuse to grant them a seat in the convention?

Delegate Franklin: I think that has been well explained by the President of the convention.

Delegate Hesketh: I asked a question.

Delegate Franklin: I answered in my own way. The Boilermakers had paid dues for over a year and they were unseated. These organizations paid per capita tax, I think, from June until October. There is no question about that. No one denies that the Executive Council of the Department admitted them to membership, there is no dispute about that, but the law provides that even though they had been there for six years, if a majority of that department decided they didn't want them in membership they had a right to remove or suspend or expel them, by a majority vote.

Vice-President Duffy: I am not going into ancient history on this question. The mat-

ter before this convention is the report of the Credentials Committee. There is no use in deferring action on that report. We might as well settle it now as any other time. It will have to be settled some time.

I want to make a few plain straightforward remarks before the delegates to this convention. The first is that President Green appeared before the convention of the Building Trades Department in San Francisco and told them in very plain language that they were wrong in not seating the Bricklayers, Electrical Workers and Carpenters. An appeal was then taken to the Executive Council and after an extended hearing and going into all the details of the matter, the Executive Council told the Building Trades Department that they were wrong. Then an appeal was taken to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in session in San Francisco, and that convention by an overwhelming vote told them they were wrong.

Later on the case got into court in Washington, D. C., and the Court told them they were wrong. The Court said, "The appeal did lie in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the convention." Both of these bodies decided that the delegates of the Carpenters, Bricklayers and Electrical Workers should have been seated. That was within the jurisdiction of the Federation and its Executives to decide, and that decision is binding. They all decided that the action of the September convention of the Building Trades Department was illegal. That was in their jurisdiction to decide. I want to lay these facts clearly before the delegates.

Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I had not intended speaking on this question, but as I listen to the various arguments presented, and knowing as I do the seriousness of this whole proposition, I felt that I should say a word.

Yesterday when President Green appointed President Harrison to try to get both groups together, I attended the meeting of one group and heard President Harrison make a statement and express his ideas as to how we should act in bringing this about. And I want to say that I cannot find words to express the brilliancy of Brother Harrison's

arguments. So much so, that the group that he was talking to agreed unanimously to adjust this matter along the lines suggested by him. Now I have been informed this morning that his efforts were to no avail. I don't know whether that is so or not, but, judging from this thing coming on the floor this morning, he evidently didn't make much headway with the other group.

Now, then, Mr. President, I have heard a lot about the law, I have heard a lot about the Building Trades Department's duty to seat these unions, but maybe for some reason or other they will bring it up when the Committee on Executive Council reports.

What is the real reason for not seating the delegates of these unions? Because it was discovered, so I am informed, that it was an attempt to raid the jurisdiction of the past and open it up again. Does anybody here think that if they were successful that we would lay down? Well, then, by God, they don't know us!

I have friends on the other side that I esteem highly. It was reported to me and I have no reason to doubt the information—that some unions in the other groups, in order to assure control of the department, thereby giving them the prestige they desire when we go out into the country during the year, that they increase their per capita tax by \$40,000 which would give them eight more delegates. If that is not true tell us about it here. There is something rotten in Denmark! Don't let's try to kid one another! Just imagine the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was so apprehensive because we did not have any officers! What a terrible state of affairs!

The Building Trades Department that has been in affiliation here—and I have been a delegate since the Department was born—had no officers, hence we must provide immediately to give them somebody to run their business! Well, maybe we need that, Brother Green, but somehow our people don't believe it. They feel, if you will excuse my plain English, that they can choose officers a damn sight better than the Executive Council or anybody else!

Now this is what we have got to take up: Defer it? All right! I am like Brother Duffy, let's settle it now. If they are seated you know what will happen

when the Executive Council's report comes up. You can argue it until hell freezes over, but if you haven't the vote—just too bad!

Now, in regard to the seriousness of this. I would like to state here that I have witnessed a spectacle in the Building Trades Department here that wounded every man in that convention. We all have the profoundest respect for President Green. You can place that in the strongest language possible. We sent a committee to ask him to come and talk to us in our convention, as he has always done ever since he has been president, and as his predecessor, Samuel Gompers, did. I presume he went to the other group. Well, they were recognized by the Executive Council but he did not come to talk to our convention. Just imagine a situation that would prevent the President of the American Federation of Labor from coming to talk to you. Every man in that convention of the Building Trades was a pioneer in this movement, and shed drops of blood to bring this movement to its present state of efficiency. Every man in that group was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and yet President Green, I suppose, felt that he should not come. I cite this so that you may give it serious consideration. And don't forget this: The proposition made by President Harrison last night was a most equitable one. He evidently could not put it over or we wouldn't be here.

You have all read in the newspapers about jurisdiction fights. You know what jurisdiction fights cost. You know they have cost a lot of money and you know they have cost a lot of lives. Are you going to start that all over again? The other group justified the suspicion of our group when they met in convention and opened up the question of changing decisions already rendered.

Well, come and see us! We'll dust the flies off you!

Delegate Murray, United Mine Workers of America: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—the United Mine Workers did not intend to participate in the matter that has to do with who should be officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, but this

situation, as we see it, is one that is more far reaching in its consequences than the mere seating of the delegates of this convention. It involves the power of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the convention of the American Federation of Labor to intrude in matters affecting the policies of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We cannot get ourselves to believe that the American Federation of Labor has reached the place in its history where it is willing to assume that kind of an authority, the invocation of that kind of power that seeks to say who shall and who shall not be officers of affiliated organizations, whether they be officials of the Building Trades Department or other international unions.

We are for the motion to defer because we believe it is the proper and sensible one. We do not think it is within the province of a convention of the American Federation of Labor under its present constitution and under the procedures which have regulated its affairs since the inception of this organization to invoke its power and say to chartered organizations who shall or shall not be members of those chartered organizations.

The constitution of every international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor gives it sovereign autonomous power to regulate its own affairs and say who shall and who shall not be members of those international unions, to say who shall and who shall not be officers of those international unions. That has been a standing governing policy that has followed on down through the history of the great labor movement of the United States of America since the beginning of time. Is the American Federation of Labor now prepared to establish a precedent in this convention which will deviate from every policy adopted by our conventions of the American Federation of Labor in the days gone by?

Are we prepared now as a convention to proceed upon the theory that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor exercises the right to intrude upon the charter rights of affiliated organizations whether they be Building Trades De-

partments or international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor?

The question, as I see it, is more far-reaching in its consequences than even the mere seating of a delegate. I think it would be unwise for this convention to precipitate the kind of an action that would establish a precedent contrary to these lifelong regulations of the American Federation of Labor. The United Mine Workers delegation takes no position in this dispute either for or against any of the groups. We are standing firmly and soundly upon a policy which we believe the American Federation of Labor has adhered to since its very formation.

My friends, I believe that this convention would make a very serious mistake if at this date it should give sanction to the adoption of a proposal which would give the American Federation of Labor the right to intrude upon the constitutional prerogatives of affiliated organizations chartered by this body.

I have a great personal admiration for the President of the American Federation of Labor; I have respect for his great leadership, and I say that also goes for the delegates representing the United Mine Workers in this convention; but, aside from whatever our personal friendships may be or admiration of each other may be, after all is said and done, this is not a mutual admiration society, it is a kind of an organization that is built upon the premise that the American Federation of Labor has a duty and a function to perform and that duty and that function does not give the American Federation of Labor, under its present form of government, the right to intrude upon the sovereign power of international unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

So, before casting my vote in favor of the motion to defer, I thought it best that at least this delegation ought to say why the Mine Workers are voting to a man to defer action on this proposition until the Committee on Executive Council's Report is prepared to submit its report to this convention.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? If not the question will now occur on the motion to defer.

Delegate Feeney: A roll call, Mr. Chairman.

President Green: If a sufficient number of delegates make the request, the roll will be called.

An aye nay vote was taken.

President Green: The motion seems to be lost.

Delegate McDonough: I don't think it was lost on that vote.

Secretary Morrison: It requires forty-nine or fifty delegates to get a roll call.

Delegate Donlin: In order to avoid another lengthy debate, I suggest that you take another vote. I am sure the ayes had it that time.

Delegates desiring a roll call raised their hands. After a count by the Secretary, Secretary Morrison announced that one hundred and ten delegates had voted to have a roll call.

President Green: The roll call will be ordered.

The roll will be called on the question to defer. A vote upon the report of the Committee on Credentials until the report of the Committee on Executive Council, dealing with the Building Trades dispute, comes before the convention. Those who favor the motion to defer will vote "Aye" and those who oppose the motion to defer will vote "No." The Secretary will call the roll.

ROLL CALL

YES—Dullsell, Hamilton, Mullaney, Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Koch, Shanessy, Birthright, Robinson (J. B.), Reagan, Merlino, Horn, Fowlesland, Franklin, Davis (J. N.), Walter, Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Mara, Lawson, Obergfell, Kugler, Zusi, Morrin, Brice, Dempsey, Ryan (Edw.), Knight, Holmberg, Macrorie, Fitzgerald (J. J.), Van Vaerenyck, George (L. E.), Hyatt, Hewitt, Collins (Wm. A.), Smith (H. W.), Harrison (G. M.), Jackson, Ulrich, Desepete, Coulter (C. C.), Hillman, Schlossberg, Chatman, Miller (A.), Catalanotti, Rissman, Deckard, Doyle (J. J.), Rosemund, Feeney, Milton, Taylor (M.), Volz, Woll, Schmal, Baer, Kane, McNamara (J. F.), Clinton, Conway (J.), Kelley (J. L.), Lucchi, Dubinsky, Margolies, Snyder, Zuckerman, Nagler, Hochman, Desti, Kennedy (J. H.), Greene (M. F.), Lewis (M.), Goldberg, Finkelstein, Flore, Hesketh, Kovaleski, Lane, McSorley, Moore (G. T.), Case, Brooks, Bryan, Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck, Ryan (J. P.), Sampson, Fljodzai, Milliman, Carroll, Vogland, Scully (J. J.), Hynes, Ryan (J. J.), Moriarty, Close, Peterson, Robin-

son, Cashin, Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Kennedy (Thos.), Green (Wm.), Bittner, Brennan, Fagan, Kmetz, O'Keefe, Towers, Barnett, Fremming, Coulter (J. L.), Schafer, Lindelof, Swick, Madsen, Meehan, Kaufman, Kelley (J. F.), Burns (M. J.), Barry, Lynch (G. Q.), Colleran, Rooney, Donlin, McDonough, Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Anderson (C.), Fallon, Duffy (J. M.), McGillivray, Grafton, Windsor, Berry, McGrady, Armstrong, Wilson (W.), Sigmund, Burke (J. P.), Bayha, Sullivan (H. W.), Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Jones (G. W.), Gaviak, Furuseth, Evans (A. A.), Browne (G. E.), Dempsey, Green (T. V.), McCaffery, Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen, Cashen, Connors (J. B.), Lowry, Davis (Geo.), Manion, Leighty, McMahon (T. F.), Gorman (P. J.), McKeown, Kelly (W. F.), Rieve, Schweitzer, Typographical Delegation (611 votes), Hatch, Graves, Ernst, Cunningham, Hughes (F.), Arthur, Crose, Taylor (J. A.), Easton, Handley, Nance, Mitchell (A.), Campfield, Owens, Bamford, Lenehan, Breidenbach, Soutter, Komaroff, Townshend, Brooks (W. C.), Downie, Riley (W. H.), Crother, Dahl (H.), O'Leary (J.), Friedrich, Nevil, Harvey (A. P.), Topping, Quinn, Burch, Heimback, Bowser, Day, Heber, Duncan, Sweeney, Musgrave, Brach, Borchardt, McMahon (B. R.), Saylor, Myles, Merrill, Shipley, Addes, Soltis, Killeen, Mortimer, Kics, North, Davis (E.), Goff, Baron, Templeman, Lawrence (H.), Lee (A. P.), Fitzgerald (L. J.), Clark (Wm. B.), Bellows, Marek, Masucci, Ross (A. J.), White (F.), Hanlon, Hannah, Gerhart, Randolph, Webster, McCloskey, Matlin, Dodge (A.), Rasmussen, Braun, Nick, Ocker, Fearn, representing 18,992 1/2 votes.

NO—McCarthy (Wm.), Spahr, Bates, Gray (R. J.), Price (W. V.), Stretch, Moran (Wm. J.), Hutcheson, Duffy (F.), Williams (J. W.), Flynn (T.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Hanson (C.), Mulehary, Tracy (D. W.), Bugniat, Paulsen, Bieretz, McDonagh (J. S.), Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay, Gramling, Walsh (W. P.), Imhahn, Dannenberg, Rickert, Adamski, Gordon (A.), Hashkins, Houck, Maloney (J.), Warren (Wm.), Gillooly, Babcock, Glass, Daniels (J.), Moreschi, Marshall (J.), Rivers, Etchison, D'Andrea, Leonard (L.), Gainor, Finnan, Gorman (W. J.), Swartz, Duffy (C. D.), Wharton, Robinson (W. F.), Fry (C.), Alifas, Henning, Haggerty (D.), McCarthy (Wm.), McInerney (J. A.), Gorman (P. H.), Lane (D.), Maxwell, Kelly (M. J.), Weber (J. N.), Canavan (E.), Weaver (C. A.), Bazley (C. L.), Kapl, Field (F. B.), Mahon (W. D.), Kehoe, McLellan, McLaughlin (M. J.), Broderick, De Vese, Sumner (C. A.), Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Goudie, McLaughlin (J.), McKenna (J.), Typographical Delegation (123 votes), Noxon, Tiller, Soderstrom, McCurdy, Brandt (W. M.), Egan (B. M.), Biel (L. R.), Reinhart (E. J.), Keenan (J. D.), Weizenacker, Matchley, Brooks (W. R.), Egan (J. V.), Lyding, Cahir, Campbell (W.

W.), King (C.), Doyle (F. E.), Buckingham, Martocchio, O'Gorman (M. A.), Kuehnel, Krauss, Ryan (J. A.), representing 10,603 votes.

NOT VOTING—Horan, Nelson, Scalise, Bambrick, McCabe, Beardsley, Williams (L.), Morningstar, Hannah, Britton, Lawson (J. C.), Olander, Kaiser, Reznicek, Powers, Evans (E. L.), Lentie, Bilet, Frey (J. P.), Jewell, Ornburn, Mitch, Egan (J. J.), Rosqvist, Frits, Lewis (J. C.), Morgan (E. J.), Watt, Wade, Graham, Hollopeter, Meany, Lawrence (R. R.), Donnelly (T. J.), Palmer, Osborne, Iglesias, Nord, Patterson (D. E.), Crawford, Shave, Burr, McAloon, Slout, Mayer, Smith (D.), Flynn (Al.), Morgan (J.), Nadelhoffer, Jeffries, McCormick, Cushing, Passage, Mitchell (H.), Doll, Katz, DeWitt, Eardley, Slich, Regan, David (F. T.), Hanoway, Swetland, Michelson, Rivin, Pickler, Campbell (J. C.), Draper, McCarty (M. L.), Howat, Sager, Woodmansee, Russell, Wood (R. T.), Dahlager, Edmundson, Hymes, Walsh (M.), Sandefur, Saltus, Bender, Johnson (T. S.), Gormley, Long (J. A.), McGurk, Pavona, Strunk, Tucker (J. R.), Rundle, Merritt, Caraway, Rand, Ravitch, Dahl (L.), Doane, Burks (J. A.), Wise, Costello, Heymanns, Dance, Finnegan, Sigman (D.), Dallas, Taylor (C. S.), Sticht, Lilly, Bradley (H. A.), Fine, Flynn (M. J.), Burke (M. J.), Henderson, Weinberg, Ratkin, Lovell, Barr, Schillinger, Nicholson, Beedie, Carey (J. B.), Eagle, Burns (T. F.), Serra, Dalrymple, Shacklette, Dougherty, Malkovitch, Turner, Zander, Gaxrison, Groner, Makman, Taylor (J. C.), Cannizzaro, Jenkins, Harper, Raisse, Mack, Marzocca, Conley, Naesmith, Haydon, representing 1,012 ½ votes.

President Green: The convention will please be in order, and the Secretary will announce the result of the roll call vote.

Secretary Morrison: The result of the vote is, yes, 18,092 ½ votes; no, 10,603 votes.

President Green: The motion to defer is carried, and the report of the Committee on Credentials has been deferred until after the submission of the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report dealing with the building trades controversy to this convention.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Vice-President Wharton: On page 207 of the second day's proceedings will be found a list of the subjects that have been referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report. I will read the matters in which the delegates who are interested might desire to appear before the committee. The subjects are as follows: Building Trades Department; Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers; Foundry Employes—Molders; Masters, Mates and Pilots—Seamen; Change of Title, Laundry Workers; Change of Title, Hotel and Restaurant Employes. Interested organizations and delegates will please take note. The committee will meet in Room 122, Ambassador Hotel, at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, and those desiring to appear will be heard in the order named.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

FOURTH DAY—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

ABSENTEES

Beardsley, Leon Williams, Morningstar, McGrady, Billett, John J. Egan, Rosqvist, Wade, Palmer, Osborne, Nord, Patterson, Crawford, Shave, Slout, Mayer, Al. Flynn, Nadelhoffer, Humphrey Mitchell, Katz, DeWitt, Eardley, Slich, Regan, Paul T. Davis, Hanoway, Swetland, Rivin, Howat, Sager, Dahlager, Edmundson, Hymes, Saltus, Bender, Tom S. Johnson, Long, McGurk, Rundle, Caraway, Rand, Doane, Wise, Alexander, John Ross, Dance, Sigman, Dallas, Bradley, M. J. Burke, Henderson, Weinberg, Lowell, Thomas F. Burns, Serra, Matlin, Dougherty, Mal'kovich, Makman, Cannizzaro, James A. Ryan, Marzocca.

President Green: You will recall that I announced to the convention earlier in our sessions that we would be pleased to hear the addresses of our fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada today. I know that you have been waiting in pleasant anticipation of this occasion. These brothers come to us as duly accredited representatives of millions of working men and women in Great Britain and in the Dominion of Canada. Our brothers from across the sea travelled a long way for the purpose of bringing to this convention a message of greeting, and I know that all of you very deeply appreciate, perhaps more than words of mine can express, their presence here this afternoon.

At each convention of the American Federation of Labor we are permitted to listen to addresses delivered by our visiting friends, the fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada. For years and years we have maintained that unbroken custom of exchanging fraternal delegates, and on this occasion may I again express the hope that that beautiful custom will be maintained unbroken for as long as the organized labor movements in our respective countries shall last.

Now I am going to present these fraternal delegates to you. First of all, may I present Mr. Andrew Conley, General Secretary of the National Union of Tailors

and Garment Workers, whose headquarters are at Union Chamber, 20 Park Place, Leeds, England. If any of you ever visit Leeds, remember that address and call to see him. Brother Conley brings to us an inspiring message, I know, and we will be delighted to hear him. It affords me very, very great pleasure to present Brother Conley to you at this time.

ANDREW CONLEY

(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President and Fellow Trade Unionists:

It is equally a pleasure and a privilege to me to bring you the fraternal greetings of the British Trades Union Congress and of my colleagues on the General Council of the Congress. I have always looked forward to this opportunity. My interest in the development of American trade unionism, I think I may say, is of long standing; for it has been my duty over a long period of years to follow the fortunes of the unions in the American garment working industry, and one necessarily has learned a good deal about the American Labor Movement generally in the course of years. But I am particularly glad that it is my good fortune to visit the United States this year and to bring you a message of good will from the organized millions of wage earners in Britain.

Actually there are more organized workers represented by myself and my colleague, Brother Naesmith, this year, than there were when my colleagues, Alec Walkden and John Stokes, were designated as fraternal delegates from our Congress last year. During the last twelve months British trade unionism has entered once again upon a phase of expansion. Membership in the British unions has been increasing and continues to increase. At our Congress in Margate a month ago, we had the pleasure of reporting an increase in the aggregate membership of affiliated unions of nearly 95,000; and this figure by no means represents the true increase of the unions during the last twelve months. To it must be added the increase which has taken place since the unions sent in their returns for the purpose of Congress statistics and accounts—and the true amount of the increase during the Congress year is approximately 200,000, or perhaps a quarter of a million new members.

This increase may perhaps seem small to delegates at this convention who have seen the membership of American unions increased by more than our whole organized movement has grown during the last year

in the old country. We hear of American unions whose membership has grown under the influence of New Deal conditions, by hundreds of thousands. But I will not be misunderstood, I hope, if I say that the expansion of numbers in the British trade unions is of equal significance, having regard to the different circumstances in which this growth has taken place. I need hardly remind this convention that the history of the post-war years in Europe generally, and in Britain particularly, has been one of continuous economic depression. Slump began for us at the end of 1920. There has been no real improvement in trade and industry until the last year or two; and that improvement is, in fact, no more than a recovery from the effects of the super-crisis which supervened on the general depression at the end of 1929. When we talk of recovery in Britain, we are thinking of recovery to the level of 1928; but from 1921 onwards economic conditions in Britain worsened year by year, and the crisis which came for us, as it did for you, in 1929, was a more terrific convulsion of our economic and industrial life.

Downward tendencies in trade and industry during the post-war period were reflected by heavy wage cuts, the growth of unemployment, and a decline in trade union membership. When the slump began in 1921, we had an affiliated membership of practically six and one-half millions in the British Trades Union Congress. There was, it is true, a considerable inflation in Trade Union membership during the war years, as a consequence of the fact that most of the men who went on active service retained their membership in the unions, and the temporary war workers who took their places in industry were also enrolled in the unions. A deflation of trade union membership was therefore inevitable when the temporary war workers, a very large proportion of them women, went out of industry when the fighting men returned. The transition to peace-time conditions in industry, which meant the contraction of several important industries, also had its effect upon trade union membership. But when these allowances are made it remains the fact that, as a mere matter of statistics, British trade union membership during the post-war years declined by practically 50 per cent. We attach importance, therefore, to the substantial increase of membership revealed during our last Congress year. It is important because it shows that the tide has turned, and that we are once again on an upward trend in trade union organization. The growth of trade unionism is not confined, as far as we are concerned, to particular industries or trades. It is a general expansion. Nearly all the unions affiliated to our Congress are reporting an increased membership. Trade unionism in the old country has been affected by the manner in which the great depression has affected particular industries and trades and by the governmental policy which has been applied in the hope of remedying the

position of industry as a whole. Trade union organization has been strong in such industries as the cotton textile industry, represented by my friend, Naesmith; in mining, shipbuilding, engineering and iron and steel trades—and these are the trades which have suffered most severely during the depression. They are, to a considerable extent, localized trades, and trade union organization in them is deeply rooted in the past. But they have been contracting trades, giving less employment instead of more, and unemployment amongst the insured workers attached to some of these trades rose to a staggering percentage of 25 per cent, or 30 per cent, even 40 per cent of unemployed. The contraction in these trades has been only partially compensated by the growth of new trades, and in the latter trade unionism is still weak and undeveloped; for these trades as a rule have found their location in parts of the country, the suburban belt around the great centers of population, like London, and other cities and towns in the southern half of our island, where trade unionism is not the strong and hardy growth that it is in the industrial north of Britain.

Another factor of importance affecting the growth of our organized movement in the old country is the effect of the commercial policy pursued by our Government, like any other government, in trying to regulate import and export trade. I will not dwell upon this aspect of the situation, for governmental regulation of trade by means of tariffs, licenses, quotas and other forms of restriction are a matter of controversy, but it is significant that the processes of economic recovery set in motion during the last two or three years have not penetrated to the British sea ports. Since the application of the restrictive trade policy, unemployment in the great British ports, Liverpool and Birkenhead, Manchester, Newcastle, Hull, Newport, Cardiff, Swansea has practically doubled; the number of unemployed in these ports has risen as the volume of imports and exports through the ports fell. It is a remarkable fact that unemployment was increased by 100 per cent this year as compared with 1929 in the ports I have named, and others, like Stockton on Tees, Middlesbrough, Hartlepool, and so on and these are ports that are located in what we called our depressed areas, great regions of industry and population which are practically derelict, and for which the Government appears to be at its wit's end to provide any permanent remedy.

I have dwelt upon this aspect of our economic situation, fellow delegates, in order to show you something of the difficulties with which our trade unions in the old country have been grappling. These conditions constitute the background of our trade union history during the last twelve or fifteen years. To be able to say now that trade unionism is once more on the upgrade, that we have survived the difficulties and dangers of this post-war period of economic depression, political dis-

turbance, and social instability, is a tribute that I feel can justly be paid to British trade unionism. We are proud of the part the trade unions have played in defending the standards of life for the wage-earners in Britain. Notwithstanding the heavy wage cuts, the unions have not permitted any permanent worsening of the workers' standards; and they have been resolute in seizing every opportunity of restoring the wage position. It is a statistical fact that the level of REAL wages in my country has remained remarkably stable throughout the depression. Although there has been much to criticize in the working of our unemployment insurance system, it is true also that conditions of life for the unemployed workers and their families have not been allowed to deteriorate. We have no breadlines in Britain. Poverty and distress are grim realities in many working class homes. Many thousands of unemployed workers have known the bitter humiliation of the Means Test. But starvation and destitution have been kept at bay by our system of social insurance—a system which owes its origin to British trade unionism, and has been maintained as a bulwark around the homes of the workers by the strength of organized labor.

If any of us have ever doubted the validity of trade union principles and the necessity of working class organization on trade union lines, post-war experience must have strengthened our faith in trade unionism, and removed all doubts from our minds. What the condition of the wage-earning class would be on this Continent, in the British Isles, on the Continent of Europe, and indeed everywhere else in the world, if it had not been for the political and industrial organization of the workers, we can only dimly realize. We know what working class conditions of life became when trade unionism was overborne—in Italy, in Germany, Austria and elsewhere in Europe. The destruction of working class organization in these countries brought about a return to conditions of industrial servitude from which we believed the civilized races of mankind had finally escaped. We know on unshakable evidence that wages in Fascist Italy and Hitler Germany have fallen and working hours have increased, so that the wage earners are now employed for longer hours at less wages than they were under the democratic regime that existed previously both in Italy and in Germany. We know that working class freedom has ceased to have any meaning in these countries, that liberty of opinion, the right to say what one thinks have totally disappeared, and that an abject and slavish obedience to tyrants, big and little, who have usurped power, is exacted from the wage earners by brutality and terror. The prison, the concentration camp and the grave await those who dare to resist this tyranny which persecutes Jew and Christian Socialists and trade unionists, pacifists and internationalists with the same savage indiscriminate. From that regime of terror and hate work-

ing class organization has saved the people in countries where the traditions of democracy, and the institutions of free citizenship are established. It is part of my mission at this convention, fellow trade unionists, to thank you as the representatives of the American working people for the help you have given us in fighting this monstrous tyranny in Europe. We have been strengthened and encouraged in our resistance by the knowledge that American trade unionists are with us in the struggle to re-establish, on broader and stronger foundations, the institutions of freedom and democracy. As it has been our responsibility as trade unionists to defend these institutions, it is also our duty to extend them and to assist our fellow workers in countries where they have been destroyed to recover their lost liberties, the right of combination and freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, the right of collective bargaining which Fascism denies to them.

I am not one of those who believe that Fascism is going to be a permanent factor in the life of our times. Its triumph will be short-lived. It has already, in my opinion, reached its climax. It was the product of abnormal political and social circumstances. As one American professor has pointed out Fascism arose (if you leave Germany aside) in countries that were predominantly agricultural, with a high percentage of illiteracy, and with no long experience of political freedom. Dictatorship, in other words, is a phenomenon mainly confined to politically backward countries. It owes its temporary success partly to that fact and partly to the fact that reactionary employers made the Fascist dictatorships their instrument for destroying the liberating movement in politics and industry which organized Labor, as an international force, inspired and guided. It is not an accident, but the outcome of a conspiracy, that capitalist reaction destroyed in Italy, Germany and other countries, the political and industrial organizations of the working class with the same hammering blow which destroyed the foundation of the democratic State.

But the triumph of this barbarous regime of tyranny and terror has been, as I said, short-lived. Events in Europe have unmasked its real character. It cannot survive because the world recognizes it now as a menace to the world's freedom and the world's peace. The people who suffer under it know that it is a failure, for their conditions of life have worsened under dictatorship, and neighboring nations know it is an evil thing which imperils peace and order in the world. It is beginning to lose its grip upon its victims. Its dream of conquest has been shattered already. Within the last few months the principles of democracy have been vindicated against it, and collective responsibility for the maintenance of peace has restrained its aggression. Human reason and good will are

asserting themselves once more in human affairs. But much remains for us as trade unionists to do to repair the mischief it has caused and to strengthen the barriers against it. We are grateful for the financial help you have given us to enable us to provide relief to the victims of persecution in Europe, but the need for further help is pressing and urgent. There are many thousands of refugees who are dependent upon the aid we can provide through our trade union and labor organization, and every penny that can be provided is spent upon their relief. We have to fight this thing with all the weapons at our disposal, but no weapon is more potent than the demonstration of international solidarity which we have had in the effort to raise funds, and to mobilize international public opinion against the agents of dictatorship. International boycott has been effective. So effective that authoritative voices like that of Dr. Schacht in Hitlerist Germany have warned the German Government and the Nazi Party in Germany that a continuance of persecution and oppression will mean the ruin of the regime. It remains for organized labor, which led the fight against Fascism, which organized the general resistance to it, to maintain the struggle until this regime of violence and terror is brought to an end. I am authorized as the representative of British trade unionism, not only to thank you for the help you have given us in the struggle, but to appeal to you for a continuance of your support.

The importance of maintaining the closest possible relations with the United States was well illustrated from the standpoint of European Trade Unionism at the International Labour Conference in Geneva this year. I should like, on behalf of the Movement I represent, to pay my tribute to the representatives of the United States in that Assembly, especially in the support they gave to the demand for a forty-hour week. In this word of appreciation I include the Government delegates from America, Mr. Hamilton and Miss Abbott, as well as the workers' adviser, Mr. Hedges. Their speeches were a powerful reinforcement of the forty-hour principle sustained as it was by American industrial experience under the National Recovery Administration and the codes. It was, I assure this Convention, a matter of great interest to us to have such strong testimony from America's representatives in support of the forty-hour week.

On other questions before the International Labour Conference the spokesmen of America did us a much appreciated service. I cannot exaggerate the importance we attach as trade unionists to the membership acquired by the United States in the International Labour Organization. Industrial developments on this Continent invest your representatives in the International Labour Organization with especial authority and influence, and we welcome your participation

in the great task of framing an international code of Labour legislation which will protect the wage-earners' standards of life and conditions of employment and lead to their steady improvement.

I may be permitted in this connection without improperly intruding upon the business of this Convention to add that we were much encouraged by the decision of your Convention last year to investigate the question of relationships between the American Federation of Labor and our International Federation of Trade Unions. I will not be guilty of the impropriety of expressing any opinion upon the report which, I gather, this Convention will receive (? has received); but I do assure you that there is no development in international Trade Union organization which would be more appreciated by the British Trade Unions and indeed the whole of the European Trade Union Movement than the establishment of closer relations with the Movement represented in this Assembly. American trade unionists led by your late honored president, Samuel Gompers, had a great deal to do with the revival of international Trade Union organization after the shattering experience of the Great War; as it had a great deal to do also with the creation of the International Labour Office and the Charter of Labour written into the Peace Treaties by the Conference at Versailles. We are fully aware of the difficulties that arose to interrupt the closer cooperation which then began; but we have the history of nearly twenty years of post-war crisis, confusion, and struggle to teach us and guide us to right conclusions on this matter; and I am expressing more than a personal hope in saying that a relationship of confidence and cooperation between us will be altogether to the advantage to the workers' cause through the world.

In my few final words may I say, Mr. President, that just over twelve months ago in a small place in Great Britain representatives from more than thirty-six countries, including your own, were assembled there to pay tribute to a few martyrs for trade unionism, men known in our country as the six men of Dorsey. In paying that tribute we also included the thousands and tens of thousands of men and women trade unionists in Great Britain and in your country and in every country who had suffered persecution and made sacrifice to advance the interests of this great trade union movement to which we belong. Every one of us, I am sure, feel proud to belong to it and hope to be fully capable of following in the footsteps of the pioneers of trade unionism.

To your great movement in America, Mr. President, I wish Godspeed, good health and prosperity on behalf of our British trade union movement.

President Green: I am pleased now to present to you our very dear friend and

brother, Captain J. A. P. Haydon, of Ottawa, Canada, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. I am happy to announce, in connection with this introduction, that Captain Haydon is a member of one of the oldest, one of the outstanding International unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, an organization that has made a splendid record. I refer to the International Typographical Union. He comes to us fresh from a convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, where the problems of labor as they affected the economic, industrial and social welfare of the working men and women of the Dominion of Canada were discussed.

There is indeed a very, very close relationship between the workers of Canada and of the United States. We can scarcely tell where the border line that separates the two nations is. I know that very few of us know, except as we pass through some port of entry, where that indistinct, invisible line runs as between the Dominion of Canada and of the United States. So we are in a true sense and in every respect brothers in relationship, brothers in our trade union movement, and fraternal in our efforts to promote the common welfare.

I present to you Captain J. A. P. Haydon, of Ottawa, Canada, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

CAPTAIN J. A. P. HAYDON

(Fraternal Delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

It is indeed a great honor and privilege to appear before this splendid convention and to convey to President Green, the Executive Council and to the members of the American Federation of Labor the fraternal greetings and best wishes of the officers and members of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Indeed, sir, I bring to you the best wishes of all the Canadian people.

The people of Canada and the United States have much in common. Our industrial and economic problems are almost identical. Many of our important industries operate on both sides of the international boundary. Canadian railways penetrate parts of the United States, while many American roads carry on business in the Dominion. For many years Canada has gone to the money markets of the United States when loans are required and it is to the credit of the Dominion that we have never defaulted upon our bonds with your great nation.

On both sides of the international boundary we hold common membership in the great international unions and despite the propaganda of the so-called national unions in my country there has never been dictation from the headquarters of these international unions as our opponents claim. There has always been complete Canadian autonomy and many of the international organizations here represented have set up machinery for the administration of Canadian affairs. Most of the unions carry on their Canadian business through Canadian banks.

We both live in democratic and peace-loving countries. Along our large international boundary there are no forts or other defenses. In this respect we teach the nations of the old world a worthwhile lesson. For more than 100 years we have lived in complete peace and harmony. Many factors contribute to this ideal condition. The Rush-Bagot treaty provides that no battleships shall ply the Great Lakes. Over these vast inland waters, greater in size than the boundaries of some of the European nations, there has not been a battleship since the days of the War of 1812-1814. Nor do we desire nor want them. Again we have created the International Joint Commission. This important body is composed of representatives of both Canada and the United States. It deals particularly with water diversions and it has rendered many important decisions, some of them of greater moment than issues which have, in the past, caused international conflict in Europe. Never has there been a split decision. Every settlement has been unanimous. We also have an international boundary commission, again composed of equal representation of Americans and Canadians. This Commission seldom makes an announcement, but the record shows that it has settled many complex and tangled disputes concerning boundary disputes, especially along the Canadian-Alaska, Maine-New Brunswick and British Columbia-Washington boundaries. However, there is one other agency which in my opinion has done more to preserve peace between these two American democracies than any other. It is the great international trade union movement of which the Trades and Labor Congress is a part. The constant interchange of opinions through our unions, international conventions, our trade magazines and the exchange of fraternal delegates has done more to cement these two free peoples than all government agencies. If I may be pardoned for using a term not my own, "Friendships are more potent than warships."

But while we, the English-speaking peoples of America, live in peace and harmony, Canada is not quite as fortunate as the United States in the matter of European disputes. As you know, Canada is a very important part of the British Commonwealth of Nations and is a member of the League of Nations. No people in the world are more desirous of maintaining international peace than Canadians of all walks

of life. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has year after year declared itself against war, but in the threatening dispute between Italy and Ethiopia the Canadian workers have taken a positive and definite stand. We realize that if Great Britain becomes involved in war we cannot escape. Therefore, at the recent convention in Halifax, Nova Scotia, the Canadian workers again declared themselves opposed to war, but made some important qualifications with respect to the impending dispute. They declared that as Canada is a part of the League of Nations and a signatory to its covenant they intend to stand by their bond and will oppose any nation, be it Italy, or any other that will not stand by its bond. Canadian workers will oppose all wars of aggression and should Italy or any other nation become the aggressor then Canadian workers will call upon the League of Nations to invoke economic sanctions. In this connection the declaration of the Canadian workers corresponds with that of the British Trades Union Congress and the International Federation of Trade Unions. I have gone to some length to explain this position for it is one of the most important decisions taken by Canadian workers on international affairs for many years. But I repeat that because of our membership in the British Empire and the League of Nations we were obliged to take a definite and positive stand. It should not be interpreted as meaning that we have changed our opposition to war. As one who took part in the last war, I repeat that Canadian people are opposed to war and will use their full influence to the end that war may be abolished forever.

Despite the fact that there are now definite indications that the depression is on the wane, we still have about one-tenth of our population on direct relief. Since 1930 Canada has been caring for unemployed workers and distressed farmers on a national basis. The federal government, up to a few months ago, paid one-third the costs of all direct relief, the provinces and municipalities paying the balance. At the present time the federal government grants the provinces a fixed sum monthly and its administration is left with the provinces. It is one of the nation's most pressing problems. Although the population of Canada is about eleven million only, it is estimated that since 1930 we spent approximately \$750,000,000 upon relief. We have tried almost every conceivable plan to relieve the situation but while there is some improvement the problem remains grave.

The Trades and Labor Congress has some concrete and definite policies, which it believes will ease the situation and bring about the recovery which we all desire.

We declare first for the six-hour day and five-day week, with corresponding increase in wages so that purchasing power might be restored.

We also declare that the qualifying age for old-age pensions should be reduced from 70 to 60 years and that the allowances

should be increased. Canada, as you know, has had a national system of old-age pension, paying \$20.00 per month, since 1927. The law was enacted by Parliament but as the provinces are obliged to find 25 per cent of the money the law is not yet operative in Quebec and New Brunswick, although at the present time the New Brunswick government is negotiating so that the system may be put into operation in that province.

In Canada we watched with no little interest and deep concern the operation of the National Industrial Recovery Act and were somewhat disappointed when your courts declared it unconstitutional. We have never had legislation which approached the NRA, but in some of the provinces we are now experimenting with legislation designed after your NRA. In Ontario, for instance, we have what is known as the Industrial Standards Act. The purpose of this law is to set up minimum wage standards, hours and working conditions to stamp out the chiseler. The law has been in operation for a short time only, but it has already resulted in the unionizing of large numbers of workers and in bringing increases in wages and shorter hours to hundreds of workers. We have found, however, that the only way the benefits may be extended is through the organization of workers into the standard international labor organizations. In this connection I might mention the printing industry. Administrators of the Industrial Standards Act have succeeded in getting the union and non-union employers and representatives of the international printing trade unions together for the first time since the great strike of 1921 and it is confidentially expected that some definite agreement may be reached and the foundation laid for the re-establishment of union conditions in the important printing centers of the province.

The past year has been a notable one in the matter of social and labor legislation. More advanced social legislation was enacted than in any parliament since Canada was established as a confederation in 1867. The most important act was a law to provide for the establishment of social and employment insurance. This act is to be administered by a commission of three and it is one of the most liberal commissions ever established in Canada. It is headed by Col. Gordon S. Harrington, a former premier of Nova Scotia and for years the legal advisor and counsellor of District 26 of the United Mine Workers of America. The workers' representative is none other than Tom Moore, who for fourteen years was president of the Trade and Labor Congress of Canada. The other member represents the French-Canadians and is an insurance expert by occupation. The first act of the new commission is to organize a staff for the institution of a national system of contributory unemployment insurance. The insurance fund is to be created through equal contributions from employers and workers and from the federal government. The Employment Service

of Canada has been taken over by the commission and hereafter there will be operated in the Dominion a nation-wide system of free government employment bureaus. These are already in existence but are operated by the provinces with federal assistance. Hereafter they will be operated by the social and employment insurance commission. The commission is now undertaking a survey of the employment situation and may investigate the possibility of establishing a national system of health insurance. It is in reality the basis of the new social legislation. But parliament did not stop there. It enacted an eight-hour day law in conformity with the draft convention of the 1919 conference of the International Labor Organization to which the United States recently became officially attached. It also enacted a law providing for one day's rest in seven, the provision of fair wages and eight-hour day in all government contracts. Right here I might explain that heretofore the fair wages and eight-hour day law applied only to construction and demolition. Now it has been extended to all government contracts. This means that in every government contract there is written a definite declaration that fair and reasonable rates of wages and the eight-hour day, forty-four-hour week must prevail. It also determines how the rates of wages must be determined. These are the rates current in the district for the class of work and the trade union scale, if an agreement which exists between the employers and the unions is accepted. Where there is no scale the Department of Labor is the authority to set it.

The recent session of parliament also enacted legislation ratifying the draft conventions of the I. L. O. dealing with conditions of employment of seamen.

But the decision of your Supreme Court had its repercussions in Canada. Like you, we have a written constitution. It is embodied in the British North America Act, which was passed by the British Parliament in 1867. This act confederated the then British possessions on the North American continent. It did give definite powers to the Federal Government and to the provinces. It has long been contended by law officials that the constitution gave to the provinces exclusive powers of hours, employment, etc. Labor on the other hand argued and with some legal authority that as the Dominion alone had power to negotiate treaties with foreign powers then the Dominion alone should have the exclusive right to enact legislation arising out of these treaties. As Canada is a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles and the labor section contained therein it should have the exclusive right to ratify the draft conventions and recommendations reached by the International Labor Organization which was created by the Treaty. Recently the same position was taken by Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett, the prime minister. He argued that two recent decisions of the Privy Council, the highest tribunal in the British Empire, had ruled that on the question of aviation the Dominion alone had

jurisdiction as it involved treaties agreements with other nations. But the position in regard to all this new social legislation is not secure. The opposition and many of the unfair and labor-hating employers demand that these laws be submitted to the Supreme Court for an opinion. This the government refused to do, but we believe employers will take the laws into the courts to determine their legality. Because of this doubt, organized labor has long contended that the British North America Act should be amended in order that its provisions might be modernized. The Fathers of Confederation, wise in their day and generation, could not have possibly foretold events of today with mass production, centralization of industry, commerce and finance, chain stores and all the other evils of modern industrialism and capitalism. But the road is rough and a troubled one. Many conferences have been held between federal and provincial authorities in an effort to determine what steps should be taken to alter this condition. These conferences have made little progress. The provinces, or some of them at least, are reluctant to relinquish their powers. Then again there is the question of minority right which many fear would be interfered with should the act be tampered with. But I am pleased to report that we expect some definite action in the near future as all political parties are now committed to amendments to the constitution and I believe there is now sufficient public opinion demanding changes to force governments to take action.

We have another condition in Canada that may be hard to understand. For years the labor movement in Canada has striven to have Section 98 of the Criminal Code repealed. This section was written into the Code during the Winnipeg general strike in 1919. It was one of those emergency laws enacted during times of stress and anxiety and was rushed through all stages of the House and Senate in twenty minutes. It provides, amongst other things, that force may be interpreted as an attempt to overthrow the government. And mark you, a strike may be termed force. The section has never been used against the regular unions but has been utilized in the government's drive against Communism. On six different occasions a bill calling for its repeal has been approved by the House but on every occasion it was killed by the Senate. For this reason the Canadian labor movement has long sought reform of the Senate along the lines of the British House of Lords so that if a bill is passed three times by the House it cannot be vetoed by the Senate.

At the recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress the secretary-treasurer reported an increase of some 3,000 in the membership of the Congress. The bulk of this increase is in the membership of the standard international unions.

During the past years the standard and recognized railroad labor organizations agreed in having a part of their wage deductions restored and prospects are for the

restoration of the entire deduction. One of the most remarkable incidents in connection with this restoration was the unanimity of the standard railroad labor organizations in Canada. For the first time in history a national wage agreement covering all classes was negotiated at the same time. This does not mean that any one of the unions gave up its autonomy but the wage deduction was restored in part to one and all at the same time and representatives of all the unions signed the agreement. The general Dominion election has delayed the resumption of negotiations, but we are confident that when they are resumed the whole of the deduction will be restored. There is absolute and complete co-operation in Canada between the affiliated railroad labor organizations in the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the Railway Transportation Brotherhoods.

Some time ago Parliament enacted a law which called for the co-operation of the two chief railways in Canada in the elimination of duplicate service, joint use of terminals, etc. The law did not provide for compensation to railroad workers who would suffer through such consolidations and railroad workers are still fighting for this proposal. There is a well organized campaign now being conducted in Canada for the unification of Canadian railways, but it is pleasing to state that the movement is not attracting much attention nor is it being supported by the mass of Canadian people. Workers in Canada are opposed to amalgamation of the two railway systems under private ownership. The Canadian National Railways, or the government-owned system, has been subjected to considerable adverse criticism and the charges made over and over again that it is not paying its way. This condition is not due, as the propagandists would have you believe, to defect of public ownership but to the mistakes of private enterprise. These lines were taken over during the war period after they had failed. Much of the water and over-capitalization remains in its financial structure and while there is a persistent demand to write off some \$1,700,000.00 of the debt this has not yet been done because holders of stock in the old Grand Trunk, a part of the National system, have taken the railway into court and are endeavoring to extract large sums of money from the system. There is no doubt in the minds of the representatives of the railway labor organizations that eventually the Canadian National financial system will be reconstructed at something like its real value and when this is done it will pay its way and probably be operated at a profit to the nation and to its thousands of employees.

There has recently come to my attention some adverse criticism of public ownership in Ontario, especially the great Hydro-Electric Power enterprise which was founded by the late Sir Adam Beck. I have read with no little interest the splendid address delivered in your Senate by Hon. George Norris. He recited facts that all believers in public ownership should know. Because we

had a change of government in Ontario it did not mean, as some of the power trust propagandists would have you believe, that the people of Ontario repudiated public ownership. They did no such thing and for good and sufficient reason. I live in the Canadian capital and the domestic rate there is less than one cent per kilowatt hour. We have in our home all the modern electric equipment such as stoves, refrigerator, washing machine, sewing machine, irons, toasters, water heater, curlers, fans, radios, etc., and although my household comprises eight, our monthly bill never exceeds \$6.00 per month and last April we were given the power for nothing. The whole trouble arose over a number of contracts with private power interests in Quebec. In the days prior to the stock market crash Hydro experts, like everyone else, were over-optimistic and predicted that Ontario's requirements warranted the securing of additional power through purchases or the erection of stand-by stations, to be operated by steam. The latter scheme was abandoned and contracts entered into for huge blocks of power. The industrial development of the Province was stunted through the long years of the depression and the power was not required. The Government of Ontario, at the last session, enacted legislation repudiating these contracts and this was not to the liking of the power trust. Hence the continued opposition to public ownership. My good friend, Judson King, of Washington, D. C., visited Canada and investigated the circumstances and in a recent pamphlet let the facts be known. Unfortunately, the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission does not maintain a publicity and propaganda staff. Its results speak for themselves and there is not a worker or farmer in Ontario who advocated a return of private ownership of this important public utility. Indeed, sir, there is no politician who would dare advocate such a thing. It would spell oblivion for him if he did so.

As I have pointed out, the interests of Canadians and Americans are identical. But politically we are as wide apart as the poles. We both have democratic governments but our methods of electing them and keeping them in power are very wide apart. In Canada we follow the British system of cabinet and collective responsibility. Members of the cabinet, from the prime minister down, must be members of either the House of Commons or the Senate. Usually all but one cabinet minister are members of the elective chamber, the House of Commons. The Government is composed of the party or group of parties commanding a majority vote in the House, for under British Parliamentary procedure the defeat of a Government measure means defeat of the Government. For this reason there is strict party discipline and seldom does a Government supporter vote against his party on an important issue. For this reason it is not an easy task for organized labor in Canada to follow the example of the American

Federation of Labor in supporting its friends and defeating its enemies. At the recent convention at Halifax a resolution was submitted by the delegation representing the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen calling upon the Trades and Labor Congress to take the identical stand taken by the American Federation of Labor. The convention decided against this action and reiterated its previous stand first taken at Vancouver in 1923. This policy declares that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada shall remain independent of any and all political parties and will continue to act as the legislative mouthpiece of organized labor in Canada, but will lend its encouragement to the organization of independent labor political parties. In other words, the Congress will not become tied up to any political party but will give sympathetic moral support to the organized labor political parties. But I should mention that the independent labor political parties have made little progress in the Dominion and are not a factor in the political life of the nation.

There is one other matter before I close which many of you might be interested in. Not so long ago we had a political revolution in the Province of Alberta. The United Farmers had governed that Province since 1921 and had given the Province reasonably good government. They sought reelection on their record and upon a program of further reform. But they were opposed by the Conservatives, Liberals, and a new and untried party under the name of the Social Credit League. This party was led by an evangelist and school teacher. He promised the people he would establish a system of social credit, the basic principle of which is the payment to every adult of a monthly dividend of \$25.00. The scheme determines a fair price and generally would revolutionize the social system of the Province. The basic dividends are to be distributed in the form of non-negotiable securities. The idea made such an impression with the people that when the votes were counted the new party carried the day with an overwhelming majority, the other parties being almost completely wiped out. The election was run under proportional representation in the urban centers and the single transferable vote in rural districts, so you see the results were unmistakable. Just how the scheme is to be worked out only the leader knows, but he announces that the father of social credit, Major Douglas, of England, has been engaged as an advisor and it is hoped the scheme will be put into operation within the next 18 months.

In conclusion, I want to tell you that never before has the international trade union movement stood so high in Canada as at the present time. It has weathered the depression years with some losses here and there, but it is better equipped to render service to the workers and the nation than ever before. It is still subject to attack from the so-called nationalists who would have the Canadian people believe that interna-

tional trade unions are no longer necessary but that Canadian workers should isolate themselves from their brothers and sisters in the United States, but no less a person than the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. R. B. Bennett, in a letter to the so-called Canadian unions, made out the case for continuance of international unions better than I am able to do. He said:

"Surely you would be the first to realize that this country of 11 million people, occupying half the continent, practically all in the north temperate zone, cannot be wholly independent of its neighbor, who is occupying the southern half of the continent, and that maintenance of trading relations between the two countries is essential to both."

And so my friends I must conclude. It has been a high honor for me to have this opportunity and I wish for the American Federation of Labor continued success and increased influence and to President Green continued good health and to the American people the kindest thoughts and a continuance of the happy and friendly relations that have so long existed between the people of these two great American democracies.

President Green: Now, my friends, I am privileged to present to you the other fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. You will recall that I introduced each and all of them at the first day's session, so that you are now able to understand and know the names of the fraternal delegates in attendance at the convention.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Brother Andrew Naesmith, J. P., Secretary of the Amalgamated Weavers' Association, of Accrington, England. He comes to us as a fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. I know you will be pleased to listen to his address at this time.—Brother Naesmith.

MR. ANDREW NAESMITH

(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

President Green and fellow delegates—I want to take this opportunity to express my very warm appreciation to the many delegates who have shaken my hand and given me a hearty handshake. You have no idea when you do that of the effect it has upon us. We come as strangers to a strange land, meeting a strange people. It is true that your noses and your eyes are very much like our own, but the thinking part of you, the psychological part of you is somewhat different, but when you take our hands and let us feel that squeeze, you at once make us feel that although we are foreigners, at any rate we are meeting brothers and sisters who have something in common with ourselves. And for the way in which

you have made myself and my wife and my other colleagues feel that we are among friends, I want to say to you here and now, we thank you for the warmth of your welcome.

Along with my colleague, Andrew Conley, I bring you greetings of good will and friendship from the members of the British Trades Union Congress. It is no light responsibility that has been entrusted to our care. However unworthily we as ambassadors may discharge this duty, I want to assure you of the warm feelings and esteem that exist amongst the whole of the members of our Congress towards your Federation of Labor. In spite of the distance that separates our respective countries, the problems and difficulties you are confronted with excite our interest and concern. Under the compelling influences of interdependence and humanitarianism, distances are being eliminated and national boundaries and prejudices are breaking down. Although your problems, by the very nature of things, may be slightly different to ours, yet they are of the same common origin; social, economic, and industrial. If they differ at all it is only in degree. Both our movements emerged from the same compelling industrial and economic forces. The resentment against injustice, the same spirit of revolt against poverty and exploitation was expressed by those who created our movements. They gave it form and substance in the organizations which you and I represent today. The objects of our movements are identical. The same democratic instincts for free government, the right to organize for common purposes, the use of collective bargaining and negotiation by elected responsible officials, lie at the very roots of both our organizations.

That we have not realized as yet all the ideals of the movement is no fault of ours. If accomplishment had been as great as the effort, there would have been pride in the result, and the social conditions of our members much better than they are today. Our difficulties, however, have been those of winning to our movements such loyalty and support from the wage earning classes as would make our movement a mightier influence within the state. For not only have we opponents of vested interests, powerfully entrenched by tradition, prestige, and social position, but the more insidious opponents of apathy, ignorance, prejudice and selfishness amongst the wage earning classes whom our movement was designed to assist and help. In spite of us our movement gathers strength day by day from the very fact that its principles are based upon its spiritual qualities and outlook. The pioneers of our movement visioned a far brighter and nobler world than the one we live in and until there is realized this nobler conception of humanity our movements must and shall continue the struggle. To this end you and

I, whatever be the lot in store for us, must, with discipline of mind and heart, bend all our energies. The forces arrayed against us in the world today are tremendous. In our own country the world economic blizzard has had powerful effects upon the social standards of our people, and it is an amazing reflection that when the economic struggle is keenest and bitterest the acquisitive instincts of men and women are most alert. Throughout the whole of the post-war years the working classes of Britain have suffered acutely. They have realized to the full that war, no matter what the causes be, produces a train of consequences from which there is no escape. To their bitter sorrow they now realize that war neither pays victors nor vanquished, and the expressions of the British public, through the recent Ballot Vote conducted by the League of Nations Union, is an ample demonstration of the true feelings of the Britishers towards war and peace and disarmament. That the British working-class organizations are disturbed by the state of Europe is but to reveal what is now generally known. In Europe the issues of war and preparation, peace and disarmament, were never so real and personal as they are today. The unhappy misunderstandings between the nations, the fears and apprehensions that exist, the struggle for industrial success and commercial supremacy in the markets of the world, are not only creating ill-feeling, but are rousing the very worst elements of national prejudice. The policies now freely embarked upon by the various nations in spending huge sums of money on armaments are indicative of the strained relationships that exist. In spite of many bitter lessons we never seem to learn. Past experience suggests that world peace can no longer be guaranteed by armaments and that modern warfare can no longer be localized. Before 1914 it was said that Europe was an armed camp, but militarism even on an extensive scale failed to prevent the great world catastrophe, with the awful toll of 7,000,000 killed and 15,000,000 broken in the conflict. Our minds are staggered today by the colossal wastage in human lives and material losses sustained, but our hearts are heavy and our heads bowed at the futility of it all. Poets and prose writers often tell us that a nation gains in manhood from war activity—purer lives, ennobled humanity, greater freedom and a richer democracy.

Look around Europe for a moment with me today, my friends, although it is far distant from you, but for humanity's sake look there along with me, and you will see suspicion, distrust, fear, insecurity, despotism, savagery, tariff barriers, and the streams of international life between the nations poisoned as never before in our lifetime. I say that is a far truer picture of what is.

But the next war—which God forbid—has all the elements of a more terrible tragedy. Both armies and navies will be powerless to protect civilian populations from new forms

of attack from the air, which will make previous attacks pale into insignificance. Science has made possible through poison gas and a more highly developed aeroplane, attacks upon innocent, helpless peoples that make the heart shrink from contemplation. The issues of war and peace, I repeat, are both real and personal. It is paramount in our national and international relations, for without peace there can be no reconstruction within the present order of society, such as our great trade union movements envisage. Even our present Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, on the 8th of January in 1928, when he had no responsibility for government, gave utterance to great words: "Who in Europe," he says, "does not know that one more war in the West and the civilization of the ages will fall with as great a shock as that of Rome."

I echo the expression made by our present Prime Minister. The gravity of the European situation cannot be under-estimated. It must be talked about, it must be thought about by all right-thinking men in order that out of that whirlpool of suspicion and distrust the nations of Europe, the working classes of Europe, can be brought to a better understanding, so that within Europe can be established a United States of Europe such as you have in this great continent here.

I hold the view, my friends, that the last war contained for us all the moral that no matter what form our economic system is based upon, war does not pay from whatever angle you judge. I think that the peoples of victor and vanquished nations are slowly learning that lesson. It is our duty, Mr. President; I feel a grave responsibility upon this matter. It is our duty, I repeat, to promote through our respective trade union organizations amongst our members the will for peace and to take such collective steps as will reduce armaments and remove the menace, fears, and apprehensions which peoples have.

The dislocation in the world economic system brought about largely by the war and other influences has seriously militated against the position of Britain in the world export trades. A country of 42 million inhabitants, equipped with machinery to produce goods, must of necessity have outlets for those goods. The rise of economic nationalism, tariff barriers and quotas and the restrictions placed by Government on the free exchange of goods have produced hardships amongst our exporting industries. Coal, shipbuilding, iron and steel, engineering and the cotton industries have been severely hit. The volume of unemployment, measured by Government statistics, has shown a steady diminution, but in spite of artificial stimulants the volume of unemployment is still well over 2,000,000, and by legislation a large number of men and women have been taken out of the national unemployment returns and diverted to other forms of local relief.

Because of my particular association with the Lancashire cotton textile industry I

want very briefly to indicate to you the position it is in today. In 1913 we possessed 805,452 looms and 60,000,000 spindles, employing approximately 650,000 operatives. We exported to the markets of the world 80 per cent of our production, and in 1913 our exports of cotton piece goods alone reached 7,075,252,000 yards.

One of the tragedies of industrial Britain is the decline of her greatest exporting industry. Cotton textiles in the economy of our nation were responsible for twenty-five per cent of the total exports of our country. Today we possess 550,000 looms, of which number only 325,000 are active, and 50,000,000 spindles, of which number only about 38,000,000 are working.

This decline in machinery has its reflex upon the number of persons employed within the industry, which has fallen to 434,000. The continuous decline of the industry, the internal competition for business on a limited market, the stoppages of mills, the breaking up and disposal of machinery, the large measure of unemployment, the loss in capital resources are creating a very dangerous situation for us. More than one-tenth of the total population of Great Britain reside in Lancashire. Of these, a very high percentage are directly employed in the cotton trade, and a still further number are indirectly dependent on the prosperity of the cotton industry. The well-being of Lancashire is an essential element in the economic structure of Great Britain as a whole. Ours, as my friend Brother Conley said, is an industry limited to a county, but with world-wide ramifications. If there be some trouble in Timbuctoo, inevitably it affects Lancashire. No matter in which part of the world you look you will find there Lancashire textile goods, and any influences operating to the detriment of a people within that country inevitably has its effect upon the success of Lancashire's textile industry.

With this economic background we have wrestled for ten years with terrific problems. We have had our agreements drawn up as a result of collective bargaining and negotiations between ourselves and our employer representatives. But the strain and stress of trade has influenced unscrupulous employers to depart from agreements. There is a limit in trade union relationships with employers to the enforcement of voluntary agreements, and many employers make direct approaches to their operatives and obtain the consent of these operatives to work for less wages than the trade union agreements and work for longer hours and accept more conditions than those embodied within our agreements. These pirates undermine the price level of our class. They lower the standard of life of our people and wreck the whole of our collective machinery for regulating wages, hours and conditions.

The result has been that we have had recourse to Parliament legislation, and a number of us have been closely associated with our Cabinet in evolving a piece of experimental legislation which I predict

will be a landmark in the industrial history of Britain and may be of some guidance and help to you here. We have industrial legislation of various kinds, but this particular type, which is experimental in its scope and limited to our section of the industry, is designed, when negotiations are being completed and agreements made, so that these agreements will be enforceable at law by all employers and workers who are engaged within the cotton cloth industry. For the first time in the history of industrial Britain an instrument of negotiation is enforceable at law upon operative and employer alike, unless he wants to risk grave penalties from the law. As I have already said, I believe this piece of experimental legislation will be a landmark. It is something that I have thought about, schemed for and worked for for four or five years. Our Trades Union Congress is watching it closely. The whole of the trade union movement in Britain is anxiously watching this experimental legislation. I believe that it will justify all that we are hoping for it, and if it does it will mark a step onward in the road to our agreements, once having been entered into, being made obligatory and enforceable upon all that the agreement is intended to cover.

However, in spite of our experiences, we still maintain our trade union organizations. Adversity has strengthened the need for recognition, for organization. The rear guard actions fought have been marked by order, discipline and conscious effort. Our heads are bloody but they are unbowed. My own organization has received encouragement and help from all the other trade union organizations connected with our Congress. Never once when the cry has gone forth from Macedonia have they failed us, but they have poured money and help and strength to our aid that has stiffened us in our fight against oppression and exploitation.

Not of the past, however, do we think. We have travelled the road and gained knowledge and wisdom from our successes and our failures, but along with you, we of the British trade union movement gather heart from gatherings of this description. An exchange of experiences is enlightening and enheartening. We bring you messages of good will and of good cheer. Although we are thousands of miles from you, we follow in the press the activities and the policies of your organization, and out of these personal contacts I am sure there will come strength to all of us, and we shall go back to Britain determined to carry on our fight for democracy, striving to realize industrial control, democratic control of our industries and to realize this new heaven and new earth that we have glimpsed, striving to realize a nobler and a better world for the class that we represent. And in that work we are fortified by these words of Lord Houghton, which I leave with you:

"If what shone afar so grand
Turns to nothing in thy hand,
On again, the glory lies
In the struggle, not the prize."

President Green: Now, my very dear friends, in your name and in your behalf, I am taking the liberty of making a brief response to these inspiring messages to which we have listened. We are indeed fortunate in that we are permitted this afternoon to listen to the scholarly and inspiring addresses, delivered with every evidence of sincerity and conviction by our very good friends who come to us as fraternal delegates, and I know that the sentiments expressed by them with reference to world peace, to co-operation between the American Federation of Labor and the organized workers in other lands have met with the most hearty response by every officer and member and delegate to this convention. I am confident that there is a warm response to all these noble sentiments so wonderfully expressed.

The organized labor movement of the United States, my dear friends, has gained much inspiration from the record, the history and the services of the Great British Trades Union Congress. Our great movement rests upon the same fundamental principles upon which your noble trade union structure has been erected. You experimented in trade unions in the other nations and we here in America have been permitted to learn from you, and these lessons which we have learned have been applied to our daily tasks in the efforts we have set forth through a half century to establish and build here upon the continent of America a trade union movement that would in its experience write out as glorious pages in the history of trade union organization as have been written in Great Britain.

I am indeed pleased to have been permitted to listen to the noble sentiments expressed in behalf of peace as outlined by Brother Naesmith, Brother Conley and Brother Haydon. Here in America we are influenced by a passion for peace. We abhor war. We are unalterably and uncompromisingly against it, and it is our fixed and determined purpose as citizens of this republic and as members of the trade union movement to say to this Government, "Thou shalt not embroil us in war."

I have long favored the establishment of a closer relationship between our great

organized labor movement and the trade unions of Great Britain and the European continent. I have felt that if the organized movement throughout the world could be developed to its maximum power and influence it would stand as such a mighty force against war that the nations of the world would not dare to declare war. If organized on an international basis, would it be too much to expect that that great international organization itself could apply its own sanctions? What nation could dare to enter into a conflict with another nation if the working people who produce and work and serve and create wealth, say, "We will not and you must not involve us in a war?"

So I was very glad indeed to hear reference made to the declaration of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor when it authorized a study of the possibilities of developing a closer relationship between our own movement and the trade union movement of the world. And that study was made. You will find it embodied in the report of the Executive Council to this convention, and with high hopes and earnest expectations, we look forward to the time when all of us can sit down together, when a great international crisis arises, and there we shall study the plans we shall apply in order to exercise our maximum world influence against war and all its horrors.

We are happy indeed to hear this afternoon reference made by our speakers to the preservation of democracy and to our opposition against dictatorship in any form. And while we are thinking about that question my mind turns at this moment, as I know yours must instinctively turn, to the fine labor movement which had been established under the influence of democracy in Germany. I think I can say that the German trade union movement was indeed a trade union movement that resembled in most respects the trade union movement of Great Britain and the trade union movement of the United States of America; and we think of the noble leaders there who spoke so clearly and definitely upon economic questions whom we regarded as philosophers in the great organized trade union movement. And where are they? What became of them? And

what became of their great movement? The answer is when democracy ended the trade union movement died. Together they died, democracy and organized labor.

During the past year we were shocked when we learned of the death of that great outstanding leader of the Mine Workers in Germany, our good old friend, Hausmann. We were touched by that, and it aroused our feelings. We are thinking about that and we are concerned about it. We appreciate the position the trade union movement of Great Britain has taken toward the persecutions that have gone on in Germany under the direction of a dictator.

And I know, my dear friends, that I can pledge to you the support of the American Federation of Labor in all your efforts to apply a boycott effective to Germany and German service until that dictatorship is ended.

We are of the opinion that the rights of minorities and nationalities, of men and women of all creeds, colors and nationalities should be protected and fully preserved. And for that reason I know this convention will again rise to the height of the occasion and in terms unmistakable, that cannot be misunderstood, make another ringing declaration that will echo around the world.

And, with you, it is our purpose to preserve the principles of democracy, the right of self-government, the right of all classes of people to work out their economic and domestic problems in accordance with their own needs and in accordance with their best judgment. And we do not believe that any tyrant possesses the God-given right to invade anyone's home or anyone's country, let them be black, white, red or brown.

We are thinking about the freedom of the press, the freedom of assembly, the right to worship in accordance with the dictates of your own conscience, all of these principles which are embodied in the word and term, "Democracy," and we know that when democracy passes out that free assembly, free speech and even the right to worship in accordance with the dictates of your conscience passes with it. So we are determined here to maintain our movement for the purpose of maintaining here and throughout the world the principles of democracy.

It was for the achievement of this purpose that we decided to develop a movement in America sufficiently strong and powerful to make known to those who rule the world and the government that the trade union movement here as in Great Britain is the one steady force, the great instrumentality for peace, a great movement for serving humanity throughout the world. That is our purpose, that is our objective and that is what we are striving for.

So, my friends, I thank you sincerely for the messages you have delivered. You have warmed our hearts, you have stirred us, you have encouraged us to go forward, and it is in that indomitable spirit that we will go along with you as the great human force seeking to preserve peace throughout the world.

And now, my friends, I have another intellectual treat in store for you. This is a great afternoon, a great afternoon. It presents to us a most wonderful educational opportunity. We have with us a distinguished visitor, one who traveled from Washington to attend this convention today, and to bring his message to the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention. He represents a department of the Government in which we and those whom we represent are tremendously interested. It is a department or administrative body set up by the recent action of Congress and we are looking forward with high hopes and pleasant anticipation toward the realization of our desire to make collective bargaining here in America a reality in every sense of the word. And we hope and believe that through the administration of the National Recovery Act that great objective will be realized.

The chairman of the National Labor Relations Board comes to us this afternoon. I have learned to admire him because of his breadth of view and his sympathetic understanding of labor problems.

In the city of Pittsburgh he served as an arbitrator in a dispute which had arisen between the street railway workers and their employers in that great city. His decision, when written, reflected a keen understanding of the problems of human relationship in industry. We know he has a great task. He will find the representatives of labor ready

and willing to co-operate with him and his associates and to help him in every way.

I now present to you our distinguished visitor, the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board created by the Wagner Labor Disputes Act, Honorable J. Warren Madden.

"THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT"

(Address of J. WARREN MADDEN, Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board.)

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

I come here as the representative of the National Labor Relations Board. It is natural that I should want to know you better. Among you are many of the leaders, the statesmen, of organized labor. The example which you and the other members of labor unions have set—the accomplishments which you have achieved—have, within the past year, received a mark of high distinction. The Congress of the United States, with the approval of the President, has said, "These labor unions, these organizations in which working men stand together for the purpose of collective bargaining, are a good thing. They are good not only for the men who are in them, but for their communities and for the country as a whole. Among their products are self-respecting independent citizens who have learned and are practicing the art of self-government and community government, a greater likelihood of industrial peace and uninterrupted production, and a fairer division of the income of industry between worker and investor."

The Congress recognized that along with these good results had come occasional evils, thus proving that labor organizations were like all other human institutions. But it thought that the good far outweighed the evil, that the existence of these organizations had produced a clear economic and social advantage to the country, and that there should be more of them, if more workers than had already become organized desired to do so.

One might here cite the experience of the bituminous coal industry as evidence that the Congress was right in its conclusions. Some years ago, while the country in general was still enjoying prosperity, a large portion of that industry which had previously been operating under collective bargaining agreements with unions ceased to do so. There ensued a period of wage and price cutting extending over several years, which threw that vital industry into chaos. Then, under the National Industrial Recovery Act, collective bargaining was resumed, and immediately and largely as a result thereof, better conditions for workers, employers, mining communities and the country at large followed. Within the past few weeks, the country has been gratified at the spectacle of the process of collective bargaining carried on with dignity and intelligence on both sides, and resulting

in an agreement which promises continued peace and good order in that industry.

But, it was naively asked, if more workers desired to organize, why didn't they organize? Party platforms, legislators and judges had been saying for decades that they had the right. Why didn't they exercise it? The President and the Congress knew the answer.

They knew that there is a variety of means at the command of an employer who sets his will against the organization of his workers, which will in the majority of cases defeat their organization unless they occupy an unusually strong strategic position and in addition are willing to subject their families and themselves to the grave hardships of a strike. Most of you here today, who represent unions whose position is established and recognized, won that position, or your predecessors won it for you, by such heroic means. Others of you know from your current experience that the reality of organization does not follow the mere assertion of the right.

The Congress recognized three relevant facts:

(1) That self-organization of workers and the collective bargaining which results therefrom are good things and that more of them than we now have are desirable.

(2) That taking employers and workers as they are, and the unequal positions which they occupy when workers are unorganized, there was no early promise that great numbers of workers would be able, through sheer economic strength, to emerge from this position of disadvantage and effectively assert their right to organize.

(3) That even if they did so, the resulting hardships to labor and industry and the community chaos which would ensue while the right was being established, would be well nigh intolerable. The progress of civilization is indicated by the extent to which the state has rendered it unnecessary for one to obtain his rights by undergoing personal hardship. As applied to this problem the Congress thought that if a workman really has, as every one has been saying, the right to organize, he ought not to be obliged to starve his family and himself for an indefinite term in order to, shall we say, enjoy the right.

If, then, the government was to help the worker to secure these rights and thus avoid the individual hardship and the public calamity of their being established by militant self-help, if at all, the question of how the government could help, came next. And the government's answer was the National Labor Relations Law. It was not a rash or hasty answer. It was based upon the experience of the War Labor Board, the Railway Labor Board, the Wagner Labor Board, the separate Boards for textiles, steel, automobiles and petroleum, and the former National Labor Relations Board. A vast amount of wisdom concerning the ways of employers and employees and the things which cause labor troubles and disturb the public welfare had been accumulated. The Bill was considered by the

Seventy-third Congress but was not passed. In the Seventy-fourth Congress it was re-introduced, extensive hearings were held in committees where all relevant opinions were presented, full debate took place on the floors of both Houses, and the Bill, extensively amended, passed both Houses, was signed by the President and became a law.

But there are many who say that it did not become a law, because it is in conflict with the fundamental law, the Constitution of the United States. They say that all of this effort to substitute the orderly processes of civilized government for the alternatives of either surrendering a recognized right or taking it by primitive self-help with its attendant individual hardship and community calamity, has come to naught. Since such views have been widely and confidently expressed, and have created a considerable public interest in the subject, further discussion might be useful.

The Act is said to violate the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. As interpreted and as applicable to this situation, this amendment forbids the government even under the form of a duly enacted statute to interfere with the activities of a citizen unless (1) his activities which are interfered with are such that the Congress might reasonably regard them as constituting an evil, and; (2) the remedy proposed to be applied constitutes a rational method of dealing with that evil, which gives promise of being effective without causing a hardship disproportionate to the evil at which it is aimed. If the statute cannot meet these two tests, the government should have kept its hands off, and left the subject to his own devices. Since there is the same restriction upon State governments, you will guess correctly that the test is usually not a very rigorous one, when you consider all the laws under which you live. That is really all there is to the mystery of "due process" about which so much is so glibly said.

Let us see what "due process" has to do with our statute. It calls certain practices of employers "unfair labor practices," thus designating them as evils. Was it rational for the Congress to so consider them? Take, for example, the first one: "It shall be an unfair labor practice to interfere with, restrain or coerce employees" in the exercise of the right to join a labor organization. Senator Wagner, as Chairman of the Labor Board, after hearing the evidence or studying the records in hundreds of cases where such practices as threatening to discharge employees if they joined unions were involved, came to the conclusion that such practices degraded the employees, produced a justified feeling of resentment on their part which often caused them to exhibit that resentment in strikes, which disturbed the affairs of communities. Does such conduct by an employer tend to produce such consequences? That is a question of fact.

Who among those who assert that this statute is unconstitutional will claim that he knows more about that fact than Senator Wagner does? Where was he when the Senator was living night and day with this question, and flying from one part of the country to another to undo the harms which seemed to him to have been caused by these practices. What was he studying when Senator Walsh and Congressman Connery and many others in the Congress and out, who see in this legislation a wise exercise of governmental power, were studying the records of numerous labor disputes presented to the Regional Boards, which records show that a large percentage of such disputes were caused by just such practices.

If, then, the Congress was not suffering from illusions, and was not seeing evil where no evil existed, did the Congress adopt a reasonable method of preventing or curing the evil? The Act says that our Board may, after a careful investigation of the facts, if such investigation leads to a finding that the employer has engaged in an unfair labor practice, order him to "cease and desist" from such practice, and to make restitution if that is practicable. Is such a remedy reasonably adapted to right the wrong? If the order is obeyed, the wrong will, for the future, be righted. Only if the order is disobeyed will any punishment be applied. In brief, no criminal prosecution, no imprisonment or fine is provided for the mere indulgence in any unfair labor practice, and the only punishment which may be meted out is for contempt of a court order to cease and desist or make restitution. The remedy is a reasonable and moderate one, which does not go beyond what is necessary to secure obedience. It would seem to fall safely within the limits of "due process."

Those who purport to find in the "due process" clauses of our Constitution an insurmountable objection to every attempt by our State and National governments to provide adequate legal controls for a modern society, have been with us for some time. It was they who twenty-five years ago could see nothing in our workmen's compensation laws but an arbitrary and capricious interference by governments with the privileges of employers. But the legislatures said that there was no protected legal privilege to take a profit from industry until its debts had been paid, and that one of its primary debts was to compensate workmen who have been injured in the service of the industry. The cry of "unconstitutionality" was raised, was finally silenced by the courts, and the workmen's compensation laws went into effect. They now command universal approval, and even those who engaged in the hue and cry against them would not advocate their repeal.

The same protest has been made against laws limiting hours of labor, forbidding night work by women, fixing times for the payment of wages, and literally dozens of

other statutes regulating the conduct of individuals to promote the public welfare, and the Supreme Court of the United States has been obliged, again and again, to advise these protestants that the mere fact that a law embodies a new idea, or a philosophy with which some people disagree, does not cause it to be unconstitutional.

The other principal attack made by the critics of our law, relates, not to the validity of the law in its entirety, but to the extent of its application. They say in effect that, even if the thing which the law attempts is not completely beyond the powers of both state and Federal Governments because of its violation of "due process," still any substantial application of the act by the Board would be beyond the powers of the Federal Government, of which the Board is the agent.

The course of the argument is as follows: The powers of the Federal Government are limited to those expressly or by necessary implication granted to that government by the Constitution of the United States. All other powers of government were left in the states. Our Labor Relations Act was, by its express terms, based upon the constitutional grant of power to Congress "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states." Therefore, say those who contend for a narrow construction of the Constitution and a limited application of the Act, the Board may lawfully apply the Act to only a few enterprises, since the labor relations of only a few enterprises affect interstate or foreign commerce in such a way as to justify regulation by the Federal Government.

They would perhaps concede, since the Supreme Court has already held that the labor relations of interstate railroads are subject to Federal regulations, that the Board might lawfully apply the Act to other enterprises engaged in interstate transportation or communication, such as motor carriers of passengers or freight, steamship companies, oil and gas lines, and telegraph, telephone and radio companies. But they would deny that the Act could lawfully be applied to enterprises such as, for example, mills or factories, regardless of particular circumstances.

Since the Board cannot abdicate in favor of these narrow constructionists, it might be useful to indicate, in a general way, the attitude of the Board toward this problem of the construction and application of the Act. The first thing to consider is the intent of the Congress which enacted the law. That intent is plain when one reads the Act, and the relevant committee reports and debates. The Congress had no apologies to make for its statute. It thought that the labor policy embodied in the statute was a good policy and desired that it should be applied up to the constitutional limits of the Federal power. It directed the Board to apply the statute wherever the enterprise was such and the labor relations involved were such that interstate or foreign commerce might be burdened or ob-

structed by indulgence in unfair labor practices.

Here the task of the Board is to determine a question of fact; for example, whether a strike of certain workmen in a certain factory would affect such commerce. If it should be proved that shipments of raw materials moved regularly across state lines to that factory that comparable quantities of finished or half-finished products moved regularly across state lines from that factory, and that both of these movements would stop if the factory should be closed by a strike, what *should* the Board hold as to whether commerce would be affected? The critics of the law would say, of course interstate commerce would be affected, but not in such a way as to make it lawful for the Federal Government to interfere.

Here it would be relevant to inquire what was the purpose of the makers of the Constitution in lodging in the Federal Government the power to regulate interstate commerce. Experience preceding the Constitution had shown that the economy of one state could be seriously affected by the laws of a neighbor state, such as laws levying tariffs upon imports, or preventing the passage of goods through the state. The welfare of the nation, and of the state which was a victim of such conduct, required that the control over these matters be lodged in a body outside these states, where the national interest would be considered. Applying the same idea to present conditions, if one state, by neglecting to supervise labor relations within that state, produces or threatens a situation in which a regular flow of materials from other states into that state is stopped and a regular flow of products from that state into other states is stopped, is that not a matter which is properly of national interest? Is that not the kind of situation which the makers of the Constitution had in mind, when they were planning the building of a nation as distinguished from a mere aggregation of states?

I mention one precedent, a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Congress passed a statute regulating the operation of the Chicago stock yards. It was contended that this was not within the federal power and that the statute was unconstitutional. The facts were that live stock was regularly shipped from other states into Chicago and unloaded into the yards. There it was sold, much of it to Chicago packers, who took it to their packing plants and converted it into meat. Some of it was sold to other persons who shipped it alive into other states. Much of the meat which the packers made was shipped into other states. The Supreme Court held that although the stock in the yards had completed its journey, so far as any definite further consignment was concerned, yet because in actual business practice much of it would again travel in interstate commerce either alive or in the form of meat, the mismanagement of the stock yards

might affect that actual practice by preventing or delaying shipment, and hence the Congress might regulate the yards in order to protect interstate commerce.

If the Congress may protect the flow of a regular interstate stream of live stock through stock yards, through packing plant to consumer in another state, by regulating the management of the stock yards, why may it not protect the flow of a regular interstate stream of raw materials, through factory to consumer in another state, by preventing unfair labor practices in the factory which threaten to interrupt that flow?

We think that the question of what enterprises may be regulated by the Congress because of their relation to interstate commerce is a question of substance and of fact, not to be solved in advance by any mere verbal formula which may be lifted from a context relating to wholly different facts.

It is not necessary to remind you, that the action of our Board is subject to review by the United States Courts. In fact, our Board is itself required to take its decisions into the Circuit Court of Appeals in order to obtain compulsory enforcement of them, if such enforcement becomes necessary. The entire procedure has been scrupulously safeguarded, both by the statute and the Rules and Regulations of the Board, so that no enforcement or attempted enforcement can be had until the order of the Board has had the approval of the Courts. If, therefore, the views of the Board as to the intent of the Congress in enacting this statute, or as to the limitations placed by the Constitution upon the powers of the Congress, should not be approved by the Courts, it is, of course, the view of the Courts and not the view of the Board which will prevail.

I have attempted here today to indicate the attitude of the Board toward some of the legal problems which will confront us, and some of the reasons for that attitude which seem to us persuasive. Having made our decisions, our legal staff will do their best to persuade the Courts to agree with us. Those who do not agree with our decisions will have the opportunity to try to convince the Courts that we are wrong. What the outcome may be, only the event can discover. But whatever it may be, it will have been arrived at according to the traditional American method of according to every person his day in Court after fair notice and hearing.

This technique of disinterested judgment based on a careful appraisal of all the facts as presented by all the parties in interest will be used by the Board in its important task of determining the proper bargaining unit in election cases. The Board realizes that this is a contentious field in which the labor movement itself is pulled first in one direction, then in another by opposing factions. Whatever we possess of reasonableness as opposed to emotion we shall try to apply when concrete questions of craft versus industrial union representa-

tion in particular plants are brought before us. We shall not be pro-craft union or pro-industrial union. We shall in our judgments be guided by the language of the statute which says that we shall so act as to "insure to employees the full benefit of their right to self-organization and to collective bargaining, and otherwise to effectuate the policies of this Act."

All that this law or any law can do for you is to give you fair notice and an opportunity to be heard in an attempt to persuade those who have the responsibility for decision, of the soundness of your views. If, a decision having been made, acquiescence by labor does not follow, you would be helping to frustrate an attempt to bring impartial outside judgment to bear in a field where trials by strength, which have seriously disrupted the united power of labor, have hitherto been the principal method of adjustment. Past experience has shown most sections of the labor movement remarkably willing to go along with decisions of governmental bodies on these matters. We know that the same cooperation will be accorded the new Board.

I appreciate the courtesy of President Green and the officers of the Federation in inviting me to attend and address your convention. The Board which I represent hopes and believes that your great organization and its work will continue to serve as a demonstration to workers of the moral and material advantages of organization, and as a demonstration to employers and the public of the fact that industrial democracy makes for industrial peace and community welfare.

President Green: I thank Chairman Madden for his scholarly and informative address which he has delivered this afternoon. We are fortunate indeed in that we are permitted to listen to such a judicious and profound analysis of the National Labor Relations Act. The address, as you know, will be incorporated in the permanent proceedings of this convention and will be included in the daily proceedings for tomorrow.

I assure you, Chairman Madden, that I thank you in behalf of the delegates for your visit and express their deep appreciation of the wonderful address which you have delivered.

I have another very pleasant duty to perform and I wish to discharge it now. We have a very distinguished friend and visitor with us this afternoon who journeyed all the way from Great Britain to the United States for the purpose of visiting his friends, and, like an old fire horse when he is near a fire and hears the bell ring, he starts. He is visiting in New Jersey and heard the echo

of this convention and could not resist the temptation, and now he is here. Some of you remember his delightful visit and his inspiring address delivered as a fraternal delegate from Great Britain in the 1924 Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I will tell you a little story about him and then I will relieve your anxiety as to the name. He has been a member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union since 1917. I think the machinists understand what that is in Great Britain. He was Chairman of the Trades Union Congress in 1925. He was a member of the Coal Mines National Industrial Board of 1930, then he was the British fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in 1931. He occupies a great place in the hearts and affections of the workers of America, and particularly those who have been privileged to attend conventions of the American Federation of Labor—none other than our old friend, Brother Swales from Great Britain.

MR. A. B. SWALES

Mr. President, fellow trade unionists—It is with some diffidence that I attempt to address this convention at this moment, due to the fact that my status in the trade union movement since I addressed you in Vancouver in 1931 has somewhat changed in the last month or two. I am no longer an official of my union and no longer officially connected with the British Trades Union movement. Due to the fact that I was a member of my own organization for 35 years and that I served as an executive and that I have passed the age of 65, I have been asked to step to one side and make room for younger men. Therefore it is more as a personal visit that I come here at this time, which is a great distinction as between the other occasions.

I have been relieved from the anxiety of an executive character, so my good lady and I both decided that there was sufficient good will on this side of the Atlantic to take our first vacation here. So we decided to come and see some friends of our own in New Jersey, and when I saw the American Federation of Labor was meeting in Atlantic City I speeded up my traveling arrangement in order to drop in here and say "How do you do" to President Green and many others I know pretty well. I was doing it so secretly, I thought, and that when I saw Brother Conley and Brother Naesmith at our Congress three weeks ago, I didn't say anything about it to them; but this morning when I slipped in behind them, they said, "Well, so you've come!" I said, "How did you know I was coming?" They said, "Well,

all America knew you were coming." That fits in with the old adage that "The best laid plans of men and mice gang aft aglee."

Since 1919 I have been a member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, in conjunction with the other duties that I have enumerated, and during that time I think I have met all the American delegates that have come to our country, starting with Mrs. Sarah Conboy and Timothy Healy, who have long passed away. Since I joined your company in El Paso in 1924 I have done something to bring the position of a fraternal delegate into a more lively atmosphere than it was a few years before that. I have done my best to encourage fraternal relationship between the American Federation of Labor and our British Trades Union Congress. And in parting I want to say it has been a very great pleasure indeed to have improved the relationship between the American Federation of Labor and our British Trades Union Congress.

I don't think I can say much more to you than to thank you very sincerely. I don't propose to enter into the economic and political aspects of my country. I would be a bad comrade to the two delegates from Great Britain if I did that. I appreciated very much their addresses delivered to this convention and therefore there is nothing in that direction I can call up at this stage of the proceedings to venture any opinions upon. Nay, I think it would be presumption on my part, who has left the fight, to tell you what to do in the fight. From what I have heard of the debating power of your Congress and what I have seen of the debating power coming along in our Congress at home, I think the movement will be able to defend itself and take part in any of the great momentous questions that are looming on the horizon and that have to be met by you as responsible officers.

I want to thank you personally, Mr. President, for the great courtesy and kindness you and your officers have extended to me on every occasion it has been my pleasure to meet you. I want to thank the thirty or forty delegates from the American Federation of Labor who have come to our country. Several of them I see sitting in this Congress. Wherever I go, although I am finished officially with the movement, as your President said, wherever there is a sound of battle you will find me there in an unofficial capacity. As long as I am allowed health and strength in my own country and my own movement there will be no conflict, no discussion, there will not be anything of that kind that I will not be there to hear right until the end.

I certainly leave the official position with some amount of regret. I cannot have

served in a great movement like ours for forty-five years and then suddenly break it off without feeling some regret of the parting. But I have no regret in spite of all that has been said about me, favorable or unfavorable; in my forty-five years I have no regrets for what I have done for the working class to which I belong. I am not regretting that I have got to depart while I still have a great deal of health and strength. There is an old saying that "new times demand new measures and new men." I feel, so long as my own union has made some little provision for me that will keep me from begging, that I can leave the position and give it to a younger man.

I know we are facing the time when new issues are raised, both political and economical, but I know it is not men of my age that are going to live to the next twenty-five years; it is the younger men who are following me and they have the best right to come in and determine the policies for the future. I encouraged them to come along and take their place. For years we have advocated in our country that men and women engaged in industrial warfare should be enabled to retire from the struggle and strife of industry at the age of sixty on an adequate pension, and it would ill become me, now that I have arrived at that age, to carry on. Therefore, I pass out, but in passing out, I want again to very, very sincerely thank all our American trades union friends for the kindness and hospitality they have shown me. I want to wish you in America here Godspeed in the struggle that you have before you. I shall continue to read your American papers and read some of the speeches your President makes in behalf of your movement. I wish you Godspeed in your work. I am convinced of this: That I am leaving the movement as an official when the relationship between our two Congresses stands higher than it has stood for twenty-five years, and I am pleased to have at least one man's share in bringing about that relationship. I bid you good-bye and Godspeed in your work, which I am sure will redound to the emancipation of the masses of the people both in your country and in ours.

I thank you.

President Green: If I had the power of appointment I would make our good friend Swales ambassador of good will. We wish him long, long years of life and hope he will continue, like old liquor, to improve with age.

No further business coming before the convention, at 5:30 a recess was taken to 9:30 o'clock, Friday, October 11th.

FIFTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.
October 11, 1935.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock a. m.

ABSENTEES

E. I. Hannah, Katz, McGurk, DeWitt, Rundle, Billet, Eardley, Caraway, Slich, Rosqvist, Regan, Doane, Wade, David, Wise, Palmer, Hanoway, Osborne, Swetland, Dance, Nord, Sigman, Howat, Dallas, Sager, Bradley, Shave, Dahlager, M. J. Burke, Slout, Edmundson, Mayer, Hymes, Weinberg, Al. Flynn, Nadelhoffer, Bender, T. F. Burns, Serra, Malkovich, Cannizzaro, Dougherty, Marzocca.

COMMUNICATIONS

Newark, N. J., Oct. 10, 1935.
American Federation of Labor Convention, Atlantic City.

Essex Labor Party extends felicitations to the convention and urges adoption of the Gorman resolution for a labor party.

ESSEX LABOR PARTY.

Hannibal, Mo., Oct. 8, 1935.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled. Greeting:

The Woman's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary extends to you fraternal greetings and best wishes for a most successful and harmonious session. May the deliberations of your body be both pleasant and profitable, at this particular time when labor faces so many grave and serious problems. Thanking you for your splendid cooperation and advice in the past, and asking for continuance of same,

I remain most fraternally yours,

MRS. MARY CRAMER,
Int. Pres. Woman's International Union Label League
and Trades Union Auxiliary.

New York, Oct. 9, 1935.

Convention American Federation of Labor, Atlantic City, N. J.

Mr. President, Delegates:

The eyes and ears of the country are directed to your remarkable utterance on problems of economic and worldly affairs, particularly to affairs concerning the work-

ing people of these United States of America. Your deliberations are historic and react remarkably against the destructive forces here and abroad. We can hardly find words for your encouraging and thrilling guidance of American Labor. Well done.

MORRIS BLUMENRICH,
Trade Manager, Pants Makers'
Trade Board, Greater New York
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
of America.

Frank Morrison, Secretary,
Convention American Federation of Labor,
Chelsea Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.

In the name of the United Hebrew Trades I greet the American Federation of Labor, of which we are proud to be an integral part, upon the opening of its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention. For many years this yearly convention has been the index of progress for the whole nation. It has expressed just what organized labor feels upon subjects of national significance to workers and has laid down the new courses to be charted for the following year. As such the convention has been both a resume of the past and a guide for the future. Now, more than ever, its traditional deliberations are of great import for labor, especially so in the acts and public declarations of President Green. His vigorous championship of social legislation, of thoughtful and responsible program on the part of labor leaders and his powerful endorsement of neutrality and peace as against war and destruction for the nation as a whole have been epoch-making events in the past year of labor. Now the convention meets to crystallize and act upon all these tendencies and convert the opinion of yesterday into the practical policies of tomorrow. I want to congratulate the American Federation of Labor upon its splendid work during the months of unrest that followed the collapse of NRA. It kept up the morale of organized workers, snatched victory from defeat in innumerable cases, and proclaimed the goal of the thirty-hour week during labor's darkest hour, rallying the whole force of American labor to this new ideal, re-invigorating hundreds of thousands of toilers to whom the battle cry of the thirty-hour week was a stirring cry of hope. Success must follow. When courage and a sense of social responsibility are combined in one leadership, no achievement is too difficult of attainment. Best wishes for successful deliberations.

MORRIS C. FEINSTONE,
Secretary, United Hebrew
Trades of New York.

New York, N. Y.
October 9, 1935.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Please extend my greetings and salutations to the delegates of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention. It is my sincere wish that the deliberations of this convention will succeed in solving the momentous problems confronting American workers in our modern highly integrated industrial system and will provide a basis for effective legislation and organization to insure to the American workers the maintenance and continuous improvement of decent standards of living and conditions of employment.

ELIAS LIEBERMAN,
1501 Broadway,
New York City.

Communications asking that the next convention be held in the city of Detroit were received from the following sources: Board of Wayne County Auditors; Harold E. Stoll, Register of Deeds; Frank Tise, of the Pattern Makers' Association, and Frank Kinsora, President of the Operators' Union.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gillooly, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined the credential of H. L. Sanders, representing Federal Labor Union No. 18603, Asheville, North Carolina, and recommends that the delegate be seated with one vote.

We also recommend the seating of:

J. C. Long, representing the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America, with 107 votes.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

RECEPTION COMMITTEES

President Green: The Chair desires to appoint two reception committees—one to meet Honorable John J. Winant, Chairman of the Social Security Board, made up of Brothers Daniel Tracy, Electrical Workers; Michael Collieran, of the Plasterers, and Francis Gorman, of the Textile Workers. I understand Governor Winant will be prepared to address the convention at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon. I ask that all in attendance at the convention keep this in mind. I should like for all to be present for the purpose of listening to the address which Governor Winant will deliver.

Then Miss Lenroot, of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, will address the convention today at some hour which will be personally convenient. At the present moment I am unable to announce the hour when she will be here,

but I judge it will be some time this afternoon.

I will appoint on that committee Brother Andrew Myrup, of the Bakers and Confectioners; Brother Robert Watt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, and Miss Rose Schneiderman, of the National Women's Trade Union League.

RE-REFERENCE OF RESOLUTION NO. 199

President Green: A mistake was made in referring Resolution No. 199 to the Committee on Labels. I now desire to announce that this resolution will be referred to the Committee on Adjustments.

COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTION

President Green: I desire to substitute the name of Brother Julius Hochman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, for the name of Israel Weinberg, of the same organization, on the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Secretary Morrison: Brother Bryan, President of the Leather Workers' International Union, asks that the following announcement be made.

This announcement is made at the request of W. E. Bryan, President of the Leather Workers' International Union.

With seventy-five deputy sheriffs on the job in an effort to police the situation in the interests of the employers, 1,000 men normally employed by the tannery of the International Shoe Company at Wood River, Ill., are 100 per cent on strike and have been for four months.

The Union has agreed to arbitrate the differences, which involve wages, but the company not only refuses arbitration, but has served notice that twenty of our members never will be taken back to work. In other words they are blacklisted.

The Union has filed a statement of charges with the Regional Labor Board at St. Louis, but the Board has not yet filed a complaint against the company.

Mass picketing has been in effect throughout the strike, keeping the plant closed completely. The International Shoe Company refuses to deal with unions, from tannery to shoe factory. The Wood River Tannery is the company's largest tannery.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

President Green: I desire to submit a supplemental report of the Executive Council, which contains the report of James Maloney, Fraternal Delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Brother Maloney represented the American Federation of Labor as a fraternal delegate to that Congress and he has submitted a report to the Executive Council. I herewith submit it as a supplemental report, to be included in the proceedings of today and to be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF CANADA

Philadelphia, Pa.,
September 25, 1935.

To the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Greetings:

As Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the Trades and Labor Congress Convention held at Halifax, N. S., September 16th to the 20th inclusive, 1935, I desire to submit the following report:

The Fiftieth Annual Convention was called to order at 10 o'clock Monday morning, September 16th, by Fred A. Ramsey, President of the Halifax District Trades and Labor Council, in one of the finest hotels in the maritime provinces, the Nova Scotian, built on the harbor front, and giving a marine view unexcelled; while on the east fronting the hotel is a monument of Governor Cornwallis, the founder of Halifax.

It had been more than a quarter of a century since the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada met in this beautiful city. To be exact it was just twenty-seven years ago. At that time there were no old age pensions, workmen's compensation, mothers' allowances, fair wage regulation, factory inspection, minimum wage and various other measures that have since been adopted by the different provinces and it was through labor's persistent agitation that these progressive measures were eventually enacted.

The President at that time was Alphonse Verville, of Quebec, and the Vice-President was James Simpson, now Mayor of Toronto, and the Secretary-Treasurer was P. M. Draper, who held that office for thirty-five years and is now President, replacing Tom Moore, who has been appointed a member of the Unemployment Insurance Commission.

On behalf of the city Mayor E. J. Cragg welcomed the delegates and expressed the hope the convention would be both profit-

able to the organization and enjoyable for the delegates. Other distinguished officials who delivered exceptionally able and enlightening addresses were: Honorable Lieutenant-Governor W. H. Covert, Hon. Angus L. MacDonald, Premier of Nova Scotia, and Minister of Mines Michael Dwyer.

President Draper replying to the distinguished visitors recalled that in 1908 a total of ninety-one delegates representing 40,000 members attended that convention, while today there were more than 200 delegates representing over 100,000 members. He also stated that for more than a century peace had existed between the United States and Canada and a large measure of credit for this was attributed to the international labor unions and the social and economic intercourse between the two countries. As a delegate to Geneva representing Canadian labor delegates of workers and governments they were unanimous in declaring that the greatest calamity that could befall the world, would be the declaration of war. "We believe machinery should be set up by larger nations to prevent wars; not only the present impending conflict in Ethiopia, but war should be eliminated from the face of the earth forever," he said.

Over one hundred resolutions were presented covering every phase of the problems that labor is now confronted with. The great majority of resolutions were referred to the Resolutions Committee of which Carl E. Berg, of Edmonton, was the efficient Chairman.

Reaffirming its stand against private control of the banks the Congress declared itself unanimously for government control, asserting that privately owned institutions did not guarantee the public the protection to which it is entitled.

Another important resolution provided and recommended: "That the national credit of Canada be used by the issue of non-interest bearing certificates (new currency) to the amount needed to finance federal, provincial and municipal undertakings, including homes for needy families."

The subject matter of this resolution was discussed by the delegates at length and finally upon motion was referred to the Executive Council.

The legislative program prepared by the Executive Council was presented to the Dominion Government and therefore only brief reference is made herewith to the subjects dealt with as follows:

Work and Relief for the Unemployed.

Social Insurance.

Industrial Control and Economic Council.

British North America Act.

Banking, Interest Rates, Etc.

International Peace.

Repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code.

Proclamation of the Revised Shipping Act with redefinition of "sailing ship."

Amendments to Fair Wage Act, 1930.
Revision of Alien Labor Act and its administration placed with a Minister of the Government.

Immigration Act.

Labor representation chosen in agreement with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada on all appointed bodies dealing with matters affecting the interests of wage earners.

Legislation to provide payment of Pensions to Blind Persons.

Sales Tax Amendment.

Amendment to the Copyright Act.

Labelling of poisonous materials injurious to the health of workers.

Extension of Superannuation Act to pre-vailing rate employees, including marine engineers in government service.

Legalizing of the conducting of sweepstakes under government supervision and control.

Grants for Technical Education in accord with provisions of the Vocational Education Act of 1931.

Abolition of all grants for Cadet Training in Schools.

Election Act Amendments.

The Congress while reaffirming its unalterable desire for peace with honor and as part of the British Empire and a Member of the League of Nations, served notice to the World they would stand by and support the League in any sanctions that might be applied in the Ethiopian crisis.

Important and far-reaching decisions were reached during the final sessions. They urge:

1. Boycotting German manufactured goods until Nazi shackles are unfettered from Labor and religious persecution ceases.

2. Continuance of its policy to remain an independent and autonomous organization divorced from political alliances.

3. Abolition of Section 98 of the Criminal Code.

4. Appointment of a boiler inspector to safeguard all land and stationary boilers for Nova Scotia.

5. Appointment of inspectors of gear used in loading and unloading ships and of marine warehouses and piers at the port of Halifax to safeguard human life.

6. Parliament to put into effect a six-hour day and five-day week in all industries with an increase in pay to equalize loss in earnings.

7. Installation of modern automatically operated signal or other protective devices at hazardous railroad highway grade crossings and, where this is not carried out, the erection of "stop" signs.

During the election of officers Tom Moore, who served the Congress for seventeen years as President, and who is now a member of the Social Insurance Commission, presided in his usually efficient manner.

The following officers were selected:

P. M. Draper, President;

R. J. Tallon, Secretary-Treasurer;

Percy Bengough, of Vancouver; James Simpson, Mayor of Toronto, and D. W. Morrison, Mayor of Glace Bay and President of District 26, United Mine Workers, Vice-Presidents, and Captain J. A. P. Haydon, of Ottawa, American Correspondent for Labor, was chosen to represent the Congress at the American Federation of Labor Convention, and a second Ontario man, Fred Molineux, of Hamilton, will represent the Congress at the British Trades Union Congress convention.

Your delegate extended the Fraternal Greetings of the American Federation of Labor in an extemporaneous address of approximately an hour. As no official stenographer was present it is impossible for me to enclose a copy of the address with this report. Suffice it to say, the speeches of Mr. George Lathan, Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain, and my own were accorded close attention by the delegates.

The sessions of the Congress were both interesting and instructive and the problems confronting our fellow workmen in the Provinces of Canada are strikingly similar to our own here in the States.

I was impressed with the high degree of intelligence exhibited by the delegates and the very great ability of the officers.

A civic reception and banquet by his Worship Mayor E. J. Cragg on the opening night of the convention was first in a splendid program offered the delegates during our visit to Halifax. Included therein was a Harbor Excursion on Dartmouth Ferry Steamer as guests of the Halifax Workers' Commission. It is one of the finest harbors in the world and was the principal shipping point of the Allies from North America during the World War.

This brief report would not be complete unless I referred to the many courtesies and manifestations of good will that were extended to me by all those with whom I came in contact.

President Draper directed me to convey to President Green and the Executive Council not only the Fraternal Greetings of the Congress but also their loyalty to the principles of the International Trade Union Movement.

I desire to express to the Executive Council my deep appreciation of the honor conferred upon me in selecting me as the Fraternal Delegate to Canada.

Fraternally yours,

JAMES MALONEY,

President Green: The Chair will inquire if the Committee on Organization is ready to submit a partial report.

Vice-President Duffy: The committee is ready with a partial report.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON
ORGANIZATION

Vice-President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee: The report we make will be a partial one. It will be presented by Secretary Manion, of the Committee.

Secretary Manion submitted the following report:

ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 98, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee is in full accord with that part of the Executive Council's report on the organizing campaign proposed to begin on December 1st, 1935.

We urge all National and International Unions, City Central and State Bodies to co-operate and assist in every way possible in this undertaking in order to make this campaign a success.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LOGGERS, LUMBERMEN AND SAWMILL
WORKERS

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 127, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee approves the action of the Executive Council in turning over to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Loggers, Lumbermen and Saw Mill Workers, who are now turning out the finished product ready for installation and who properly come under the jurisdiction of that organization.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROPOSING ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN
AMONG FLOUR AND CEREAL MILL
WORKERS

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate T. E. Cunningham, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Flour and Cereal Mill Workers' Federal Labor Unions in the state of Minnesota sponsored a resolution in the 1935 Convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor urging that special effort be made to organize the employees of flour and cereal mills in the United States and Canada, and requested that this subject matter be submitted to the Con-

vention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City in October; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to conduct a survey of the possibilities of securing a thorough organization of the flour and cereal mill workers, and that the State Federations of Labor be urged to render every effort in securing organization of such flour and cereal mills as are operating in their respective states.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this Resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN AMONG
WORKERS IN OFFICE EQUIPMENT
INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Howard Sticht, Federal Labor Union 19401, Tonawanda, N. Y.

WHEREAS, It is necessary to standardize wages and working hours in office equipment manufacturing industry; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary to organize this industry on a national scale to gain these conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor immediately appoint at least two organizers to organize the workers in this industry one hundred per cent. into the American Federation of Labor into Federal Labor Unions.

Your Committee refers this Resolution to the Executive Council for consideration and such action as they deem necessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN, DALLAS,
TEXAS

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate B. M. Egan, Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, A condition exists in the City of Dallas that will require the attention of all International unions to the end that all organized labor will be benefited;

WHEREAS, A strike of the Ladies' Garment Workers, has been in progress now for the past eight months; and

WHEREAS, The open-shop association in this city, together with the Chamber of Commerce and the different manufacturing concerns, have combined in an effort to break up the strike of the Garment Workers; and

WHEREAS, The manufacturing concerns in this city have, through injunctions and other methods, succeeded in throwing in jail most of the girls involved in the strike, the leaders of the Union, and the representative of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; and

WHEREAS, Working conditions and wages in this city are below the subsistence standard; and

WHEREAS, Labor in general has been kept down here, and every attempt that has been made to organize was brutally suppressed by the employers in this city; and

WHEREAS, The Texas Centennial Exposition plant is being built at present, and the Commission in charge of same is discriminating against Union Workers, and ignoring organized labor completely; and

WHEREAS, The prospects for the building trades and all other craft to organize and improve conditions are bright, and we feel that it is the opportune moment to make a great organization drive in this city; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Council of Dallas requests the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to advise all the International Unions to jointly make the organization drive in this city, and have representatives to the different International Unions stationed in the city until such organization drive can be successfully carried out.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this Resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. OF L. ORGANIZERS TO ASSIST INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TECHNICAL ENGINEERS' ARCHITECTS' AND DRAFTSMEN'S UNIONS

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects' and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, It is agreed that organized effort is essential not only to prevent reduction of wages and living standards, but of even greater importance in seeking to regain the salary losses as the result of wage slashes during the depression; and

WHEREAS, The technical employees of the engineering and architectural offices have been most shamefully abused in the way of salary reductions and adverse employment conditions; and

WHEREAS, In our present day complex social order it is impossible to place any

individual groups of employees at a disadvantage without at the same time injuring the cause of other groups; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render every possible assistance in organizing this group of employees by calling on all voluntary organizers to carry on an aggressive and sustained organizing campaign and to assign competent and experienced organizers intimately acquainted with the problems confronting this particular group.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this Resolution and refers it to the Executive Council to put it into effect if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN, AMONG HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Heskeith, Emanuel Koveski and Chris Lane, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to urge all International and National Locals, Trade and Federal Unions and City Central Bodies, to co-operate with the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America in the organization of all hotel, restaurant, tavern, dining car and drug store workers coming under the jurisdiction of said International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to lend what assistance they can toward the organization of the employees named in this resolution.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this Resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REQUEST FOR ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN AMONG ALUMINUM AND TIN FOIL WORKERS

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate J. T. Myles, United Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers, No. 19388, Louisville, Kentucky.

WHEREAS, The Reynolds Metals Company, of Louisville, Kentucky, manufacturers of tin foil, with headquarters in New York City, New York, and with plants in a number of cities; and

WHEREAS, The plant at Louisville, Kentucky, is the only one organized and the relations existing with the firm and Local No. 19388 are threatened by the competition of the unorganized plants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to give all possible assistance through the American Federation of Labor organizers to organize the workers in the other plants of the Reynolds Metals Company.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this Resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN IN SOUTHERN STATES

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate J. R. Tucker, Cement Plant Workers' Union, 19714, Tarrant, Ala.

WHEREAS, The masses of Southern Workers have demonstrated that they want to be organized into Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and if afforded the necessary experienced leadership will fight for better wages and improved conditions of employment; and

WHEREAS, President Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have established and financed an Organization Staff in the South and have given every possible aid to this Staff in its efforts to conduct organization work throughout this wide area; and

WHEREAS, That the work this organization has been able to do has proven beneficial and has resulted in the establishment of many strong and active Unions; and

WHEREAS, The depressed economic and social conditions of the Southern Workers have in the past held back the entire Labor movement in this country; and

WHEREAS, There are still enormous opportunities for forming new and stronger Unions in almost every section of the South and opportunities daily present themselves to increase the influence and reputation of the American Federation of Labor in this section by participation in every form of Civic and Governmental activities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, members of Federal Locals Numbers 18387, 19714 and 19877, thank President Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for what has been done up to this time and we recommend and request that the field staff be increased as soon as possible so that more can be accomplished for the advancement of Organized Labor in the Southland.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and refers it to the Executive Council to put into effect if the funds warrant.

Delegate Burke, Pulp and Sulphite Workers: As a member of the Committee on Organization, I desire to say a little something about the subject matter of these resolutions. There were referred to our Committee on Organization a number of resolutions dealing with the subject of more thorough organization of workers in many important industrial centers. There appeared before the Committee on Organization several delegates representing Central Labor Unions, who explained to us about their problems and about their difficulties and urged us to help them get more assistance from the American Federation of Labor. These delegates made a fine impression upon your Committee on Organization. It was apparent to us that these delegates, most of them young men, are striving sincerely, earnestly, and intelligently to build permanent organizations in the industries that they represent. All of the members of the Organization Committee were impressed by the fact that these delegates seemed to have a firm grasp upon the constructive purposes of the American Federation of Labor. They all seemed to be loyal to its principles and, strange as it may seem to some of you, they were deeply grateful and appreciative of the help that has already been rendered them by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

I consider that this matter of the organization of the unorganized, and keeping them organized, to be just about the most important business to come before this convention. We all know from experience that the mere organizing of the workers is only a part of the problem of trade union organization. There are times, especially during a period of excitement, such as accompanied the NRA, when it is not very difficult to organize workers into trade unions. However, when we have organized them our work has only just begun. The real task begins after these newly organized recruits have paid their initiation fees and they begin to ask what the union is going to do for them. When that time comes it is necessary to assign trained and experienced

organizers to assist these new organizations to arrange negotiations with the employers and to conduct such negotiations. It is not safe to trust that important work to inexperienced persons. I find, as a rule, that even the most experienced organizers and representatives have their resourcefulness taxed to the limit in handling these difficult situations.

You will notice that all of the resolutions that have been read to you by the Secretary of the Committee are appealing for a specific kind of assistance; they all ask the American Federation of Labor to assign experienced organizers. They say, "Give us additional organizers, give us additional experienced representatives." The Organization Committee could do but one thing, and that was to concur in the resolution and recommend that they be referred to the Executive Council with the additional recommendation that the Executive Council assign such representatives as the funds of the organization warrant. I realize that the American Federation of Labor is placed in exactly the same position with regard to these appeals as is the Executive Council of my organization in meeting the appeals that come for organizers from the members.

I would like to point out to the Federal Labor Union that the American Federation of Labor can only render such financial assistance as its receipts warrant. There are a great many of our own members who have no idea as to how the American Federation of Labor is financed. Time and time again we find in strike situations that the American Federation of Labor is severely criticized because it does not render financial assistance to the members of national and international unions that are on strike. I have often had to take the floor in my own organization to point out to our members that the per capita tax that we pay to the American Federation of Labor is only one per cent per member per month. I think it is important that the general public and the members of our own organization should understand that the American Federation of Labor receives a per capita tax of only one cent a member per month from affiliated international organizations and 35 cents a month from members of directly affiliated Federal Labor Unions.

However, these appeals from these Federal

Labor Unions are so urgent, the situation deserves the most serious consideration on the part of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Therefore, I hope that the Executive Council—this enlarged Executive Council—will exhaust every possible resource in giving these Federal Locals the assistance they are asking for in these resolutions. We must not ignore these appeals. It must not be said that the thousands of workers that have joined our organizations in the last few years have fallen by the wayside because the American Federation of Labor has not been able to furnish them with a sufficient number of trained men and women organizers to give them the assistance and the guidance their efforts deserve and need.

Chairman Duffy: Your Committee on Organization cannot do otherwise than refer these resolutions to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Your Committee has no authority to say how the funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be spent. The Committee on Organization agrees with everything that Brother Burke has said. We know what we have to contend with when these delegates come before the committee and tell us their story. We know they have not the funds, that is, the American Federation of Labor has not the funds at their disposal to put organizers on the road.

Yesterday we listened to the Committee on Finance make its report. We find that in the general fund they have only got \$35,000. By the time this convention is through and the expenses are paid, we may have \$10,000 or \$15,000 left. How far will that go in organizing, north, south, east and west? We have had delegates coming to us from all sections, and especially from the south. We have no complaint to make of the delegates from the south; they were appreciative of what has been done, but they want more organizers put on the road that they may get even better results than they have obtained up to the present time.

Now we find in the report of the Finance Committee made here yesterday that there are \$500,000, half a million dollars, in the defense fund for local trade and federal unions. That is for the relief of men and women when they go out on strike. If you should have a

great strike or a number of strikes of local trade and federal labor unions it will not take long for that \$500,000 to be eaten up and then you will be without funds, so that you can neither organize nor pay strike benefits.

The Executive Council has the right, according to law, to take some of this half million dollars and use it for organizing purposes; but at the same time the Executive Council must be careful not to take too much out of this defense fund for the local trade and Federal Labor Unions. So it is a matter for the Executive Council to decide.

Can they take \$25,000 out of that and use it for organizing purposes for these trade and Federal Labor Unions? Can they take \$50,000 out? Can they take \$100,000 out? Can they do this and at the same time protect these local trade and Federal Labor Unions who may be out on strike against a nonunion shop for increases in wages or for a shorter work-day? That is a matter for the Executive Council itself to decide.

However, the Committee on Organization concurs in the resolution. We are with the introducers of the resolution in this matter and we refer to the Executive Council to put it into effect if the funds warrant.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

DRIVE FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, CANTON, OHIO

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate Tom Finnegan, Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio.

WHEREAS, Canton, Ohio, is an important industrial city, situated in the heart of the most important steel producing section of the country, so that a strongly organized Canton would affect favorably a large area; and

WHEREAS, Canton is not well organized, as shown by the following facts:

The steel industry, employing nearly half the workers in Canton, is totally unorganized;

There are nearly one hundred industrial plants in and near Canton, where Federal Unions should be organized, yet there were only twelve at the peak, and now but five.

All Unions, craft and industrial, have declined in numbers from their peak, and the decline is continuing at an increasing rate; and

WHEREAS, The violent breaking and total failure of the strike against Republic

Steel Corporation has not only wiped out the steel unions, but has had a very bad effect on the morale of all workers, making organization in all lines extremely difficult; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a Special Committee be appointed by the President of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to confer with the Canton delegate on the situation in Canton; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if the Committee finds the facts as set forth above, they shall report and recommend to the convention that a full-time A. F. of L. organizer, who shall be of proven ability, progressive in ideas, and have had experience in organizing of Industrial Unions, shall be sent to Canton to assist existing unions, reorganize weak Unions and organize new unions in industries where none exist.

Your Committee recommends that the first Resolve be stricken out as there is no necessity for a special committee to be appointed by the President of this convention to confer with the introducer of the resolution on the Canton situation, for the reason that your Committee gave careful consideration to the matter.

Your Committee also recommends that the last Resolve be stricken out and that the question of organizing the workers of Canton be referred to the Executive Council to work out a plan, whereby they may be brought into the fold of organized labor.

With this change your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AGRICULTURAL CANNERY AND PACKING HOUSE WORKERS' UNIONS

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate Chas. F. Hollopeter, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS: The growing and processing of foods is the largest single industry in the United States, employing more than three million men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, These workers have been and are today the most exploited section of our population, everywhere receiving wages far below even the lowest Union wage rates; and

WHEREAS, The present unorganized condition and starvation wage rates of

these workers operates in every section of the country to undermine the existing wage rates of organized industrial workers, thus hampering the continued growth and well being of the entire trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Many local trade and Federal labor unions have been organized among these agricultural cannery and packing house workers; and

WHEREAS, The New Jersey State Federation of Labor at its 57th Convention unanimously adopted a resolution recommending the following actions to this National Convention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor urges all its affiliated Unions, Central and State bodies to pay special attention to the problems, needs an organization of these workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to establish co-operation and strengthen the work of already organized rural workers' Unions, and to plan a national campaign for the organization of all unorganized agricultural workers into the American Federation of Labor, this Convention instructs the incoming Executive Council to call next spring a national conference of agricultural cannery and packing house Unions now organized.

Your Committee recommends that the last Resolve be stricken out and in lieu thereof the following be inserted:

That the Executive Council plan a National Campaign for the organization of all agricultural, cannery and packing house workers into unions of the American Federation of Labor at the earliest possible date.

WHEREAS, The growing and processing of foods is the largest single industry in the United States, employing more than three million men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, These workers have been and are today the most exploited section of our population, everywhere receiving wages far below even the lowest Union wage rates; and

WHEREAS, The present unorganized condition and starvation wage rates of these workers operates in every section of the country to undermine the existing wage rates of organized industrial workers, thus hampering the continued growth and well being of the entire trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Many local trade and Federal Labor Unions have been organized among these agricultural, cannery and packing house workers; and

WHEREAS, The New Jersey State Federation of Labor at its 57th Convention unanimously adopted a resolution recommending the following actions to this National Convention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor urges all its affiliated Unions, Central and State bodies to pay special attention to the problems, needs and organization of these workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council plan a National Campaign for the organization of all agricultural, cannery and packing house workers into unions of the American Federation of Labor at the earliest possible date.

With this change your Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 144.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZING COMMERCIAL TELEGRAPH WORKERS

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The organization of commercial telegraph workers on land and sea has been enhanced by the passage of protective legislation such as the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Wagner Labor Relations Act; and

WHEREAS, The task of completing this work of organizing commercial, radio, leased wire and press telegraph workers of all classes in one which requires the fullest co-operation and assistance of all affiliated bodies of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The program of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union to secure wage agreements with all commercial telegraph and radio companies requires the support and assistance of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The pitifully low wages paid to a large percentage of commercial telegraph employes makes it necessary to charge the lowest dues possible; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies give

every possible assistance, morally or financially, to organize and secure wage agreements with every commercial telegraph and radio company.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this Resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN AMONG IVORY AND CASEIN BUTTON WORKERS

Resolution No. 185—By Delegate Joseph Pavona, Ivory and Casein Button Workers, No. 18756, Newark and vicinity, New Jersey.

WHEREAS, The Alliance Button Company, of Newark, New Jersey, and the Machine Corporation of Hoboken, New Jersey, manufacturers of ivory and casein buttons; and

WHEREAS, The plants at Newark, New Jersey, and Hoboken, New Jersey, are the only ones organized and the relations existing with the firms and Locals Nos. 18756 and 18757 are threatened by the competition of the unorganized plants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to give all possible assistance through the American Federation of Labor organizers to organize the workers in the plants of ivory and casein button manufacturers throughout the East.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TO ASSIST LAUNDRY WORKERS IN ORGANIZING WORK

Resolution No. 233—By Delegate Walter C. Brooks, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of the United States and Canada are at this time only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Laundry Workers' International Union at this time will not warrant or permit in placing any additional organizer in the large number of cities and the various states to organize the unorganized Laundry Workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to

all the State Federations of Labor and City Central Labor Councils and to all of the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize the Laundry Workers in their districts and localities.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Duffy: That completes the partial report of the Committee on Organization.

President Green: The Chair will now call upon one of our very highly respected good friends, a member of our great organization, to speak at this time. I am pleased indeed to present to you for an address just now the Divisional Co-ordinator for Industrial Co-operation, appointed by the President of the United States just a short time ago to that very responsible position. He is the President of an International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, an International Union with an honorable and brilliant record. He is a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. He served as Divisional Administrator under the National Recovery Administration and in that position he rendered distinguished service to the building construction industry mechanics of the country and to all those connected with that great industry. He represented the American Federation of Labor as its fraternal delegate at the recent convention of the American Legion held in St. Louis just a few weeks ago.

With this brief explanation, I know all of you are silently listening for the name of the speaker I am now going to introduce. We have worked together for years. The relationship between us has been a friendly one and there has developed a spirit of the finest kind of co-operation. I present to you this morning Major George L. Berry, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, who will now address you.

MAJOR GEORGE L. BERRY (Divisional Co-ordinator for Industrial Co-operation)

Mr. President, Delegates and Friends in this Convention: I appreciate very great-

ly the cordial and friendly introduction that President Green has given me. I likewise appreciate the opportunity to say a word to you upon this occasion. I was grateful to the convention at San Francisco for selecting me as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I regarded it as one of the highest honors that had ever come to me. It was an indication of your confidence and your friendship.

I come to you today in a rather peculiar and extraordinary position, as a co-ordinator. When I received the information that the President had issued an Executive Order naming me as the Co-ordinator for Industrial Co-operation, I immediately called and inquired as to what this Co-ordinator business was, and he proceeded to tell me. I responded by saying, "Yes, a co-ordinator is very much like the innocent bystander who attempts to compose differences between families and is usually the first fellow to be shot."

The President has indicated that there shall be three functions of the office. The first is that I shall undertake to stabilize and harmonize the machinery of the present National Recovery Administration.

Second, that I shall undertake, with the Federal Trade Commission and the National Recovery Administration, the development of voluntary agreements in industry. A bridge has been developed between the Federal Trade Commission and the National Recovery Administration, and invitations to industry, management and labor have been extended to come and take advantage of the facilities and instrumentalities arranged between the Federal Trade Commission and the National Recovery Administration. To what extent this bridge will be used is a difficult question to answer.

The third function of this position is to undertake to ascertain the facts with regard to the attitude of management and labor with respect to the development of a permanent institution that contemplates the salvaging of what is good or what was good in the National Recovery Act. I am certain that you all appreciate the great task attendant upon the fulfillment of the last named duty. I am without law in this instance. I can't compel anybody to talk to me in regard to the matter of developing a law to be presented to the United States Congress.

Closing night before last I have issued some 6500 letters to management and labor. I am inviting them to Washington to discuss the problems of industry and to be able to identify the facts, to find out if labor and management want a law permanent in its character for the maintenance of fair trade practices in this country.

I invite your co-operation in the performance of this great task. It is my judgment that both labor and management find in this task a very definite community of interest. If we can permanently eradicate,

in the main, cut-throat competition in America we will have made some very definite progress. Cut-throat competition not only involves management and investment, but the results of cut-throat competition finally come out of the backs of the workers. Therefore, I repeat the statement that fair trade practices are important, not only to management but doubly important to the workers of this country.

The Congress of the United States, through its Ways and Means Committee in the House and the Finance Committee in the Senate, have selected a sub-committee of these two committees to meet with those who are interested in the formation of a permanent law. The Department of Justice, the Department of Labor, the Department of Commerce have likewise agreed to co-operate. I await now the answers to these letters to name the dates for the conferences from which we will know definitely the attitude of both labor and management with respect to this very important matter.

I have only the instrumentality of persuasion. My judgment is that I shall need a great deal of help, and I solicit your most generous co-operation and friendship in sitting down at the round table and discussing matters that mean so much to you, so much to the employer and so much to industry upon which we are all dependent.

Again I thank you for your attention and I repeat again that it has been a great pleasure for me to say these few words to you.

President Green: We deeply appreciate the address of Vice-President Berry. I hardly know which title to refer to in speaking about him, whether it shall be Vice-President, President of the Printing Pressmen's International Union, or Co-ordinator, as he referred to it just now. I think I will refer to him as Co-ordinator Berry. We thank you very kindly for your address. I know that what you have said will be of very great interest to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: I believe I but give expression to what is in the minds of everybody here when I say that I feel that the most brilliant address just delivered by our friend, Major Berry, contains matters of such grave importance that there should be a committee appointed to consider the material and the questions that will come before his office as Co-ordinator. Consequently I desire to offer a motion, if it is in order, that an appropriate committee be appointed to con-

sider the subject matter that he has discussed here this morning and to report back to this convention.

Delegate Armstrong, Printing Pressmen: I desire to second that motion.

President Green: You have heard the motion offered by Delegate Maloney. May I inquire if you had in mind the appointment of a special committee, or reference to one of the standing committees.

Delegate Maloney: Whatever the Chair feels is the best course to pursue. I leave that to your judgment.

President Green: I think the address that Brother Berry delivered might very appropriately be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, with a special request that that committee give the whole subject matter careful consideration and attention, hold a hearing with Major Berry and with others at interest and bring in a special report upon the matter to this convention.

Delegate Maloney: Yes, sir, that is very fine.

President Green: It will be so ordered.

Delegate Armstrong: May I ask if it will be in the printed proceedings, so the members will have a clear understanding of what is to be done?

President Green: The address will appear in the printed proceedings of today's convention, verbatim.

Now the Chair desires to present to you a very distinguished visitor who accompanied the fraternal delegates from Great Britain to this convention. She is here as an interested visitor with us. Many of you have met her and are acquainted with her. Her life has been spent in trade union work in Great Britain. It seems to me quite appropriate to have this distinguished visitor speak to the officers and delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention.

I therefore take great pleasure in presenting to you Miss Ann Loughlin, O. B. E., General Organizer of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers in England. She has a standing in the labor movement, but more than that she is a member of the British Trade Union Congress Council since 1929. The position she occupies is of very great importance. Her experience has been broad and varied in

organizing work in Great Britain. I present to you our very welcome guest and our much appreciated visitor, Miss Ann Loughlin.

MISS ANN LOUGHLIN

(General Organizer, National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers of Great Britain)

Mr. President, delegates and friends: I hope you will forgive me if my speech is perhaps not as satisfactory as I would like it to be, because I am speaking at a moment's notice. At the same time I want to thank your President very heartily for giving me this opportunity of having a word and delivering a message to the delegates assembled at this Congress.

It is true I am not here in an official capacity. I happen to have come to America to make an investigation into conditions in my own trade, the garment industry. I am doing that, Mr. President and delegates, because we in England, when we meet employers' federations, are always met with the statement that you in the United States can produce so much more per individual than can any worker in England. Consequently I thought it was a good opportunity to come over here, not to teach you anything, because I don't want to teach anyone anything. I am always out to learn something, and when people are too old to learn anything, well, they are no further use, in my view, to any movement.

Secondly, I came because in addition to my other duties I happen to have acquired secretarial duties. Mr. Conley's Executive, of which I am also an organizer, instructed him to bring me along with him so that I could gather all the information possible and do his secretarial work while I was here.

But I want to give you, and I know I can do it with the fullest backing of nearly a million women trade unionists in Britain, a message of greeting. I also want to give you the greetings of the organized labor women in Great Britain. At the same time I am not telling you that you ought to develop on the lines that we have developed, because I believe that every country is entitled to work out its own salvation in its own way. We realized in Great Britain many years ago that it was very little use of our being organized industrially when everything that we were able to secure by organized efforts was taken away from us by the politicians in that country. We realized that we ought to work side by side. But that is our way of developing, and I am not telling you that it should be yours. You will develop in your own way. That is how we developed.

But the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress are so interested in this task of organizing the women that they decided some few years ago that they

would set apart on that Council, which is equivalent to your Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, two women who should be assured of the votes of Congress. It is a sort of a grouping system—so many from one department, as you call it. You have the metal department, the clothing department, the engineering department and the railway department and so on. Then there is a department for women and there are two women on that Trades Union Congress Council.

Our task in Great Britain is just as difficult, I am sure, as Brother Burk mentioned when he was talking organization a little while ago. Like you, we are faced with a situation where girls leave school, and of course in our country they leave the schools much earlier than they do in some of your states. They leave school at the age of fourteen generally, in the case of the workers' families. They go into the workshops and the factories and perhaps in ten years' time after being trade unionists for that length of time, they enter into another sphere of life, they get married. Some Prince Charming comes along and takes them out of industry and they enter a wider sphere. I don't want to tell you how to conduct your business, but I can see, Mr. President, in just the short time that I have been here listening to the speeches, that you are passing through a kind of industrial history similar to that which the British Trades Union movement passed through many years ago. At one time it was an unknown thing for a woman delegate to appear at the British Trades Union Congress. It was almost unheard of for them to be on committees or for them to be on Councils or for them even to be in the inner circles of the Federation Executive. But the men in Great Britain appreciate now as they did not a few years ago that there is a woman's point of view and that side by side with the men the women should be travelling, taking an equal responsibility. I say that advisedly, because our experience has proved that unless you do that there is always a danger, because of the development of technology applied to industry, because of the simplification processes, that the men can gradually be weeded out of industry and the women gradually take their places.

To me, Mr. President, that would not really matter, but what does seriously matter is that the captains of industry in the United States and the captains of industry in Europe and in the world generally are of the same mentality and the same type of mind, and if they can employ women or if they can employ children at your work on lesser wages than you demand, they will employ those women and those children, and you will be thrown out on the scrap heap, as is happening in many countries, unless your trade union organization is such that you are able not only to protect yourselves, but to see to it that the job is paid for and not the sex of the worker.

In England we have what you may term luxuries, and the expanding trades in Great

Britain are superseding some of the older trades, such as the engineering and shipbuilding trades, which have been more or less derelict for a number of years and are only just resuscitating themselves; the mining industry with 100,000 people that will never be re-absorbed into industry because of the mechanization of that industry. Those industries are not taking in women, but the expanding trades, the artificial silk industry, the powder industry, the cosmetics, the radio, the pianolas, all kinds of fancy things or luxuries that we are beginning to think are a part of our everyday life—it is in those industries where the women are being brought in without any trade union traditions, and they are being worked for about half the wages that men were in receipt of in the older industries.

That in itself is going to be the ruination of any nation, because you are gradually reducing the purchasing power of the workers in those countries and you will never be able to make definite progress if you are going to lower your purchasing power.

Now, Mr. President, as I summed up your conference, your country was to me one of the expanding countries, but quite recently because of your depression you have had quotas and the prevention of immigrants coming into the United States. That means, of course, not that you are ceasing to expand, not that you are going to contract, because you have always the children of American citizens growing up and going into industry, but you are not expanding in the same way as you were a few years ago. I hope you will not make the same mistake that the British trade unionists—not the British trade union movement, but the British trade unionists, made shortly after the World War. At that time we were able to have huge numbers of both men and women organized and we were able to secure large increases of wages, shorter hours, and better conditions, hygienic and otherwise, for every single worker in the industry. Many of the younger girls and boys, unfortunately many of them coming from trade union families, without the tradition of trade unionism, thought they could not get any more than already had been obtained. They thought that the wages and conditions were so good that there was no need for organization. They thought that if they remained outside, well it was quite all right, and they fell away when they needed the trade union most.

It is in your more progressive days when you want to build up and construct for the days of depression which always come in cycles under the system under which we live. And so I hope you do not make the mistake they made, and that when you have your industries solidified you will act according to the advice given to you on this rostrum two days ago. I think one of the most important things that you are doing is the development of the education movement in

this country. I had the opportunity of meeting Mr. Spencer Miller at Geneva this year, and to me one of the most important aspects of your trade union situation is the education you are giving to your sons and to your daughters, who through the evolution of time, will be bound to follow you in the great trade union movement, and they will have the benefit of the training and the background and the knowledge of the struggles that you have had to overcome during the last twenty-five years or more. If you once give them that real training and education, you are fitting them through organization to prevent any captain of industry in this country or anywhere from putting them back into the wage serfdom that many of them want to push us back into. Therefore, I say do not belittle education. Do everything possible to encourage your Executive Council to see to it that every trade union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall have the greatest facilities to give to their young people, so that your movement will continue to grow in prestige and ability and be able to cope around the table with every employer with whom you come in contact.

Another word I would like to mention, because it is all related to education and to the travail we are passing through. You have gone a little further, Mr. President, than we have. You talk not about the forty-hour week. We are talking in Great Britain about bringing into being a forty-hour week, and I know if we could bring into being a forty-hour week in our country without any overtime being worked, without any lessening of the purchasing power of the wages made, we would be doing an enormous service to the trade unionists and to the working class in Great Britain. You have gone a little further than that. But do not only say you want reduction in hours just to absorb your unemployed, because that is only one phase of it. I know what has happened in some countries where the technology of industry has been very fully developed, or in any one industry in Great Britain where they have a shorter working week. Immediately following the bringing into being of a shorter work week, the scientific employers of the plant have come along and have speeded up the old plant, so that on the shorter working week the employees have been turning out in forty-four hours just as much as they were turning out in a forty-eight-hour week twelve months before, and it has not really absorbed the unemployed.

What we have got to pay regard to, in addition to the absorbing of the unemployed, is to say as workers that if the brains of science have been able to introduce technology into industry whereby mechanization has made everything so easy and so simple that, per capita, everybody can do so much more than they did before, we as workers, we as human beings, that were brought into the world in exactly

the same way as the people from the other class, have a right to the opportunities of more leisure to develop our social capabilities, our educational recreation, our educational facilities, to become more cultured—we have a right, as human beings, to the science that God has given to many of the people who have developed some of our industries in a wrong way instead of a right way.

I happen to have been Chairman of the Women's Labor Party during the last year and my term of office ends in November. We had in Sheffield this year a convention of more than 650 women delegates from all over Great Britain. Mind you, these were the wives of workers. I am not speaking of people who have had extraordinary training. I am speaking of the wives of trade unionists and the wives of people connected in industry who each year come together to voice the point of view of the women workers, so that the male trade unionists and the male members of the Labor Party will recognize what the aspirations of women are in that country. If you could have seen them getting on the rostrum and speaking one after the other in debates—yes, and at the trades union conference being able to put their point of view, being able to show that they were just as able as the men, I am sure you would have been impressed. I am not a feminist. I do not believe like many women do, that women are superior, neither do I believe men are superior. I believe men and women are human beings, both of them with a purpose to perform, and that both of them can do the job, as you, I am sure, will see to it that they do the job in the future.

My last word to you is this: Remember that the child of the trade unionist is the child of the mother as well as the father and that if you will give to your son and to your daughter the real trade union message, when the time comes when we are all called to the Great Beyond, you will leave a heritage and a prestige to your children, you will leave them an aspiration to carry on. I mentioned a few moments ago that your country was an expanding country and that reminds me of a story that I used to listen to from some of the paper barons in Great Britain. They used to say, "But I was only a barefooted boy and now I am the owner of the greatest newspaper in Great Britain." I have read the history of many of the people of your United States, people who are worth millions and millions of dollars today, and who say to you, "Ah, but there is always room at the top. I was once a barefooted boy, but now I am at the top." That may be quite true, but remember if you are going up a ladder there are so many rungs and there is only one top rung, and you can't all be barons of industry, you can't all be captains of industry. There are more workers in industry than there are industrial leaders or captains of industry who have got to the top.

So do not make the mistake of thinking that you are all going to get to the top and that you are going to cease some day to be wage earners. What I want the trade unionists to do is to see to it that every man and every woman and every boy and every girl shall have the fullest opportunity to develop his or her educational and cultural possibilities, and that your great trade union movement will make every industry that you are working in a fit and proper place for a human being to work in, whether you are on the ground or on the top. If you do that, if you shorten your hours and if your wages are good, if your homes are good and your surroundings are good, then that is the greatest possible service any individual can perform whilst they are on this earth.

That is the message that I have got to deliver to you, because that is what we realized in Great Britain, that there are only a few tops, and most of us have got to go on working for our livelihood. That is my message to you, to realize that the great bulk of people in any nation are working for a weekly or monthly wage, and it is our mission to see to it that the people on the lower rungs of the ladder are able to get something from the higher rungs of the ladder.

You are getting now all sorts of social legislation. One of your forms of social legislation is unemployment insurance. That gives a message to me, that the American States are recognizing apparently that unemployment in America is going to be a permanent feature of your system, because the unemployment social insurance was never introduced in Great Britain until the workers realized that unemployment was a permanent feature of the system under which we lived. That gives a sort of note to me and I hope that you will not misunderstand it in the message that I am delivering to you.

I thank you, every one of you, for giving me this opportunity of saying a few words. I thank you most heartily, Mr. President, for giving me the opportunity of addressing this convention. Whilst I have come here to learn something, I think I have learned something. I have learned in spite of the fact that it takes days to cross the Atlantic to see you, and it takes days for you to come across to see us: it may be possible in the not too distant future, as it was possible for an American to be able to hop from your country to Europe in a very short time by an air-plane, for us to be brought closer together. We are not going to be divided in the future because of science, as we have been divided in the past. This herring pond, as it is called on the other side, is going to be drawn much nearer by air than it has been up to the moment and it is quite possible that we will be coming over for week-end visits, just to see you as you

will be coming over to see us, and I think you can learn something from us and we can learn something from you.

But when some of the professors of our country come to America and tell you about the beautiful social legislation that we have—and I know that we have good social legislation in comparison with social legislation in other countries—but when they tell you that, you retort with this, that every phase of social legislation that is on the statute books in England today, irrespective of what act it is, was brought about by the efforts of organized labor. Even before they had their representatives in the House of Parliament they used to have conventions of this character, and just as you pass resolutions and you move your government to do certain things, so did we. Every good thing we have is due to the trade unionists and trade union efforts and every bad thing we have in Great Britain is due to the lack of appreciation of the large number of non-union workers in Great Britain who will take everything but will not fight for anything. You have the same people. It is your job to get them organized, not only to retain what you have already but to see to it that you make the United States of America the best country in the world to live in and give us an example that we can follow.

I thank you.

President Green: I am sure Miss Loughlin can understand how deeply you have appreciated her inspiring and instructive address this morning. It touches you deeply. You manifested that and showed that through your expression of approval and appreciation of her remarks. We are indeed fortunate that she came along with her other friends from Great Britain to visit with us. While she is just a visitor, a friend and a guest she speaks as though she were here in an official capacity. We very greatly and very deeply appreciate the inspiring and enthusiastic message she has just delivered. We thank her for it and we hope her stay here will be pleasant and we wish for her a safe return to her home.

No further committees were prepared to report at this time.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees, moved that the rules be suspended and that the convention recess until 2:30 o'clock p. m.

The motion was seconded and carried and the convention was recessed at 12:00 o'clock noon.

FIFTH DAY—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

ABSENTEES:

E. I. Hannah, Eardley, Doane, Billet, Slich, Wise, Regan, Dance, Rosqvist, David, Sigman, Wade, Hanoway, Dallas, Palmer, Swetland, Bradley, Osborne, Howat, M. J. Burke, Nord, Sager, Weinberg, Shave, Dahlager, T. F. Burns, Slout, Edmundson, Serra, Myer, Hymes, Cannizzaro, A. Flynn, Bender, Marzocca, Nadelhoffer, Malkovich, Dougherty, McGurk, Katz, Rundle, DeWitt, Caraway.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gillooly, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee has examined the credential of W. W. Thompson, representing the United Rubber Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18321, Akron, Ohio, and recommend that the delegate be seated with ten votes.

We further recommend, upon the written request of President Daniel J. Tobin, of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs, that the name of Dave Beck be substituted for that of John J. McKenna as a delegate to represent that Union.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers: On the tables before you will be found a pamphlet which reads: "A Must for Labor. Let Freedom Ring!" It is a spoken drama, and the opening night is November 6th at the Broadhurst Theater, 44th Street West and Broadway. This drama vividly outlines a cotton textile worker's life in a mill town in the South. I have read it over several times, and I believe if you can find an opportunity to attend it will be appreciated. The money will go to the South for the assistance of the textile workers where we are struggling to keep an organization in the textile states.

Secretary Morrison: I have been requested to read the following telegram:

Memphis, Tenn., Oct. 10, 1935.

C. C. Arthur,
Chelsea Hotel,
Atlantic City, N. J.

The Memphis Trades and Labor Council voted tonight to invite the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Memphis. Please extend this invitation to the convention.

R. S. McCANN, President,
Memphis Trades and Labor Council.

Secretary Morrison also read the following:

FEDERAL LABOR UNION 17261

St. Thomas, V. I.,
September 30, 1935.

Mr. William Green, President,
Convention Hall,
Atlantic City, N. J.
Dear Sir and Brother:

The officers and members of Federal Labor Union No. 17261, of A. F. of L., extends to yourself, officers and delegates assembled at the fifty-fifth annual convention their greetings and best wishes, and hope that their deliberations may be of such a nature that even the workers of this far away and hidden island may be benefited therefrom.

Fraternally and sincerely yours,

GEORGE ERNEST APPIA,

Secretary,

Federal Labor Union No. 17261

President Green: There is an addition to the distinguished visitors who have come to visit with us and address us this afternoon. We are indeed glad and happy beyond measure to be privileged to extend to Governor Winant, the Chairman of the Social Security Board, a most hearty welcome and a most sincere greeting.

It is hardly necessary for me to refer to the public service of Governor Winant. He was elected and served as Governor of the Commonwealth of New Hampshire. During the time he was serving there, labor and all of its friends had a wonderful opportunity accorded them to appraise his point of view and his splendid services. We know that New England—a section of our country noted for its conservatism—had produced a great American, a man of vision, abreast of the times, one who believed in many of the progressive principles advocated by the American Federation of Labor.

During his term as Governor, Mr. Winant made a deep impression upon the public mind of this nation. Then he was called on by President Roosevelt to serve as the chairman of a special committee appointed for the purpose of making an investigation into industrial conditions in the textile industry. Here again he measured up to the requirements of the situation and rendered excellent service. Following that, he was called upon to serve as Assistant Director of the International Labor Office at Geneva, and he was there for quite a while serving in that honorable and responsible position.

Then when Congress passed the Social Security Act, again the President searched for some outstanding man, equipped by training, state of mind and point of view to render service in that responsible posi-

tion, and of all the millions of Americans this distinguished man, Governor Winant, was selected. He is here to bring to us his message this afternoon. We have watched his work and we appreciate his point of view and the fine public service he has rendered.

I present to you this afternoon Governor Winant, Chairman of the National Social Security Board.

Hon. John J. Winant, Chairman, National Social Security Board.

President Green, members of the Federation: Several months ago President Green was kind enough to join with others in a radio broadcast wishing me well in undertaking an assignment as Assistant Director in the International Labor Office in Geneva. At the time I suggested that this organization in which industry, labor and governments were represented, was based upon the assumption that greater economic security was necessary if we were to look forward to universal peace. The same reasons that prompted me to accept that post are responsible for my accepting membership on the Social Security Board. Both undertakings need your co-operation and support, and I particularly appreciate the invitation which brought me here today.

The International Labor Organization was conceived and supported in large measure by an American, Samuel Gompers, then President of the American Federation of Labor. The workers' room in the I. L. O. Building in Geneva was a gift of the Federation in his memory. The first meeting was held in Washington in 1919. This year, in its nineteenth session, were included representatives from the Government of the United States.

In the language of the Director's report, the object of the International Labor Organization "is not merely to prevent abuses, to reduce accident and disease in industry, to eliminate hardship and distress. It has a more positive task in making possible a freer and better life for all those engaged in industry and agriculture . . ."

If any one theme dominated the discussions of this conference it was the problem of unemployment. The outstanding single conclusion of the conference was agreement on the principle of the 40-hour week in combination with the maintenance of the standard of living. No group contributed more to this result than the United States delegation.

We had four delegates, two representing Government, one representing employers and one representing labor. By the accident of selection, one was an educator born on a Tennessee farm, one a woman from the Middle West, who had spent her life protecting the interests of children; another a business man from New York, and the representative of Labor, Dan Tracy, a Texan. They would have been at home in

any part of the United States. They were at home then as your delegates in Geneva.

In order to understand more clearly the contribution of the conference it may be well to explain that besides the consideration of treaties and resolutions, fields of research are also marked out for study, and in the discussion of the director's report there is an exchange of ideas on an international basis which gives direction to the work undertaken and that has great educational value.

The research program which was outlined by the conference for the coming year has to do with nutrition, textiles and populations. Miss Abbott spoke in support of the nutrition study, and Dr. Hamilton urged a comprehensive study of textiles in order that we might develop "an understanding of the problem which will guide individuals' trade associations, labor unions and governments alike," to make correct judgments in working for a more orderly industry.

In the discussion on populations, unemployment, as well as trade barriers and the almost complete exclusion of migrations appeared as important factors. Mr. Lewishohn's great contribution to the Conference was in upholding almost single-handed among the employers' group, at a critical point in the debate, the obligation of employers to participate in round-table discussion in committees, according to the standing orders of the Conference. Mr. Tracy suggested that the Labor Office direct its attention "to measures intended to give social guidance to industrial development and particularly to their international aspects; to study those industries serving the vital needs of the people, which by reason of under-consumption of their products are especially exposed to the stress of world competition and in the light of the experience of the various countries to examine measures tending to reinforce effective demand, thereby increasing economic activity and employment throughout the world, and report its findings in fields that seem to be of outstanding importance from the point of view of social progress."

The argument that where plenty exists its proper distribution to the best general advantage can and should be effected by human forethought and organization is really irresistible, dominated the thought of the annual conference. As the American Labor delegate stated, "One country after another has abandoned the policy of drift for the policy of intervention." The pressure of depression and want on social and political institutions has forced experimentation. This has not been undertaken as a matter of wishful thinking by Government but as a matter of necessity. It has been undertaken because the people of the world have wanted it.

Dr. Hamilton expressed the spirit of the Conference when he said, "I think I am

speaking for our people when I say that we would rather take a chance at doing something than a chance at a theory which was put forward during the debate—that God wound up the clock in the beginning and then threw the key away."

It seems to me that if we are to have a clear understanding of the International Labor Office to which this Government belongs, that you should understand the mechanics of the organization of the International Labor Organization. I have tried to develop a simplified understanding of the Organization by dividing it into three parts dealing, first, with the Organization; second, with the function, and third, the obligations incurred by member states.

There are 62 countries which belong to the International Labor Organization. It is an autonomous body operating under a constitutional charter. It is implemented to do business through its collective membership. Its organization consists of a General Conference, of a Governing Board and of a permanent Labor Office. The General Conference meets annually, to which all member nations send representatives. They send four official delegates from each state, two representing government, one representing labor and one representing employers. Technical advisers may also be selected. In the case of the larger and more prosperous governments the expenses of these technical advisers are paid for by the particular country. Delegates are permitted to substitute in committee technical advisers. This is often necessary as the number of committees that are meeting are greater than it is possible for four official delegates to attend.

You may be interested in the mechanism of the Conference. Each delegate has a desk. At the desk there is a telephone receiver, or rather a telephone headpiece. The speaker addressing the conference talks in his own language. The official languages are French and English. We will assume that the speaker is talking in Greek. You can then pick up the headpiece at your desk, turn to any one of the five languages in which you want to listen to the debate, other than the language in which the speaker is speaking, and you get simultaneously the translation of the address.

That conference, from a technical point of view, in my point of view, was more perfectly organized than the mechanics of any conference I have ever had the opportunity to attend. And to implement a conference in which there were 60 nations or members with all the varied languages involved is a difficult and technical task. The governing body meets quarterly. It is made up of 32 members, 16 representing government, 8 employers and 8 workers. It is a kind of executive committee. Eight of the government representatives are selected from the larger industrial nations of the world that are member nations. The other eight government delegates are selected from the other nations that are member nations by election. The employer representa-

tives are elected from the employer group and the worker representatives on the governing board are elected from the workers' group.

The permanent International Labor Office is a secretariat, with a seat at Geneva and a staff of over 400. Its task is only to implement the Conference and to serve the governing board, but it also carries on the investigation and research work of the International Labor Office.

ITS FUNCTIONS

Its function, or rather the function of the General Conference, is to adopt conventions or recommendations. These are in effect treaties. It is necessary to get a two-thirds vote of the Conference in order to adopt or recommend a treaty.

Research is carried on by the office, as I have already stated. The educational value through news services of releases from Geneva, not only at the time of the Conference and the Governing Board, but throughout the year, I believe, have had a very definite effect on the teachings in regard to world standards throughout the world.

One of the hardest tasks of the International Labor Conference is to build up standards in countries that we might describe as backward countries. A thing that is of particular interest to all countries of the world is relative standing. That is particularly true when we are dealing with world markets. We find right here in the United States that competition can be so severe that it is destructive of capital, of profit and of human beings, and just as men here fight to maintain these standards, so it is necessary that we use our influence to maintain world standards. That is the major function of the International Labor Organization.

ITS OBLIGATIONS

Each nation obligates itself to send delegates at its expense, also to pay their share of the expenses of the organization. The United States pays an assessment equal to that of Great Britain, meaning by that, Great Britain, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and the Crown Colonies. The Irish Free State sends its own delegates and pays its own share. India sends its own delegates and pays its own share. Canada, Australia and the other Dominions send their own delegates and pay their own share.

Another obligation is to present to the competent authorities within a year, or at least within eighteen months after the conclusion of each annual Conference, the conventions or treaties and recommendations agreed upon at the Conference for ratification or otherwise. In other words, no nation commits itself to the action of the Con-

ference, but every nation pledges itself to present to its treaty-making authorities treaties on recommendations that are made by the Conference.

The International Labor Office has a Director who is selected by the Governing Board and he in turn selects the personnel of that office. There are four Assistant Directors and under the Directors there are divisions. It was my job to head up the divisions of social security, the division that had to do with the hours of work of women and children, and the division that had to do with overseas countries—the United States being an overseas country as contrasted with European countries.

There is accumulated in the International Labor Office at Geneva, in its archives and in the minds of its personnel, the world's experience in the world's effort at social security, and in my judgment, that office can be very useful in helping the Social Security Board through its knowledge of the experience of the countries of the world in this particular field.

Every nation necessarily sets up its own particular act of legislation and organization in order to meet a particular need; but that certainly should not deprive this nation, or any other nation, of the experience of the nations of the world in attempting to do the same thing, or to do similar things. Often the best friend you have may be able to help you by telling you the things not to do. I know in all fields of legislation that there are things that we have learned not to do. And so I hope that through our membership with this organization, conceived by a man who led your organization, that we may be able to gather from it advices that will be helpful to us here in this field in which you are all particularly interested.

I remember two things that might have some bearing on what I am saying here. It was my privilege to command the second so-called "Liberty Squadron" that served on the front. It was engined by the so-called Liberty motor which was a great contribution at that time, but it was housed in a plane that ignored the experience of England and other countries that already had years of fighting on the front. It was recognized by every pilot who flew one as a fire-trap and it was called throughout the front a flaming coffin. If we had been willing to take the experience of other countries we could have avoided housing a great engine in a miserable fire-trap. And in the same way, in times of peace, in working on social legislation there is always the opportunity to profit by the knowledge and the experience of other people.

The other thing I was going to tell you was that after the war was over I heard that Samuel Gompers was in Paris work-

ing on the International Labor Organization, and I got leave in order to go up to Paris to see him and to discuss that organization. And I considered it a great privilege to have been the first American who had served in the International Labor Office; and I consider it also a very real privilege to come here and to thank you for the foresight of the man who was an outstanding leader in this country in times of peace and in times of war.

The work of this organization is not foreign to the United States. Always we have been interested in human welfare. A century and a half ago George Washington, writing to a friend in France, described himself as "a citizen of the great republic of humanity at large," and Lincoln, in speaking in Independence Hall in 1861, reminded us that the sentiment in the Declaration of Independence gave Liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time, and added it was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men and that all would have an equal chance.

We are interested to see what kind of contribution this country can make in an organization founded to lift the weights off the shoulders of mankind. No nation can contribute more in the councils of the International Labor Organization, in its efforts to lift human standards than the American Federation of Labor. The International Labor Organization can also be useful to the Federation and to those of your force that contribute to the wants and well-being of the people of the United States.

President Green: Governor Winant has kindly consented to say something about the Social Security Board.

Governor Winant: I don't like to talk when I have nothing to say. You know the story of the Social Security Act. It was passed and adopted by the last Congress. It should have been accompanied by an appropriation measure which would have implemented the Act. The appropriation was contained in the Third Deficiency Bill and more recently, which you are aware of, it failed in passage. The President appointed the three members of the Board. The Board is yet without funds. We asked the Labor Department if they would set up a project which would give us sufficient funds to set up a skeleton organization. The President approved that plan. The request for funds has gone to the Comptroller.

The funds had not been allocated when I left my office last night. We are doing what we can in order to make a beginning. We have been able through the splendid co-operation of all persons concerned to borrow some personnel from one department—in fact from several. We have been able to borrow typewriters, borrow some writing paper and some envelopes and to borrow everything the job requires when you haven't anything to use for money.

That is all I have got to say except that those of us whom you might expect to work on this project are doing the best they know how to get a day's work done.

President Green: I wish to express to Governor Winant our deep appreciation of his visit this afternoon and of the most interesting address which he has delivered. I know that we can all have a better understanding of the work of the International Labor Office as a result of the submission of his message to us this afternoon. In your behalf and in your name I thank him for his visit here and for the address which he delivered.

President Green: Now we have with us for our next speaker the Director of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. The men and women of labor are tremendously interested in the Children's Bureau and in the work it is doing. We have a special interest in that Department, and for that reason I know you desire that we may learn something more about the work of the Bureau from its Director, who has charge of its administration.

Miss Katherine Lenroot, of the Children's Bureau, succeeded Miss Grace Abbott, who has a national and international reputation as an expert in the field of children and children's service. Miss Lenroot comes from that great progressive commonwealth of Wisconsin. In our fight for the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States, Miss Lenroot and her associates have given to the American Federation of Labor and to the Child Labor Committee created by other groups who are working with us and with them a full measure of support. More than that, Miss Lenroot has given much of her time and effort and service in trying to bring about the final adoption of the Child Labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States. I know that fact alone will recommend her as a sympathetic, honest, sincere friend not only of the children of the nation but of labor as well.

I take very great pleasure in presenting to you now Miss Katherine F. Lenroot, Director of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

MISS KATHERINE F. LENROOT
(Chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor)

Mr. President, Governor Winant, distinguished officers and members of the American Federation of Labor: I deem it a very great privilege and honor to be accorded the platform this afternoon in this most significant convention when you are discussing issues of far-reaching importance to the welfare of the American wage earner, his family, and the entire commonwealth.

You have heard this afternoon of the developments in the field of international labor standards, developments which owe their inception, perhaps more than to any other man, to your own revered Samuel Gompers. I should have liked this afternoon to have discussed with you some of the many problems which confront America today in pioneer fields of social endeavor affecting the welfare of the children of the wage earners and of all citizens, but we have before us as an unfinished business, a business that was initiated in the Federal Congress nearly thirty years ago, business which Samuel Gompers devoted a great deal of his attention to and to which he gave invaluable leadership, but business which is still before us and which we dare not leave to discuss some of these newer things that we ought to have time to devote our energies to.

For we are today without any national child labor standards given any legal sanction whatever. The withdrawal of the codes under the National Industrial Recovery Act has left us in the position of absence of any uniform protection, the only protection being the inadequate and uneven protection afforded by State legislation.

And so this afternoon I am going to use my time almost entirely in a discussion of this question of the limitation of child labor under present industrial conditions on a nation-wide basis. Historically, of course, child labor has always been primarily the object of labor legislation and one which has always received the support of organized labor. American working men have realized that premature labor not only deprives children of opportunities of healthful development, for education so much needed to fit them for the complicated conditions which they must meet and for that time of happiness and some degree of leisure, together with the home duties to which children are entitled. But beyond those circumstances American working men have realized that the competition of children in the labor market has tended to depress wages and working conditions, to maintain conditions approaching sweatshop labor.

So that both for economic reasons and for these more important reasons of the welfare and happiness of the children, American labor has been in the forefront of this fully supported child labor legislation. At first

the efforts to secure such protection were limited to State legislation. Then as year after year went on and the difficulties of leaving this matter up to the individual States when industry was nation-wide became more and more evident, labor got behind the movement for national minimum standards.

It was nearly thirty years ago that the first Federal child labor bill was introduced in Congress and received support from leading Conservatives as well as Progressives of both the Democratic and Republican Parties. It is nearly twenty years since the first Federal child labor law was passed, and it is ten or twelve years since Samuel Gompers, after the first and second child labor laws had been declared unconstitutional, took the chairmanship of a committee representing twenty different organizations interested in the protection of children, which drafted the original language in which the child labor amendment to the Constitution was introduced in Congress.

In the fight to obtain the passage of that amendment by Congress, a fight which was so successful that the House voted in favor of the amendment by a vote of 297 to 69 and the Senate by a vote of 61 to 23, Labor took a prominent part. State Federations of Labor as well as the American Federation of Labor have since then taken a very active part in the campaigns to secure ratification in the different States. I have only to point to that section of the report of your Executive Council to this convention, outlining in a very excellent and adequate way the real nature and scope of the amendment and discussing some of the misunderstandings and misrepresentations to which it has been subjected.

I also want to refer to the able statements in behalf of the amendment made by many of the officers and executives of State Federations of Labor. As examples of these statements I have two made last August at the time State Federations were holding their conventions—one by George Meany, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, in which he said:

"Our fight for the child labor amendment is important to the whole labor movement in the United States. It is important, too, because it will help to bring about the return of prosperity. It is important to the manufacturer also, because it is to his interest in this State at least that other States shall have the same high labor protection standards enjoyed by New York State."

Then I have a clipping containing a statement by my friend, Mr. Watt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, who escorted me to the platform this afternoon, in which he calls attention to the vital importance of the child labor amendment:

"Although twenty-four sovereign States have ratified the amendment and although the Governor has called in leaders from our

industries and has made frequent trips to Washington, our Legislature voted against this legislation. For fifty years the United States has been trying to abolish child labor by means of individual State legislation, with but poor results. The situation which has developed has enabled business to make the most money in States where the law allowed the children to be treated the worst. This condition, it must be admitted, tends to drive manufacturing to the States which allow child labor and out of States with high standards, penalizing the good States and rewarding those with the lowest standards."

In 1932, when we had reached the lowest point of the depression so far as employment was concerned, it became evident that even in the face of this vast amount of unemployment in this country, little children were being kept at work for long hours at pitifully low wages, and that in some places the employment of children was actually increasing. These facts were placed upon the front pages of our newspapers by the occurrence of the so-called children's strikes in Pennsylvania. President Green then asked Miss Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau at that time, to call together in Washington a national conference on the emergency situation in child labor, which was held in December, 1932. At that conference the situation with reference to the return of sweatshop conditions and the exploitation of children and their competition with adults for the small number of jobs that was available was reviewed. Reports from Pennsylvania, from official investigations of the State Department of Labor and Industries showed, for example, over 800 children under 16 years of age in 153 plants employing 20,000 workers. In some of those plants as many as one-fourth of the employees were children under the age of sixteen years. Most of these children were working 51 hours per week, or nearly that, allowed by State legislation at that time. Seventy-five per cent of these children earned less than \$5.00 a week and more than one-fourth of them earned less than \$2.00 a week. Individual instances were cited, for instance, of a 14-year-old girl, the only wage earner in a family of five, earning \$1.75 per week in a clothing factory, and two girls, sisters, aged sixteen and fourteen years, the only employees in a family of eight, one of them earning \$4.00 and the other \$1.50 per week in a shirt factory.

At that conference Miss Perkins, then the Industrial Commissioner of New York State, called attention to the fact that jobs then available to children were jobs that had very little value to the children either in training opportunities or financial remuneration. It was to combat these conditions that the child labor provisions of the codes were adopted, effecting such a quick and notable change for child labor standards in this country, virtually eliminating from industry and trade the labor

of children under sixteen years of age. So that as compared with fifteen thousand employment certificates issued in eighteen states and sixty-nine cities reported to the Children's Bureau in 1932, only 13,900 were issued in 1934, or a reduction of 72 per cent. At the same time that there was this decrease in the child workers of fourteen and fifteen years of age at a time when general factory employment was rising there was an increase in the employment of sixteen- and seventeen-year-old children, showing that there was a shift and a tendency to replace the younger workers by the older ones. The conditions of the codes relating to employment in hazardous occupations safeguarded probably at least 50,000 sixteen- and seventeen-year-old children from employments that were especially hazardous to them. These changes were made without serious disturbance to industry, without swamping the schools with burdens which they could not provide for and without interfering with the sacred rights of the home or decreasing the tendency of the states to themselves enact protective legislation. For during the period when NRA was in effect greater advances were made in state child labor laws than at any period since 1922 when the second Federal Child Labor Act was declared unconstitutional.

As a result of these changes we now have seven states which have the basic sixteen-year minimum, but we have the remainder of the states without this protection. No man can tell the extent to which children fourteen to sixteen years of age will return to employment, now that the protection of NRA has been removed. Preliminary figures already indicate some tendency to re-employment of children fourteen and fifteen years of age. For seven states and eighty-nine cities' reports for the first three months following the Schechter decision indicated over 514 children of fourteen and fifteen years of age certificated for regular employment and nearly 2,000 for vacation employment. We have twenty-four states that have ratified and only twelve more states are needed. The issues are clear. There should be no great difficulty in obtaining these twelve ratifications that are necessary.

Under vigorous opposition, based, as I have said, for the most part, upon misrepresentation and misunderstanding, our progress has been blocked and it is before us today to determine whether the ranks of labor, together with all others interested in the protection of children and of family life, will join hands in a solemn resolve to see to it that we shall not extend beyond the next two years the period of struggle to put this amendment in the Constitution. There is no mechanism yet devised which will take its place. Interstate compacts which have been much discussed in certain parts of the country offer only a very slight procedure and only a very partial protection even if they could be adopted

and put into effect in any reasonable length of time. Industry today is nation-wide in its organization. Competition is nation-wide, and only a nation-wide standard will suffice to accomplish those objectives which Samuel Gompers and President Green have so close to their hearts, which American working men have always realized as necessary for their children. For in the great international union agreement the sixteen-year standard of entrance into industry has been maintained and insisted upon for many, many years.

As I said in the beginning, there are many serious problems before us in this country affecting our families and the future of our children, affecting the very future of America itself, for if our children cannot be given those advantages and opportunities to attain which we give all our lives and our strength and our service, then American civilization is doomed. The child labor amendment is only one part of this struggle. Other very vital issues concerning the entrance of youth into industry—the ways in which labor and education and their social forces may be united to afford youth as they enter the adult years a fair chance to work and earn and achieve—all of those vital issues are more interesting to us than this basic principle of the elimination of children from the labor market. Yet we must clean up this job begun so long ago and carry forward as a memorial to Samuel Gompers and all those others who contributed of their best to the objective which is so dear to us—the final inclusion in the basic law of our land of a charter for the children of America which will forever protect them from exploitation.

President Green: We thank Miss Lenroot for this wonderful address which she has delivered this afternoon. She dealt with a subject upon which we are all in common accord. Her address will help to unite all those who wish to protect the children of the nation, and who wish to see incorporated in the organic law of the nation an amendment which will protect the children in all the states of the Union.

I thank her very sincerely for her visit this afternoon and for the most inspiring address which she delivered.

A year ago as you recall, the convention of the American Federation of Labor held at San Francisco, Calif., voted to create a chest for the purpose of supplying such relief as labor might find it possible to give to the refugees of countries in Europe, particularly Germany, where they were the object of persecution. Pursuant to these instructions given unanimously by the delegates in attendance at the convention, a committee was appointed for the purpose of

creating this chest, and for the purpose of raising money in order that we might help those of our unfortunate brothers who were the victims of persecution abroad.

Members of the Executive Council and others were appointed as a committee charged with the responsibility of making this work a success. The committee selected Vice-President Woll as its chairman. All of them have rendered yeoman service, the finest kind of service, unselfish, patriotic, devoted service.

I am going to call on President Woll to report to the convention this afternoon of the work of the Chest and give you some valuable information regarding the creation of that Chest and the work which the committee has undertaken to do. It affords me very great pleasure to present to you our colleague and fellow worker, sincere and devoted as he is to this great work, as well as to the work of the American Federation of Labor—Vice-President Matthew Woll.

Vice-President Woll: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: This report is the unanimous report of the Labor Chest for the relief and liberation of workers in Europe.

REPORT OF CHEST FOR LIBERATION OF WORKERS OF EUROPE

The 1934 Convention of the A. F. of L. at San Francisco endorsed the formation of a Chest for the liberation of workers of Europe for the purpose of collecting funds for the relief of labor victims of Fascism and maintenance of trade union activities within Fascist countries.

The convention adopted the report of the Resolutions Committee on this subject as follows: After recommending the continuation of labor's boycott of Nazi Germany the Resolutions Committee further recommended that:

The American Federation of Labor records itself as favoring a full measure of support to all victims of Fascism and particularly to refugees from Fascist countries, and to those brave heroes of labor, who, in spite of the tremendous risks involved, continue to hold the thread of Labor solidarity and labor organizations with the Fascist countries. It urges, therefore, the fullest support of the American Federation of Labor for the "Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe," which is now being organized by interested and affiliated national and international unions, with the understanding, however, that in so co-operating this proposed and approved "Chest" will at all times conform to and be guided with the wishes and requirements

of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and without involving any responsibility upon the American Federation of Labor itself.

In accordance with this action of last year's convention, President Green assumed the Presidency of the organization formed at that time and appointed the following committee:

John Coefield, President Plumbers and Steamfitters' International Union.

David Dubinsky, President International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

William Green, President American Federation of Labor.

Sidney Hillman, President Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Charles P. Howard, President International Typographical Union.

John L. Lewis, President United Mine Workers of America.

Raymond F. Lowry, President American Federation of Teachers.

Joseph P. Ryan, President International Longshoremen's Association.

Joseph N. Weber, President American Federation of Musicians.

Arthur O. Wharton, President International Union of Machinists.

Matthew Woll, President Union Labor Life Insurance Company.

Max Zaritsky, President Millinery Division I. C. H. C. W. U.

Matthew Woll was elected Chairman, Joseph N. Weber, secretary, and David Dubinsky, treasurer. Headquarters were established at 3 West Sixteenth Street, New York City and with the tours of the country by Walter Citrine, President of the International Federation of Trades Unions and by Julius Deutsch, ex-member of the Austrian Parliament, and Gerhart Seger, ex-member of the German Reichstag, the Chest entered into a year of successful activity.

A financial statement submitted by our Treasurer, David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, shows that the Chest has collected over \$46,000.00 of which \$21,750.00 was transmitted to Europe and disbursed through the International Federation of Trades Unions for the relief of labor victims of Nazism and Fascism and \$11,553.50 to the victims of Italian Fascism through the Modigliani Fund.

Most of the funds so far collected have come from a number of international unions and from local unions in New York City. We are now entering a national campaign to have all other international and local unions throughout the country take an active interest.

A campaign of organization and education was necessary in connection with the collection of funds and to that end local Chest Committees were established. Boycott and other resolutions were prepared and widely distributed for the purpose of presenting to conventions and other labor meetings.

A literature and information Department

was established. During 1935 twenty-one bulletins of from three to four pages each, containing special reports and information from the Fascist-ruled countries were released. These bulletins have been widely distributed and extensive use has been made of them by the labor press as well as by the general newspapers. In many instances the material released has been used for editorial comment. Requests for it were also received from diplomatic quarters.

In addition to these bulletins, a series of special articles have been released describing labor conditions in Germany, Austria and Italy, and stressing the need for the anti-Nazi boycott and concerted labor action.

The mailing list of the Labor Chest has grown from a beginning of approximately 800 to about 3,000 at the present time. All directly affiliated local unions, city central bodies, state federations, international and other unions are on the list. In addition, approximately 150 labor papers and a carefully selected list of about 300 general newspapers are being served. Stress is laid upon labor conditions in the Fascist ruled countries and the accurate presentation of economic facts as they affect organized labor, together with the political and social terror exercised against all foes and critics of the Fascist regime.

The records in our possession prove the highly satisfactory response which these publicity activities have found on the part of the general public, the press and other interested groups. Leading newspapers throughout the country have made continuous use of our service; other papers have requested us to put the names of their leading European correspondents on our mailing list.

The three pamphlets have been published. The first, "Labor, Democracy and Fascism," was printed in 50,000 copies, most of which have been distributed. The other two, "Labor Under Hitler," and "Hitler Terror in 1935," met with an extraordinary response on the part of organized labor as well as the general public. It was necessary to print a second edition of 10,000 copies of "Labor Under Hitler," most of which has already been distributed, thanks to the co-operation given us by local labor organizations.

Copies of these pamphlets have been sent to the President of the United States, all Cabinet officers, State Governors and other leading government officials. Members of Congress were also furnished with copies and we have had encouraging responses as shown by the attached letter from Representative Fred H. Hildebrandt.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 15, 1935.

Mr. Harry Lee Franklin,
Executive Secretary,

Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe,
3 West 16th Street,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Franklin:

I am in receipt of the complimentary copy of "Hitler Terror in 1935" that you were kind enough to send me and I thank you for same.

I wish to assure you of my full approval of the excellent work you are doing in exposing the official terrorism that is being exercised over the German people by the Hitler regime and the fearful persecution of Jews, Catholics, Masons, certain Protestant groups and labor unions by the Nazi government.

You proceeded wisely in enlisting the co-operation of Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. Lewis, Mr. Hillman, Mr. Woll and other leaders of the labor movement. They have from the first been the chief opponents in the United States of Nazi terrorism.

As an American-born citizen of German descent, I am particularly interested in events in the land of my ancestors and it gives me profound sorrow to see the splendid German people under the lash of such a tyrant as Hitler. My position on the subject is well known and I shall be glad to do anything that seems practicable to co-operate with you.

Assuring you of my best wishes and with kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

FRED H. HILDEBRANDT.

The Labor Chest posters with the signature of President William Green as well as the illustrative posters of Labor literature in the Fascist countries have been extensively distributed.

I wish to recall to your minds the situation that led the Federation to endorse the Chest, the situation that we have endeavored to relieve during the past year and that calls for labor's continued support.

I call attention to the fact that this data is fresh and unpublished. It has been brought up to date by a member of our sub-committee on publicity, who spent several months in gathering it and has just returned from Europe.

At the very time that the labor movement of the free countries of Europe was compelled to exert itself to the utmost in combating the spread of Fascism and Nazism into its own countries it faced two other problems, both immediate and pressing. One was that of the labor refugees from the Fascist countries. Throughout the length and breadth of Europe there are scattered nearly ten thousand (10,000) men and women who formerly held important positions in the labor movements of Germany, Italy, Austria. Many of them were the heads of large trades unions, of co-operative organizations, of labor political parties or editors of labor publications. The great

majority of them have grown up with the labor movement and have never thought of the possibility of anything else but serving labor. Of this number only a small part have managed to adjust themselves to the new life in exile. The rest have found themselves utterly helpless in new and foreign surroundings and have created a grave problem for the labor organizations of all refugee countries. Almost none of them have succeeded in bringing out money savings or even personal belongings. In Germany and Italy, when a labor man was arrested, or when his home was invaded in his absence, every bit of furniture or clothing was demolished and his bank account and every realizable asset confiscated.

The Austrian and German Fascist governments have confiscated besides at least sixty million dollars (\$60,000,000) worth of union property and union funds—nearly \$10,000,000 in Austria and over \$50,000,000 in Germany.

These people crossed the frontier without anything but the clothes on their backs. When Hitler first came into power in the beginning of 1933 and the refugees began to stream across the German frontier into France, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland, the labor movement in these countries undertook the care of labor refugees. In some countries the trade union members worked one hour a week for the refugee fund. Some local unions taxed their members as high as two per cent (2%) of their earnings for the benefit of this fund. The British Trades Union Congress, the national trades union organizations of the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium, raised large amounts of money amounting altogether to nearly a million dollars (\$1,000,000) for refugee aid. I am speaking, of course, of non-Jewish refugees, as the Jewish refugees, even if they belonged to labor organizations, were taken care of by the Jewish refugee committees.

But as time wore on and as the economic crisis in some of the refugee countries widened and unemployment increased, it became more and more difficult to raise the funds necessary for the proper care of the refugees. Let me cite a few striking instances. For over a year about one hundred (100) refugees were accommodated in a building in Brussels, Belgium, where food, recreation and proper environment were provided by the local committee. It had to be given up because it was impossible to continue to raise the necessary funds for its upkeep, particularly since the economic crisis in Belgium caused the closing of some of the banks, including the Labor Bank in which most of the trade union funds were kept. Today, with about \$100 a week, these refugees could be rehoused in a splendid building which the city of Brussels is willing to turn over for this purpose, but the hundred dollars a week are hard to raise. Another instance is the home for the refugees maintained by the Czecho-Slovakian trade union movement

in a small town near Prague. A rich, liberal Czech turned over for the use of the committee a beautiful hotel with all possible accommodations for the proper maintenance of the refugees. But there is now not enough money to take care of their food, cigarettes, and clothing. So about sixty (60) German and Austrian refugees sleep in beautiful rooms, walk around a beautiful park, and with an allowance of only about twenty cents (\$.20) a day for their maintenance. And there are women and children among them.

With a severe European winter approaching, there will be much suffering because whatever clothes the refugees had brought along with them are worn to shreds and there is no money to clothe them.

The Austrian refugees, through their central committee, came to the conclusion that one of the ways to solve this problem was to send back into Austria all those who are threatened with not more than one year in jail. One hundred and seven (107) refugees returned to Austria to take their punishment so that the burden upon the rest might be lightened.

Here are a few excerpts from the written reports submitted to us by the different national labor refugees' committees.

The committee in Sweden says: "As our committee has very limited means, many refugees in Sweden are in great distress." The Swiss committee says: "We may point out here that no other national trade union center has had to bear relatively such a burden, and even taken absolutely the amounts we raised are only exceeded by those of the Czecho-Slovakian organizations. But we are now at the end of our tether, and if we do not receive in the immediate future considerable outside support, we shall have to discontinue our relief work. This would be particularly deplorable in view of the coming winter." The Roumanian committee says: "The circumstances here make it difficult to assure the continued support of our refugees." The committee in Yugoslavia says: "Up till now we have expended a total of 214,000 dinar on relief for Austrian and German refugees. We are sorry to say that it has become impossible for us to raise further funds here for this purpose and that we have therefore had to inform the refugees that they can only count on our help till the end of this year." The Belgian committee says: "The fund at present shows a deficit as the large number of German refugees who had to flee the Nazi regime and came to Belgium had made a great hole in our resources which are today in a bad way." The Czecho-Slovakian committee, which has raised nearly four million (4,000,000) kronen for refugees' care alone, says: "The care of refugees is financially in the greatest possible danger. Because of the long duration of refugee immigration, and because of our duty to support our own unemployed members, it is no longer possible for us to raise the necessary

moneys for the maintenance of the refugees." Altogether, at least six thousand (6,000) labor men are in exile and in need of assistance.

The second problem with which the labor movement has had to deal in connection with the Fascist situation is the maintenance of contacts and organization within the Fascist countries. The world at large knows very little about this work for the simple reason that it must be done underground and too much publicity would only play into the hands of the oppressors. But it can be said without fear of contradiction that the sacrifice being borne by the labor movement both in and outside of the Fascist countries is heroic and recalls the most glorious deeds of fighters for freedom through the ages. There is no risk, no danger, to life or liberty, no physical, mental, or moral tortures which these men of labor refuse to face in their work of maintaining the voice of labor against tyranny and oppression.

Although only recently a fifty- (50) year-old woman worker was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for the possession of a trade union publication, since February, 1934, the Austrian labor movement has secretly printed and distributed over ten millions (10,000,000) copies of newspapers, appeals, leaflets, and books; most of which were paid for by the people for whom they were intended.

The exact number of workers killed, exiled or imprisoned in the Fascist countries within the last several years will never be known, but the terrorism of the Fascist governments against labor is beyond anybody's imagination. Our reports show that 250 trade union members were sentenced in Italy within the last year to an average of six years' imprisonment each. Seven hundred labor men are in jails of Austria, some of them under sentences as high as eighteen years. In Germany, since the advent of Hitlerism, 120 opponents of the regime have been beheaded, nearly 100 were given life sentences, and seven thousand (7,000) years of hard labor and imprisonment meted out to others, most of them former members of the German Trades Unions. This is exclusive of the thousands who find themselves in concentration camps and under temporary arrest.

Here is a partial list of trade unionists murdered by the Nazi government in Germany, without trial or court conviction:

FRITZ HUSEMAN, President, German Miners' Union, 61 years old, beaten to death. Huseman was not killed "while trying to escape" as was at first reported.

WEISS, manager of the Workers' House, shot at Worms.

PHILIP, manager of the Trades Union House at Breslau, shot.

LANDGRAF, President of the Clerks' Union, shot.

JOACHIM GUNTHER, union representative in labor cases, tortured to death.

WALTER BOEGE, official of the Clerks' Union, shot.

MICHEL RODENSTOCK, Secretary of the Metal Workers' Union, shot.

JULIUS BIRCH, member of the executive of the General Union Municipal and Transport Workers, shot.

HERMAN BASSE, Secretary of the Railwaymen's Union, shot.

WILHELM REUPKE, secretary of the Co-operative Society and official of the Clerks' Union, shot.

EBEL, secretary of the executive of the National Health Insurance System and leading official of the Clerks' Union, shot.

MATTLAS THEISSEN, secretary of the Building Workers' Federation, shot.

FELIX FECHENBACH, executive member of the Clerks' Union, shot.

HANS OTT, well-known official of the Trade Unionist Dramatic Society, shot.

KARL FROMME, secretary of the Metal Workers' Union in Nheim, shot.

GUSTAV HEMPEL, secretary of the German Metal Workers' Union in Werdau, shot.

OTTO SCHWEITZER, general secretary, Union Technical Employees, driven to suicide.

Here is a partial list of trade union leaders who were compelled to flee for their lives and are now exiles in foreign countries.

KLEW, president of the Union of Enginemen and Firemen.

VALTIN HARTIG, general secretary, Union of Municipal and State Workers.

FRITZ FRICKE, manager of the Trade Union School in Berlin.

PAUL UFERMANN, editor of the Metal Workers' Journal.

HANS MUGRAUER, head of the research department of the German Miners' Union.

GUSTAV SCHULENBURG, secretary to the German Metal Workers' Union.

MARTIN KREBS, international secretary of the Glass Workers' Union.

HANS JAN, vice-president of the Railwaymen's Union.

MARTIN PLETTL, president Clothing Workers' Union.

JOHANN SCHORSCH, general secretary of the Austrian Trade Unions.

JOHANN SVITANICS, former treasurer of the Austrian Trade Unions.

BERTHOLD KONIG, general secretary of the Austrian Union of Railwaymen.

MICHAEL FRUHWIRTH, secretary of the Union of Textile Workers.

We have in our possession a partial list also of important trade union officials who are now either in concentration camps or in prison. This list contains the names of scores of former presidents, vice-presidents, and general secretaries of bona fide trades unions. Some of them have been put into concentration camp or prison for the second or third time.

I shall now give you a few examples of the sort of cases American and European labor has considered its duty to relieve:

W. was born on the 20th of February, 1892, in the city of Werdau, Saxony. All

his life he was a worker and before Hitler's coming to power he was manager of the local branch of the Republican militia (Reichsbanner). In July, 1932, W. was arrested and held in imprisonment for over four months on the charge of procuring arms for the Republican militia. As soon as Hitler came into power in 1932, W. smuggled himself out of Germany into Czechoslovakia. Shortly after his flight his apartment was raided. His 67-year-old father was held in jail for three weeks and his two brothers sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. Two other brothers managed to flee Germany. One of these brothers, who left behind him five minor children, returned to Germany in 1934. He was immediately arrested and is still in concentration camp. W.'s 20-year-old son also returned to Germany, was arrested and put for a year into a concentration camp. W.'s wife, her nerves shattered by all these experiences, decided to visit her son in concentration camp. She returned to Germany but two days after her return she was arrested and taken to the jail at Zwickau. The same evening she committed suicide by hanging. W. and his other son are in Czechoslovakia.

E. E. was born in 1867. She was the wife of the first Republican Prime Minister of Bavaria after Germany became a republic. When the Nazis came into power her apartment was raided every other week. Her youngest son was taken into concentration camp and is still there. Another son was just released from concentration camp, as well as one of her sons-in-law. This 68-year old woman, who has given German labor some of its ablest leaders, is compelled to live on \$6.00 a month given her by the committee on refugees. From time to time she does some handwork to make existence possible.

K. N., of the active leaders in the Railwaymen's Union. He fled to Czechoslovakia with the advent of the new regime which threatened him with arrest. After awhile he had to bring his wife and children over as they were persecuted in his absence. He, his wife and three children sleep in one bed. The committee provides them with food but there is no coal for the winter.

G. T., former secretary of the German Wood Workers' Union in Halle; married, father of three small children. Was arrested in May, 1933, and succeeded in escaping into Czechoslovakia several months later. His family was persecuted, their apartment guarded, until they too managed to escape. They find themselves in the Bohemian mountains where living is quite cheap; but the winter there is very severe.

A. N., machinist and seaman. He was arrested in April, 1933, and arrested again a few weeks later. After his second release he managed to escape. His wife, the daughter of the former president of the German Miners' Union of Saxony, was threatened with arrest. He built himself a little shack and lives entirely upon the

150 kronen (about \$6.00) which he received monthly from the committee.

You may ask why more of these refugees do not obtain employment. The answer is not only that jobs are even scarcer than they are in this country, but that in every single one of these refugee countries (except Belgium) nearly every occupation is closed by law to immigrants.

These are only a handful of typical stories—out of 6,000 labor exiled refugees we are helping to relieve—and this says nothing of the thousands of labor victims in prison or concentration camps.

The appeal on behalf of these labor victims of oppression comes to us not only from the victims themselves but from organized labor in all the leading countries of Europe.

LEON JOUHAUX, general secretary, Confederation of French Labor Unions, writes us:

"I should like to tell you how useful it seems to me for the American Trade Unions to take part and assist in our fight against Fascism, which is the cause of all the present dangers of war. The social battle which our organizations are leading is of interest to all the workers and all the nations which do not want to have to go through the horrors of another war. "Particularly in the sphere of financial assistance, the organizations of the United States can give us very valuable help by enabling us to support the many workers of all classes who have been compelled by Fascism to flee their countries and who in many cases are in a state of distress bordering on the most miserable poverty."

MR. GEORGE HICKS, member of Parliament and spokesman for British labor, tells us:

"I do most earnestly appeal to every American man and woman with feelings for humanity and love of freedom, and especially to workers of America, to render the utmost help in support of the refugees driven into exile by the Fascist dictators in Europe, and in the struggle against Fascism generally. The Fascist countries—Germany and Italy in particular—are nothing but huge prisons, from which persons of different beliefs and of independent mind and spirit are being cruelly hounded. The plight, misery and desolation of these refugees and their families is truly desperate and terrible. Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children are in pitiful need of food, clothing and shelter. They cry for help. I am sure their cry will not be vainly heard in America. In the name of Humanity, Help!"

W. SCHEVENELS, general secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, tells us:

"We are very glad of the opportunity afforded by the visit to Europe of one of your members to express through you to the Labor Chest the deep gratitude of the European Labor Movement, and especially of the victims of Fascism, for the splendid proof of solidarity given by the workers of the United States."

"I feel convinced that, on his tour of investigation through Europe, he has ascertained not only that the substantial grants made by America to relieve the victims and to fight Fascism have been used in the most effective way, but also that the need arising from the distress of the thousands and thousands of victims of Fascism—refugees, prisoners and the dependents of murdered and martyred fighters—and from the necessity of combatting Fascism and its corollary, war, is if anything greater now than ever before.

"He will, I expect, have discovered for himself the immense sacrifices which the European Unions have made and are making in order to fulfill their duty in this respect, but the need is on such a huge scale that out of their own means the European Unions are unable to meet more than a minute fraction of it. To collect \$100,000 a year in Europe is, under present political and economic conditions, a superhuman task, but we need \$200,000 at least. The workers of the United States can play a decisive part here and Europe looks to them to do their bit to assure the future of the Labor Movement, and, in the last resort, of civilization itself."

The larger part of these labor refugees are in Germany, but there are thousands also in Austria and in Italy. They are our people, they were workers in the same trades, organized along identical or similar lines and with identical or similar objectives. They are the blood relations of millions of our members. Their persecutors and oppressors would extend their system to this country and persecute and oppress us if they had the power.

We cannot and do not interfere in the internal affairs of any country. But out of the instincts of humanity and self-protection we do and must demand for workers of all countries individual freedom and the right to organize. We cannot and do not participate in their efforts to obtain these rights, but we should give them every personal aid and encouragement. We should see that they are clothed, sheltered and fed, that they receive what aid is possible against persecution within their countries and in their efforts to escape.

Respectfully submitted,

MATTHEW WOLL,

Chairman,

JOSEPH N. WEBER,

Secretary.

DAVID DUBINSKY,

Treasurer,

WILLIAM GREEN,

JOHN COFIELD,

SIDNEY HILLMAN,

CHARLES P. HOWARD,

JOHN L. LEWIS,

RAYMOND F. LOWRY,

JOSEPH P. RYAN,

ARTHUR O. WHARTON,

MAX ZARITSKY,

COMMITTEE.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: I just wanted to ask a question of Brother Woll—If he is sure the benefactions which leave this country reach their destination, or is there some means whereby the emissaries of hell who seem to try to control the destinies of the people can get some control of the benefactions we send over?

Vice-President Woll: The contributions received to the Chest Fund are distributed through the International Federation of Trade Unions, and we have every assurance and guarantee that the money is received by those for whom the contributions are intended.

Delegate Canavan, Musicians: I had a very strange experience. I represent Local 802 in New York City. We had a building that was taxed at a million dollars. In that building there was a ballroom, banquet hall, etc. We appointed a manager who was a non-member of the organization to let out the ballroom. New York is a center of Nazi activities. I came into my office one morning, and as a labor man I recognized the smell of stink bombs. I wanted to know what the trouble was, so I sent down for the manager who controlled the building. I asked him what had happened. He told me that he had let our building to the Nazis. I said, "You let out our ballroom for a Nazi meeting?" He said, "Why, Mr. Canavan, that amounts to \$20,000 or \$25,000 a year, and believe me, we have been in the red for the last three or four years." I said, "Is that so? Out!" Then I had a committee from the Nazis to appear in my office the next morning to give me an argument on their contract. I said, "You are out of here." I didn't care if they paid \$50,000, because I was at the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor and I heard the address of President Green, and although we were running in the red at the rate of \$50,000 or \$60,000, we would not allow them to have the building that we controlled under any conditions.

Delegate Nagler, Ladies' Garment Workers: Mr. President and delegates: After listening to this splendid report of the committee, I am impelled to say a few words at this time. I am sure that the delegates of this convention appreciate the arduous

work put in by the committee in their solicitation of funds in behalf of the victims of Fascism, and I am sure the delegates of the convention appreciate as well the work of the President of the American Federation of Labor in that direction.

I was fortunate last year in being named the delegate from our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to the Congress of the Needle Trades Workers held in Europe in the Summer of 1934. I was not content with merely being a delegate to that Congress. I traveled through many of these countries enumerated in the report submitted by Brother Woll. I spent days in the small countries like Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Switzerland, France, and some of the cities in Great Britain. I have been in those places where the underground movement lies. I have seen the spots where our victims find themselves at this time. I have seen how they are compelled to live on the meager income of the few dollars given to them by the Committee on Refugees in the various communities.

I wish it were possible for the many delegates sitting in this convention to have the opportunity of visiting some of the places I visited. I came in contact with many of the leaders of the trade union movement, those who came to the assistance of these refugees and those that are exiled and find themselves today in countries where they cannot secure employment because of the laws existing in the various countries. I know this committee has done splendid work in their efforts to raise funds. We are three thousand miles away from these unfortunate brothers abroad. We cannot come to their assistance physically, as some of our trade union brothers in many countries of Europe did, such as Czecho-Slovakia, where I have seen places where they gave their lives in order to save some brothers of the Austrian Revolution. They can help them both physically and financially.

Let this be clear, my fellow delegates, that these trade unionists have sacrificed themselves in the assistance they have given to these unfortunates. They have emptied their pockets, they have no more funds at this time, and I can appreciate the words that Brother Woll has uttered. Our fraternal

delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, in their modesty, have possibly failed to tell you what they have done to the extent of coming to their financial assistance. The British Trades Union movement has so far spent approximately 250,000 pounds. In American money that means \$1,250,000 spent in that direction. Small Czecho-Slovakia has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in order to come to the assistance of those unfortunates. I know that you will come to their assistance at this time, as requested by the committee. I know that your hearts beat at this moment, after listening to this report, but let us confess that we have not done our bit yet, that we have got to do the job and do it perfectly. Let us make the drive. I hope you will rise to this occasion, go back to your organizations and see that the call of this committee is heeded. Come to the assistance of those unfortunate people, who we hope and pray will live until that day when they will be able to reciprocate.

I want to move at this time, Mr. President, that this convention go on record extending its appreciation to the President of this Federation of Labor and to the entire committee for the splendid work done by them. I further move that this convention instruct this committee to continue its work in that direction.

President Green: The Chair will rule that, in accordance with parliamentary procedure, the report submitted by Brother Woll, Acting Chairman of the Chest Committee, and the motion offered by Delegate Nagler will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. Later on a report will be brought before the convention upon this report by the committee, and we can then act affirmatively.

The Chair now recognizes Dr. James Myers, of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

SUNDAY CHURCH SERVICES

Dr. Myers: Mr. Chairman, as most of you know, for many years it has been the pleasure of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and all the denominations which compose it to extend its good offices so that local pastors can invite labor leaders to preach in the pulpits of the churches of the convention city, as one of the gestures and activities in

which the church forces nowadays are indulging in a movement for closer cooperation in sympathy with the labor movement.

I am very happy to announce that Atlantic City is no exception to this rule, and while there are very few churches here, some very significant services have been arranged, which I will briefly enumerate.

Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, will speak at the morning service at St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, Pacific and Ohio Avenues, at 10:30 o'clock a. m.

A special labor service has also been arranged by the pastor of St. Andrews By-the-Sea, Pacific and Michigan Avenues, at 8 o'clock p. m. The guest speaker will be Mr. Andrew Naesmith, J. P., Fraternal Delegate to the American Federation of Labor from the British Trades Union Congress, who will speak at 8 o'clock.

Among other labor speakers in the churches will be the following: Mr. Spencer Miller, Director of the Workers' Education Bureau, who will speak at the morning service at the Church of the Ascension, Pacific and Kentucky Avenues; Mr. Gilbert Hyatt, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, who will speak at the Friends Meeting at South Carolina and Pacific Avenues at 11 a. m.

In addition to this a number of pastors will preach in other churches on themes appropriate to labor. I am very happy to invite the delegates to attend these special services held in honor of the American Federation of Labor and its convention.

President Green: The Chair will supplement this announcement by calling to your attention an invitation read by Secretary

Morrison to the delegates in attendance at the convention to attend a special Mass for the delegates and visitors at the Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady Star-of-the-Sea, on Sunday morning at 10 o'clock. The center aisle has been reserved for the delegates.

MESSAGE FROM DR. HAROLD BUTLER

President Green: I have a telegram here from Dr. Harold Butler, Chairman of the International Labor Office, which was submitted through Governor Winant, the Assistant Director of the International Labor Office. Secretary Morrison will please read the telegram.

Secretary Morrison read the following message:

Please convey following message to William Green: Wish you and Fifty-fifth Annual Convention every success. The presence of American delegation, including Dan Tracy as representative of American Federation of Labor, gave great strength and encouragement to recent International Labor Conference in its efforts to combat economic depression and further social justice. Am happy to think Governor Winant will personally bring greetings of office and myself to the convention.

President Green announced a meeting of the Executive Council at 2:30 o'clock on Saturday afternoon, October 12, Room 104, Ambassador Hotel, and requested the representatives of the United Automobile Federal Labor Unions to meet with the Council at that time.

No further committees were prepared to report, and on motion of Delegate Madsen, properly seconded and carried, the rules were suspended and the convention recessed, at 5 o'clock p. m., to 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, October 14.

SIXTH DAY—Monday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 14, 1935.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

ABSENTEES:

Hannah, E. I., Katz, Kaiser, DeWitt, Rundle, Billet, Eardley, Slich, Rosqvist, Regan, Doane, Wade, David, Wise, Palmer, Hanoway, Osborne, Swetland, Dance, Sigman, Howat, Dallas, Singer, Bradley, Shave, Dah-lager, Burke, M. J.; Slout, Mayer, Hymes, Weinberg, Flynn, Al.; Nadelhoffer, Bender, Burns, T. F.; Serra, Malkovich, Dougherty, Iglesias.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gillooly, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials is in receipt of a communication from Wm. Collins, President of the Railway Mail Association, stating that it will not be possible for either Delegate-elect Strickland or himself to be present at the convention during the second week, and requesting that Robert Sterling be seated to represent the Railway Mail Association during that period.

We therefore recommend the seating of Robert Sterling to represent the Railway Mail Association, with 191 votes.

We further recommend in accordance with written request received from President George L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, that William H. McHugh be seated to act as proxy for Delegate-elect Berry, and serve in his place as delegate, during his absence from the convention.

Your committee has examined the credential of Louis Lufrano, representing the Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y., and recommend that the delegate be seated with 3 votes.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Paris, France,
September 9, 1935.

American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

I. F. T. U. and L. S. I. held sixth September Joint Conference Geneva discuss Italo-Abyssinian dispute. Fifty-two Delegates

represented twelve countries, eleven international trade secretariats. Behalf millions workers conference addressed last appeal League. Task of present moment application entire Covenant including sanctions. Behalf all workers conference declared readiness support League application all sanctions. Conference appeals all workers and organizations make known this decision to governments and bring pressure bear on them and League. Public opinion whole world must be aroused and prepared act against aggressor.

SCHEVENELS,
International Federation
of Trade Unions.

Washington, D. C.,
Sept. 11, 1935.

Walter Schevenels,
Secretary General,

International Federation of Trade Unions,
9 Avenue D'Orsay 9, Paris VIIe, France.

American Federation of Labor is urging Government United States to exercise its good offices in endeavor to promote settlement Ethiopian controversy upon just basis without resorting to war. We are, however, insisting upon the observance of strict neutrality on part of our Government.

AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF LABOR.

Paris, Oct. 7, 1935.

American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Many thanks for wire Ethiopian dispute encouraging our action against war. Please convey our best wishes to your convention. International Federation of Trade Unions and L. S. I. call further International Conference Brussels Friday, Saturday to examine measures against war. Anticipating your full support safeguarding peace.

WALTER SCHEVENELS.

Portsmouth, N. H.,
Oct. 14, 1935.

Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Ambassador Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.

New Hampshire Federation of Labor extends greetings and best wishes to American Federation of Labor Convention.

B. H. CROWELL,
Secretary.

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 12, 1935.

Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in Atlantic City.

Fellow Delegates:

The City of Providence, Rhode Island, will celebrate its three hundredth anniversary in 1936, and we, the labor movement of Providence, cordially invite the American Federation of Labor to hold its fifty-sixth annual convention in Providence.

Providence has an auditorium which has very good acoustics and which would be of sufficient capacity to seat all of the delegates and guests. Hotel accommodations would be of the best and more than sufficient for the attendants of the convention. October is one of the most pleasant months in Rhode Island.

We have a splendid labor movement in Providence; in fact, in the entire State of Rhode Island.

Hoping that this invitation will receive your favorable consideration, I am,

Fraternally yours,

JOSEPH T. CAHIR,

President,

Providence Central Federated Labor Union.

Communications asking that the 1936 convention be held in the city of Detroit, Michigan, were received from Irvine J. Unger, Exalted Ruler of the Detroit Lodge of Elks, and from Walter Wisniewski, Secretary of the Joint Administration of Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, Locals No. 20 and 77.

RE-REFERENCE OF RESOLUTIONS NOS. 212 AND 230.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the reference of Resolutions Nos. 212 and 230 to the Committee on Adjustment. These resolutions were referred to the Committee on Resolutions through oversight and mistake. They will now be referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

The Chair calls for the report of the Committee on Shorter Work Day. The Chair recognizes Chairman Gainer, of that committee.

Vice President Gainer: The Committee on Shorter Work Day is now prepared to submit its report. Because of various contributing factors, the questions and the policies to be considered in this report and the policies to be confirmed by the American Federation of Labor on this issue are of such importance, Secretary Simons of the Committee will first read the report and its declaration of policy—Secretary Simons.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY.

Delegate Simons, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your committee, in submitting this report, desires to again stress the high importance of the shorter work day and shorter work week, not only on its own account, but as a compelling problem whose prompt and progressive solution is inseparably linked up with all that makes for labor's advancement and the promotion of the public welfare. In doing so we desire to reaffirm with renewed emphasis, the historical declarations made on this same subject by the American Federation of Labor in preceding conventions and we supplement and build on these pronouncements in the light of conditions as they now present themselves.

Dating back from its very beginning, more than a half century ago, the American Federation of Labor has been the spearhead of progress in blazing a path for the shorter work day to follow. Its achievements in this regard have been of such extraordinary and unmixed good as to attain the high dignity of a great public service. Ten years ago in this very city the American Federation of Labor in its 1925 Convention declarations gave vitality and direction to the following fundamental truth regarding wages and labor hours:

"Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wage, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with the continuing reduction in a number of hours making up the working day, are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production."

Three years ago, the American Federation of Labor in its 1932 Convention held in Cincinnati, Ohio, building further on that same pronouncement, voiced a ringing demand for the early adoption throughout industry of the five-day week and the six-hour day. From that declaration we quote as follows:

"If we are to measurably match production and consumption, wages must go up and the hours of labor be progressively lessened as, the only answer to the machine era in which we live. No program of social

or economic reform can hope to attain success that does not embrace this economic truth as a corner-stone of its reasoning."

These declarations were made at a timely hour. They pointed the way that progress must take to maintain a balanced social order and to protect and promote the rights and welfare of labor. They were sound and unanswerable when they were given voice and direction. They are sound and unanswerable now. We proclaim them again with added emphasis. Therefore, it is fitting that we re-examine the general economic situation in the light of conditions as they now present themselves, with the thought of interpreting them wisely and thereby reaffirming and confirming our immediate and future program.

For fully six years our country has suffered the ravaging effects of a sweeping economic depression, surpassing all that had gone before. This depression, which broke at a time when productive efficiency had attained its highest development, has caused a social loss so great as to defy estimate and it has left millions of unemployed in its devastating trail. During these six years, charged throughout with major developments of far-reaching social import, various means have been invoked and set under way to relieve or solve the situation. While measurable progress has been made in this regard, largely due to the wider observance of the shorter work day and shorter work week, nevertheless, the outstanding fact now confronting us is that there are still some 11,000,000 of unemployed.

This is a situation that must not be permitted to continue. It should not be tolerated or condoned. A permanent army of the unemployed in America, a land whose potential production is ample to satisfy and exceed every demand, would be a standing indictment against our entire social order. We agree fully with that portion of the report of the Executive Council where it declares, "The problem of putting some 11,000,000 unemployed back to work in industry is one of the greatest tasks now before the American people."

In analyzing this glaring paradox of vast national resources and potential production on the one hand, as contrasted with workless

millions on the other, it is plain that the very center of this sad situation lies in the rapid and steady expansion of productive efficiency and the added fact that the workers' wages have not been increased and labor hours shortened in anything like equitable proportion to this upward production trend. Industry as a whole, in its feverish scramble for big profits, has and is still continuing to center its efforts on increased production per unit of worker through machine improvements and labor displacements with little thought of the effect of this policy on the public interest. Thus we find that while average labor hours, in response to the five-day six-hour work week declaration made by the American Federation of Labor three years ago, has scored a substantial reduction, it has happened, too, that the expansion of productive efficiency has gone steadily on during this same period and also at a record pace. Thus the need of a further shortening of labor hours without any reduction in the weekly wage is a matter of such vital necessity as to now command our best thought.

The trend towards increased per capita production which, according to a survey by Dr. Frederick D. Mills, averaged throughout industry 1.7 per cent per year from 1899 to 1914, 3 per cent per year 1923 to 1929, and 7 per cent per year from 1929 to 1933, is still showing a decided upward trend. The National Bureau of Economic Research in its bulletin for June 28, 1934, estimated the increased per capita production in the manufacturing industries from 1929 to 1933 to be 27 per cent. Reports from the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that during the two years from January, 1933, to January, 1935, the average workman's output had increased, ranging from 7 per cent in leather to 40 per cent in blast-furnace production. "There never has been a time," declares Rogers D. Rusk, in Scribner's of the current month, "in which the progress of science was so rapid and the results so unexpected and surprising as in the past two or three years."

There is another aspect of this grave problem that deserves the most thoughtful consideration. Today our working population is confronted with a tragic situation

that portends future disaster. What hope is there for the millions who are clamoring for jobs? The opportunity to work is the God-given right of each and everyone of us. One distressing phase of the lack of employment opportunity at the present time is that the hundreds of thousands of students who graduate from our schools and colleges yearly find little or no chance to utilize their talents for their own benefit and the public good. Our government, recognizing this condition, has endeavored to effect an amelioration by establishing working camps in many areas throughout our land. This is a commendable undertaking, but it is by no means a permanent solution of our present difficulties. Can this governmental effort be continued indefinitely? We believe not, for the reason that it is basically unsound.

The hours of employed workers have in some measure been reduced, but this has frequently been accompanied by reduction of weekly wages in like proportion to the lessened working time. This is merely a spreading of work with the result and effect of reducing the purchasing power of the family unit and a general lowering of living standards. It must be obvious to everyone of us that the sole remedy for our present tragic dilemma is a substantial shortening of the work week and the full maintenance of the weekly wage.

The Executive Council on page 58 of its report states: "With increasing industrial activity this year, a tendency to increase work hours has become apparent. Records of actual hours worked are furnished by the United States Department of Labor, covering about half of all wages and small-salaried workers in industry. The records show that, in the first half of 1935, work hours in American mines, factories and service industries have steadily averaged about one-half hour longer per week than in the first half of 1934. The average work week last year was 37½ hours; this year, 38. This is a matter of much significance and accounts in large part for the fact that unemployment is higher today than it was a year ago."

As the foregoing statement shows, we find that during the current year working

hours have been increased. In this same connection reports from widely representative quarters of the country show that, since the Supreme Court handed down its decision on the National Recovery Act, that many employers have ruthlessly increased the hours of labor and that, too, without any increase in wages. Simply stated, this survey of the shorter work week situation shows that the American Federation of Labor must address itself with continuing alertness and devotion to the principle and observance of the five-day week, and six-hour day as the one and only means of mastering the present menacing unemployment situation, and restoring prosperity throughout our land.

Your committee now directs approving attention to that portion of the Executive Council's report, page 141, which under the caption of "Thirty-Hour Week," treats of legislation intended to achieve that objective, as follows:

"The Black-Connery bill was reported favorably both in the Senate and House, but was not presented for a final vote. The fact that there are still 11,000,000 persons unemployed in the United States shows clearly that it is necessary that the working day and working week must be reduced in order to create work opportunities for these idle workers. Pursuant to instructions of previous conventions, the Executive Council will continue its efforts to secure the enactment of the thirty-hour week bill into law."

Your committee, in concluding this survey of widespread and persistent unemployment re-inforced by sharply decreased consuming power, now declares that a drastic shortening of labor hours is the only remedy for this grave problem. We further declare that such reduction in labor hours should carry no reduction in pay, but on the contrary, wages should be maintained and steadily increased in even step with the expansion of productive efficiency. Mindful also of the thirty-hour work week legislation introduced in their respective Houses by Senator Black, of Alabama, and Representative Connery, of Massachusetts, your committee records its warm approval of this legislation and rec-

ommends that the Executive Council be directed to spare no effort to have legislation enacted that will give vitality and mandate to the thirty-hour work week so as to hasten the hour of its universal observance.

Your committee therefore recommends that this convention strongly reaffirm its endorsement of the 5-day, 6-hour work week, and in doing so record itself in favor of urging the universal adoption without delay of this program. We further recommend that this objective of the six-hour day and the 5-day work week should now be declared by this convention to be its paramount objective, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor should be directed to spare no effort in enlisting the support of all the people in this behalf and giving the widest scope, direction and publicity to its program.

Delegate Simons moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Madsen, Painters: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I am heartily in favor of the report of the committee and hope that all the organizations assembled here in this great convention, when they go back to the cities where they live and where they carry out the work and the decisions of this convention, will do all in their power to institute the thirty-hour week.

The Painters in Chicago have enjoyed the thirty-hour week for about a year and a half and we find it has been a great benefit to our organization. It has helped to take a lot of our men who were on the relief rolls off the relief rolls and it has given them a chance to make a living. It has made this last summer a better summer than we have had for quite a number of years. The Painters' organization has always been in the forefront in regard to shortening the work day. We started some years ago to put in effect the Saturday half-holiday and the rest of the building trades followed suit. We inaugurated the five-day week a little bit later and the rest of the building trades in Chicago and throughout the country followed our lead, and now the five-day week is universally

established in the building trades all over the country.

Unfortunately the building trades in the city of Chicago and elsewhere have not been able as yet to introduce the six-hour day. Consequently the Painters' organization in Chicago, even though we have enjoyed that six-hour day for a year and a half and all our members are in favor of it and we have begun to overcome the prejudice of the general public and the contractors against the six-hour day, yet because we are the only organization fighting against it, we are in danger if other organizations do not take the same stand, that we may have to go back to the eight-hour day.

Therefore, I want to appeal to this convention here and say that while you applaud the ideal sentiments of this convention, that is not enough. Do not forget that the work has to be done in your home towns and where you meet with the contractors to effect the agreements. I hope all of you will do whatever you can to make the thirty-hour week and the six-hour day a reality in the labor movement of America.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: Mr. President, I desire to ask a question at this time which arises from the last paragraph of the committee's report as I understand it. If this portion of the committee's report is adopted, then the last paragraph in that report refers to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the matter of taking care of the policy of the six-hour day and the five-day week. Can we, as members of this Federation of Labor, deeply interested in our international organizations in the reduction of hours, depend upon 100 per cent support of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the policy of the five-day week, thirty hours per week? If we cannot depend upon that 100 per cent support from the personnel of the Executive Council can we ask for a benevolent neutrality upon the part of such members of the Executive Council who appear not to agree with the policy of the thirty-hour week, extending only over five days?

Vice President Gainer: Mr. President, in response to the inquiry of the delegate, I think it would be well if I would read again

this last declaration and recommendation of the Shorter Work Day Committee:

"We further recommend that this objective of the six-hour day and the five-day week should now be declared by this convention to be its paramount objective, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to spare no effort in enlisting the support of all the people in its behalf and in giving the widest scope, direction and publicity to this program."

In direct response to the delegate's inquiry, of course I am not authorized to speak for any member of the Executive Council, save myself. But as far as I am concerned, and with all the earnestness in me, I insist that every word in that declaration is economically and fundamentally sound. Furthermore, I believe that we have reached the point in our economic development, not only in the United States, but world wide, where the expansion of productive efficiency is the greatest fact in our economic life. It is continually changing our economic environment and demanding that we adjust ourselves to this new environment if we desire to live.

Thus, the adoption of the shorter work week is not a matter of choice. We must do it. If there is any fact standing out in the history of the world, it is that people who were unable or who refused to adjust themselves to a new environment have had to pass out of the picture. With the new means and methods attending man's increasing ability to produce, causing vast labor displacements, it is plain that society can not long persist with vast portions of its population permanently unemployed. Political economy says unto man, "Obey me, obey my law or I will punish you and I will punish you just as readily if you sin viciously as if you sin innocently." Thus in this great labor forum, the greatest in the world, we are trying to interpret existing conditions of law, and we are laying down in this declaration a recognition of the fact that the ravages of this great depression, which has swept the world, were primarily caused by the expansion of productive efficiency through multiplied means and methods and by the failure of the worker to participate equitably in his own increasing productive efficiency.

Now I think it is well in considering this problem, notwithstanding its difficulties and notwithstanding the many harrowing experiences any delegate rising in his place might relate, to point out that since the American Federation of Labor declared for the six-hour day and the five-day week, three years ago in the Cincinnati convention, more progress has been made along this line and in pursuit of this particular objective than has ever been made before by the American Federation of Labor. If we would draw a contrast between the average hours of labor when that historical declaration was made and the average hours of labor now, we would readily note what a wonderful change has come about.

I know that postal employees, whom I represent in part, were at that time working forty-four hours per week. Beginning the first of October some 250,000 of them are now working a forty-hour week. It is interesting to note in passing that not only in practice but in precept our philosophy has sunk so deeply into the consciousness of the American people that in response to the irresistible arguments offered for the enactment of the forty-hour postal week, not only Postmaster General Farley recommended the enactment of the legislation in behalf of the President as well as himself, but when it was up for disposition in both Houses of Congress not a single vote was cast against it.

It is well sometimes to point with pride to the big things we do, and in that regard I rejoice that, of the three million or more affiliated members of the American Federation of Labor, there now are substantially two million who are enjoying the forty-hour week or less.

As I said before, however, in direct answer to the gentleman's inquiry I am not authorized to speak for the Council, but if there is a man on the Executive Council who is not enthusiastically in favor, heart and soul, of the five-day week and the six-hour day, I do not know of it.

May I now request, Mr. President, that you address yourself to this subject, knowing your deep and abiding interest in this question.

President Green: I presume the Chair has no choice when the chairman of a committee

instructs him to do something. I am taking my orders this morning from Chairman Gainor. However, I am in hearty accord with the suggestion made by the chairman, because there is no economic or social subject that is closer to my heart than this proposal to apply a real remedy for unemployment through the application of the six-hour day and the five-day week.

I should like to commend the committee upon the splendid report it has submitted here this morning. It has submitted the unassailable argument presented by conventions of the American Federation of Labor year after year in support of this great economic reform. And the significant fact connected with the presentation of the fact, and the unassailable logic is that no opponent anywhere, let it be the manufacturers' associations, the Chambers of Commerce, the corporations or the economists, have submitted a single answer to the argument that has been presented. We have challenged the opposition to present a more practical solution for unemployment than we have presented from time to time through the advocacy of the acceptance of the shorter work day and the shorter work week.

The facts are that our position is becoming strengthened. We are being educated, surely and most convincingly. Our position is being sustained. During the past year, as Chairman Gainor stated, we secured the enactment of a shorter work day and a shorter work week for 250,000 letter carriers and postal employees, employed by the Federal Government. These men have been rendering service to our great Government eight hours each day and six days each week. Employed with these steadily employed letter carriers and postal employees was an army of substitutes, substitute postal workers and substitute letter carriers, and the position of these substitutes became tragic and pitiable because the call for service was so limited—an occasional day's work outside of the holiday season—and the earnings of these men were not enough to meet their subsistence requirements. It touched me very deeply when I was informed that these substitutes were given a day's work, a part of a day's work, a limited amount of work each year, but grimly they held on to the small amount of work accorded

them, with the hope that eventually their opportunities to work and serve and earn a decent living for their families would be broadened.

And what happened? Immediately after the passage of this law and its introduction and application to the postal service and to the letter carriers of the nation, thousands of these substitutes were given steady employment, because the shorter work day and the shorter work week called for the employment of thousands and thousands of working men who had been serving as substitutes or rendering no service, so the slack of employment in this field has been practically taken up through the shorter work day and the shorter work week. Aren't these facts sufficient to substantiate the argument we have presented from time to time, that through the application of the shorter work week and the shorter work day millions of the unemployed can be given an opportunity to work and earn a decent living?

The American Federation of Labor is proud over this achievement to which I have referred, and there are thousands of substitute letter carriers throughout the nation, occasional workers, employed incidentally, who are thanking the great American Federation of Labor and the postal organizations for the great favors rendered them. And this, my friends, in itself, constitutes a glorious page upon the legislative record of the American Federation of Labor.

Now, on the six-hour day and the five-day week, it is remarkable indeed when you examine the record and find out the progress which has been made. There are more working men and women in America today enjoying the six-hour day and the five-day week than ever before in the history of the nation. It is being extended, the principle itself is being accepted, and the six-hour day and the five-day week are being more generally applied. People are thinking in the terms of the six-hour day and the five-day week. The great mass of American citizens have reached the point where they are conscious of the soundness of this proposal and they are accepting it, and when public opinion is won over and when it is more universally accepted, when our educational work has produced results universally, there is nothing going to

stop us from securing and applying the six-hour work day and the five-day work week.

Now, my friends, the question may be asked as to the attitude of leaders of the American Federation of Labor toward this great economic reform. Let me point again to the record. We presented the matter to the Congress of the United States, because I have interpreted the actions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and instructions, definite, irrevocable instructions to the officers of the American Federation of Labor to secure the six-hour day and the five-day week for the workers of America, either through the exercise of our economic strength or through legislation. And while many of us perhaps would prefer to secure the shorter work day and shorter work week through the exercise of our economic power, I do not believe there are any of us who are particularly concerned about the method employed so long as we secure for the workers of the nation the enjoyment of this great economic reform.

We have held hearings before the committees of Congress on the six-hour day bills sponsored by the American Federation of Labor, and in every instance we won the support of the committees who were dealing with these legislative measures. They reported favorably, and in one instance, as you will recall, we secured the passage of the six-hour day by the Senate of the United States. That showed the sentiment in that great deliberative body. There were handicaps during the recent session of Congress and the session that preceded it. There were a great many members of Congress who believed that ultimately we would secure the application of the shorter work day and the shorter work week through the administration of the National Recovery Act and through the development of industrial codes of fair practice. The work day and the work week were shortened in many trades and in many industries through the development of the industrial codes of fair practice, and then the Wagner Act, which was a matter of vital importance, occupied the center of the stage in the last session of Congress and it stood like a shadow over other important measures, including the six-hour day. But, my friends, it is my

judgment that the sentiment in Congress is just as strong for the six-hour day as when it passed the measure giving to it its legislative approval.

I know the sentiment and the feeling of the workers of the nation. They believe in the shorter work day and the shorter work week, not because they wish to be merely idle, but because they wish to make a more equitable distribution of the amount of work available, and we will not and we cannot here in America resign ourselves to the fate of maintaining and caring for ten or eleven millions of unemployed permanently upon the relief rolls of the nation. It is our purpose to lead the fight, to mobilize public opinion in support of it so that men and women may maintain their self-respect and dignity by working and earning for themselves a decent living.

There is another phase of this that to me is of tremendous importance. From the economic standpoint there is no argument in opposition to it, none whatever. We challenge the opposition again to offer a better remedy for unemployment than the shorter work day and the shorter work week. I am thinking of those intangible, human values, the spiritual life of the workers of the nation. Is it possible that our civilization has developed to the point where we cannot appropriate to the cultural life of the nation the scientific benefits that have come through the development of new practices and the mechanization of industry? Are we still to slave on, working long hours by the employed—some working and some idle? And what is going to happen to those who are idle? And what is going to happen to those who are at work? It will develop wide-spread social unrest; even the democratic institution we have developed in America may be destroyed if we permit this unemployment to continue.

I want men and women to enjoy fully and completely the benefits of scientific development. We want to give men and women an opportunity to enjoy leisure, to develop their spiritual and cultural life, to enjoy art and all the fine things of life, and that can be done through the application of the shorter work day and the shorter work week. And through that we will be contributing to the development of a citizenship here in America that will occupy

a high and lofty standing. There is nothing that so destroys morale, spiritual values, intangible human values, than continuous unemployment. We have lost more in destroying morale than we have lost in wages because of this army of unemployed covering a six-year period. It will take a long time to restore those destroyed and impaired values and, in my judgment, it will be impossible to rebuild in the lives of some, because they have passed the point where hope further moves them and where their vision is broad enough to see the health and happiness of a new day and a new life.

Starved children, underfed and undernourished, impoverished men and women, living on a subsistence level, with blurred vision and destroyed hopes, this is the picture that is presented to us of the result of unemployment. The American Federation of Labor is making this great drive for the six-hour day and the five-day week for the realization of a double purpose, for the purpose of creating work opportunities for the young men and young women who will now come and who are knocking at the door of opportunity, urging society to give them a chance to work and earn a living. That is one of our purposes. The second is to develop and to maintain and to repair those intangible values which, after all, are more precious to a nation than are tangible and material things.

So I say, my friends, we have set our face steadfastly toward the task of securing for the workers the six-hour work day and the five-day work week. I pray God I may live to see a realization of that great objective. We are going out from here to fight for it as never before, and if there is any one instructed by this convention who will refuse to lead a fight and urge for the adoption of this, let him get out of the way, because the army of workers in America will not tolerate a slacker.

Are there further remarks?

Delegate Thompson, Rubber Workers: With all the speeches that have been made here with regard to the thirty-hour week, we as rubber workers agree. The rubber workers for the past four years have enjoyed a thirty-hour week, and we are fighting to maintain it. The challenge has already been thrown on us by the general manager of a plant employing 14,000 men and women

that they will go back to the eight-hour day and the forty-hour week.

We are the newest international, the 107th, with a charter granted a month ago. And we are asking the delegates assembled here to up and at them for the five-day week. In our highly specialized mass production industry, if ever we go back on an eight-hour day there are not enough wheel chairs in Atlantic City, Miami, or any other place, to wheel back into the homes the cripples that will come out from rubber factories because of the high speed of the work.

President Green: Those in favor of the report of the committee will please say "Aye."

The entire delegation arose.

President Green: The report of the committee is unanimously adopted by the convention.

Secretary Simons continued the report of the committee as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 69 THIRTY-HOUR WEEK BILL

Resolution No. 69, Page 194, first day's proceedings—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin, Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter workers.

WHEREAS, In spite of the many governmental laws and regulations introduced during the present administration, unemployment and long hours of labor are still rampant throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, The increase in prices and displacement of workers by improved machinery has increased the unemployed and the burden of taxation upon the workers; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is obliged to attempt to consume over-production and increase the buying power of the workers of the land by appropriating immense sums of money and putting the unemployed temporarily to work at the expense of the taxpayers and an ever increasing national deficit; and

WHEREAS, The provisions of the Black Bill hardly would be adequate to put the unemployed to work, but would aid considerably by increasing buying power and decreasing the surplus in all branches of industry; and

WHEREAS, The Black Bill would put a definite curb upon the policies practiced by many employers, the products of whom are used by the United States Government, towards labor; and

WHEREAS, The Black Bill would be a definite step towards redistribution of wealth; and

WHEREAS, The decrease in working hours and also unemployment would naturally aid in balancing our national budget, which has increased tremendously the last few years; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in convention assembled go on record as asking that the Congress of the United States pass the Black Bill as the only bill before the Congress which will help the shameful and deplorable unemployment situation and the other untold miseries that go with it; and be it further

RESOLVED, That under no circumstances shall the bill permit any reduction in the weekly or monthly wages in effect prior to the enactment of this bill; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to districts of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the American Federation of Labor, the Senators and Representatives of these respective districts and states, as well as to the President of the United States of America.

Your committee reports favorably upon this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Simons: Resolutions No. 65 and No. 87 were referred to this committee. The subject matter of these resolutions is fully covered by the committee in its report. I will read the resolutions.

PROPOSING THIRTY-HOUR WEEK IN OFFICE EQUIPMENT INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 65, Page 192, first day's proceedings—By Delegate Howard Sticht, Federal Labor Union 19401, Tonawanda, N. Y.

WHEREAS, There are at least ten thousand unemployed workers in the office equipment manufacturing industry; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary for the industry to absorb these workers in order to bring about the return of better economic conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a thirty-hour week be established in the office equipment manufacturing industry with the present weekly earnings of the forty-hour week being applied to the thirty-hour week with no reductions.

FEDERAL AND STATE LEGISLATION TO REDUCE WORKING HOURS

Resolution No. 87, Page 201, first day's proceedings—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski and Chris Lane, Hotel and Restaurant Em-

ployees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, It is a reasonably established fact that continuous employment of the workers cannot be maintained under our present form of production and distribution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the enactment of Federal and State legislation reducing working hours without reducing wages; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do everything possible to bring about the adoption of such legislation.

President Green: If there are no objections, this part of the committee's report will be approved by the convention. Hearing no objections, it is so ordered.

Resolution No. 120.

Your committee requests that Sections 2, 3, 4 and 5, of Resolution No. 120 be referred to some committee to be announced by the President, but Section 1 and this resolution is covered fully by the report of the Committee on the Shorter Work Week.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: In line with the recommendation of the committee, the Chair will refer the sections dealt with specifically to the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Simons: This concludes the report of the Committee, which is submitted and signed by

E. J. GAINOR,
Chairman;

JOHN SIMONS,
Secretary;
ROBERT MACRODIE,
VAN A. BITTNER,
JAMES P. MEEHAN,
LAWRENCE O'KEEFE,
FRANCIS J. GORMAN,
ROBERT B. HESKETH,
CLAUDE T. CARROLL,
JOSEPH McINERNEY,
W. G. POWLESLAND,
JOHN J. SAMPSON,
GEORGE SCALISE,
JULIUS HOCHMAN,
ADAM E. ZUSI,
JOHN L. COULTER,
JOSEPH F. KELLEY,

Committee on Shorter Workday

Secretary, Simons: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the report as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair now calls for the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Delegate R. A. Henning, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your committee on Industrial Relations has had referred to it fourteen resolutions dealing with industrial disputes with individual employers or groups of employers.

Your committee has extended every possible opportunity to those interested in these resolutions to appear before the committee and present their arguments and introducers of the resolutions have responded and have furnished the committee much valuable information to an even greater extent than at previous conventions.

Several of the resolutions contain provisions or resolves requesting that certain firms or groups of employers be placed on the unfair, or "We Do Not Patronize" list. Requests that this be done have been strongly presented to your committee with the result that the committee deems it advisable to preface this report with the following general statement:

The experience of the American Federation of Labor with regard to requests to place firms on the unfair list has shown that it is extremely advisable to proceed cautiously before such action is taken. That experience has developed that best results are accomplished when every possible effort that can be made has been made to settle the particular controversy and your committee believes that a similar policy is advisable in the resolutions referred to it for consideration and that every possible effort should be made to reach an adjustment of the particular disputes; that failing in this the American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council after full consideration of the facts in each case should take such action when

the facts warrant it and no other alternative is open for the adjustment of the dispute.

SHEEP SHEARERS' APPLICATION FOR BOYCOTT OF WOOL, LAMB AND MUTTON

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate A. A. Evans, Sheep Shearers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, For several years past the several western states woolgrowers' associations, namely, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Texas, Utah, Washington and Wyoming, and individual members of those associations, have pursued the policy of employing non-union sheep shearers and contractors to shear their sheep, which has resulted in reducing the wage paid for shearing sheep, in the above-named states, to a point where sheep shearers cannot earn a living wage; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America, No. 1, Inc., in convention assembled, that should the above-named state woolgrowers' associations, or individual members thereof, at their annual conventions to be held before the date of January 31, 1936, fail or refuse to recognize the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America, No. 1, Inc., and fail or refuse thereafter to pay the scale of wages fixed by the Sheep Shearers' Union or refuse to employ union sheep shearers or union contractors, exclusively, for the shearing of sheep, in the several named states, the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America, No. 1, Inc., on February 1, 1936, shall declare that a boycott exists on wool, lamb and mutton throughout the United States; and further, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America, No. 1, Inc., being affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, shall request immediate support from the state federations of labor, national and international unions, city councils and local unions throughout the United States, in making this boycott effective; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That during the term of such boycott, no member of organized labor or his family shall purchase any wool, lamb or mutton.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions that as soon as possible after the close of the convention they endeavor to contact the several Western States Woolgrowers' Associations and the State Federations of Labor

In the various states named in the resolution in an endeavor to bring about participation in the conferences referred to in the resolution and to assist the Sheep Shearers' Union in such conferences in every possible manner; that in the event of failure of these conferences to develop a condition that would result in the establishment of conditions of employment acceptable to the Sheep Shearers' Union, that the officers and Executive Council take such further action as in their judgment may be advisable.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Vice-President Duffy: I am not opposed to the report of the committee, referring this matter to the officers and Executive Council. However, the incoming officers and Executive Council will not take office until January 1, 1936, and I would suggest that the word "incoming" be stricken from the committee's report and that it be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to take action so that between now and the first of the year they can do something.

President Green: The Secretary of the committee advises me that it will be perfectly agreeable to accept the suggestion made by Vice-President Duffy to strike out the word "incoming."

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

MEAT CUTTERS vs. WILSON AND COMPANY

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, M. J. Kelly, and M. S. Maxwell, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, For the past four months, Local Union No. 89 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America have been on strike at the plant of Wilson & Company, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and

WHEREAS, Wilson & Company is one of the four large packers having plants extending from coast to coast; and

WHEREAS, Every effort has been made through the regular channels of organized labor to bring about an amicable adjustment of this controversy; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in

conjunction with officials of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America attempt to negotiate with Wilson & Company for a settlement of the controversy at their Oklahoma City plant and in the event Wilson & Company refuses to adjust the matter on a fair and equitable basis that the incoming Executive Board shall consider the advisability of supporting the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in giving wide publicity to the controversy.

This resolution requests the assistance of the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting a controversy with Wilson & Company, meat packers.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MEAT CUTTERS vs. JOHN MORRELL COMPANY

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, M. J. Kelly, and M. S. Maxwell, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, The John Morrell Company, with plants at Sioux Falls, South Dakota; Ottumwa, Iowa, and Topeka, Kansas, on March 9th laid off one hundred and eight (108) of the most active members of Local Union No. 304, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, which resulted in a strike at that time. At the end of four days a settlement was reached in which it was agreed to reinstate all but twenty-nine (29) of the discharged members of the union. The case of these twenty-nine (29) men was taken to the St. Paul Regional Labor Board and a decision was made that they had been unjustly discriminated against and the Morrell Company was ordered to reinstate them within five (5) days' time. The case was pending in Washington when the Supreme Court declared the NRA unconstitutional. Later, every possible effort was made by agents of the Department of Labor, the Governor's office and committees of well known trade unionists at Sioux Falls, but the Morrell Company ignored these requests, which resulted in the second strike being called on July 18th; and

WHEREAS, Since that date the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America have been making a coast to coast campaign against the products of the Morrell concern which has had a tremendous effect upon its business; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in convention of the fifty-fifth convention of the

American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to offer the services of the Federation in an effort to adjust this controversy to the satisfaction of all concerned; and be it further

RESOLVED, That they be empowered, in the event the Morrell Company refuses to adjust the matter amicably, to lend all moral support to the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in giving nation-wide publicity to the controversy.

This resolution requests the assistance and cooperation of the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in an endeavor to adjust the dispute with the John Morrell Company, meat packers, with plants in South Dakota, Iowa, and Kansas. The controversy covers the right of employes to organize into the organization of their choice and to be represented by representatives of their own selection and further involves the reinstatement of twenty-nine (29) members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

A. J. LINDEMANN-HOVERSON COMPANY, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate J. F. Friedrich, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, More than six hundred employes of the A. J. Lindemann-Hoverson Company, Milwaukee, Wis., manufacturers of the Alcazar and other brands of gas, electric, kerosene and gasoline stoves, were forced to go on strike August 20, 1935, because this firm, in violation of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, discriminated against workers who had started a movement to organize the employes of this company; and

WHEREAS, This company in further violation of the labor act has refused to meet with the chosen representatives of its striking employes in spite of all efforts on the part of Federal conciliators to bring about such a meeting for the purpose of getting a settlement; and

WHEREAS, This flagrant violation of the laws of the land has led to numerous demonstrations by thousands of workers in the vicinity of the company's plant which created a situation so serious that the

Common Council of the City of Milwaukee unanimously passed a resolution asking the Chief of Police to close the plant and when the Chief of Police refused to do so on legal technical grounds, the Common Council passed an ordinance which resulted in at least a temporary closing of this plant; and

WHEREAS, After an investigation, according to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee has placed this firm and its products on its "We do not patronize" list upon the request of the Machinists' Local Union; and

WHEREAS, In addition to the Machinists' Union, the Molders, Metal Polishers, and Foundry Employes' Unions are also involved and all of these unions are acting in unison in this strike; and

WHEREAS, This firm evidently is adamant in its position to refuse to deal with its workers on an organized basis; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we declare the A. J. Lindemann-Hoverson Company, of Milwaukee, unfair to organized labor and that the Executive Council be requested to take the necessary steps under Section 4 of Article IX of the Constitution of the Federation for further appropriate action against this firm.

The resolution clearly outlines the controversy existing with the A. J. Lindemann-Hoverson Company and outlines the metal products manufactured by this company. This company has contracts with TVA for electric stoves. The right of employes to organize and to select their own representatives without discrimination is involved. The dispute has been actively supported by organized labor in the State of Wisconsin with the result that the City Council of Milwaukee, Wis., has instructed the Chief of Police of the City of Milwaukee to close this plant.

The dispute has been handled by the Regional Council.

The principle involved in this dispute, namely, the right to organize, is so important that every possible effort should be made to see that this right is protected and guaranteed to the employes.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers and Executive Council to be taken up with the National Labor Relations Board and that every possible effort be made to adjust this dispute in such a manner that the right

of the employees to organize is guaranteed and maintained and that in the event of failure in accomplishing this that the Executive Council and officers be instructed to take such further action as may be necessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COLUMBIAN ENAMELING AND STAMPING COMPANY, TERRE HAUTE, IND.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Lee Roy Musgrave, Vigo County, Indiana, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Employees of the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company, located in Terre Haute, Ind., have been on strike for the past seven months trying to force the company to recognize their union; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, through its representatives, exhausted all honorable means to bring about a settlement of the controversy by enlisting the support of the Bankers, Newspaper Editors, Representatives of the Churches, Department of Labor, Mayor and Governor without any success; and

WHEREAS, This company is now attempting to operate with non-union labor under the protection of a large number of special policemen and National Guards, operating under a Proclamation of Martial Law by the Governor which sets aside the Provisions of the Constitution, the right of free speech and free assemblage; and

WHEREAS, This Military Dictatorship, acting under authority of the Governor of Indiana and with his knowledge, have and are acting as protectors of strike-breakers by arresting large numbers of our members without cause or reason, with no charges of any kind preferred against them, holding them in jail without bond or counsel and suggesting to them that they may be released from jail if they will agree to return to work at the Stamping Mill regardless of the Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Governor of Indiana, Paul V. McNutt, be censured for his un-American, unconstitutional usurpation of the power in the Proclamation issued declaring Martial Law which in effect has put the National Guards in the role of strike-breaking agencies; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Products of the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company now operating with strike-breakers under the protection of a strike-breaking militia be declared unfair to organized labor in the United States and Canada; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to every directly affiliated local to the American Federation of Labor asking their co-operation.

Your committee deploras the use of the State Militia in the State of Indiana in the controversy between the employees of the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company, Terre Haute, Indiana, wherein the National Guard was used as a strike-breaking agency and recommends that the resolution be referred to the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to make further effort to bring about the settlement of this controversy; that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to notify the Governor of the State of Indiana and the Mayor of the City of Terre Haute, Indiana, of the disapproval of this convention of the use of the National Guard, special police and other officers to protect a corporation involved in a labor dispute when the right to organize, the right of free speech and free assemblage are involved; and for such other action as the officers and the Executive Council may deem advisable.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I would like to ask that we add to the list of those to be notified of this action the name of the American Legion. I have very clearly in mind the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor where Mr. Paul McNutt came as a national representative of the American Legion to address the convention of the American Federation of Labor. I have also in mind the very splendid address that Mr. McNutt made, and the very fine professions of friendship to the organized labor movement on his part at that time. If Mr. McNutt has had a change of heart, I think the American Legion ought to know about it. They assumed the responsibility for him at the time. They sent him to us as their agent, and he came professing to be a friend of organized labor. If the statements set forth in this resolution are correct, then something has happened to Mr. McNutt, and I think the American Legion ought to know about it.

Delegate Lawrence, Casket Makers' Local 19306: The other day we heard a report on German Fascism, and we want to recognize that in this country we have some of the elements of the beginning of Fascism. Strikers came to the City of Chicago and told our Chicago Federation of Labor what went on in Terre Haute, and here we find Mr. McNutt, who came to Chicago at the time that Hitler took power in Germany and made a speech against Fascism in the Auditorium to a tremendous crowd. He is one who is always talking about defending the Constitution of the United States, but when he became Governor of the State of Indiana and took an oath to support the Constitution of the State of Indiana and a labor dispute involving a strike took place, he violated the Constitution of the State of Indiana, and he continues to violate the Constitution of that state. While that strike was going on and the militia was in Terre Haute, churches were not allowed to hold services without the permission of the military commander. Let us not forget while we are talking about Fascism in Germany that we have to fight growing Fascism in the United States.

Delegate Martel: I did not make a motion to send that to the American Legion. Am I to understand that it will be included?

President Green: Certainly it will be included, Brother Martel, because the secretary of the committee has just advised me that there are no objections on the part of the committee.

KOHLER MANUFACTURING COMPANY, KOHLER, WIS.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and Charles Heymanns, Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, Members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545, employed by the Kohler Manufacturing Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, manufacturers of plumbing fixtures, bathtubs, sinks, pottery ware, lavatories, heating plants, radiators, electric light plants, and brass plumbing fittings, were forced to go on strike on July 16, 1934, in order to enforce their rights for collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, On July 27, 1934, special police of the village of Kohler armed with

tear gas, gas bombs, riot guns, pistols, rifles, machine guns, and armored trucks, under orders of village officials, who are also high officials of the Kohler Company, fired into a mass of people who had gathered for the purpose of a demonstration before the company's plant, killing two union men and seriously wounding forty-three other men and women, besides gassing scores of men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, At the time the employees of this company started their movement to organize into a labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, officials of the Kohler Company, in an attempt to break up this movement, organized a company union known as the Kohler Workers' Association, and the Kohler Company refused to deal with our union for minimum wages and working conditions to prevail in the plant and insisted that it would deal with the company union, regardless of the strength of our A. F. of L. Union; and

WHEREAS, After the strike of the A. F. of L. Union had been in progress for weeks, completely closing the plant, and the case having been taken before the National Labor Relations Board, the Board found that the company union had been organized in violation of Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act, but instead of ordering this illegal company union dissolved, it ordered that a vote be taken among the employees of the company to determine whether they wished to be represented by the A. F. of L. union or by the illegal company union, and over the protest of the A. F. of L. union, allowed the name of the illegal company union on the election ballot; and

WHEREAS, Just prior to the holding of this election, the Kohler Company over a period of fourteen months, took advantage of the numerous delays of NRA machinery to intimidate, coerce and bribe many workers to desert by promises of life-long jobs, etc., while the company union, with the aid of the company, circularized letters among the employees, intimating that the ending of the strike and the resumption of work depended on the company union winning the vote and further intimating that the company would give preference in employment to members of the company union; and

WHEREAS, Because of the ruling of the National Labor Relations Board, allowing the name of the company union which it itself had declared to be an illegal organization, to appear on the ballot while hundreds of union men laid off during the campaign against our union were refused a vote, and because of the corrupt practices of the company and the company union, the A. F. of L. union had no chance in the election; and

WHEREAS, Members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545, conscious of the fact that they have been unfairly dealt with, and that a deep principle of genuine collective

bargaining is involved in this struggle, are determined to continue the fight against the Kohler Company; that because of the prominence of the Kohler Company, the defeat of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 will have the most dire and dangerous effect upon the entire organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Federal Labor Union No. 18545 has declared the Kohler Company unfair to labor and has requested all organized labor and its friends to refrain from buying or using Kohler products, which include plumbing fixtures, bathtubs, sinks, lavatories, pottery ware, heating plants, radiators, electric light plants, brass fittings, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor at its annual convention in Appleton, Wisconsin, July 16 to 19, 1935, after considering all phases of this controversy, took action declaring this firm as unfair to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention, assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 7th to 21st, 1935, goes on record extending to these striking members of Federal Labor Union No. 18545 cordial greetings and expressions of appreciation for the splendid and courageous battle they have put up for justice in the face of tremendous odds; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, considering all facts in connection with this controversy, hereby declares that the Kohler Company of Kohler, Wisconsin, is extremely unfair to the organized labor movement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the Federation be requested to report on this matter to this convention in accordance with Section 4 of Article IX of the Constitution of the Federation, so that official action on placing a boycott against this company may be taken.

This resolution deals with the dispute between the employees and the Kohler Manufacturing Company, Kohler, Wisconsin, and the details of this dispute are thoroughly outlined in the resolution.

This resolution is similar to Resolution No. 107, introduced in the 1934 American Federation of Labor Convention at San Francisco, California, and which was reported upon by the committee. The report and discussion will be found upon pages 421, 422, and 423 of the 1934 proceedings. Representatives of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wisconsin, and others appeared be-

fore the committee and outlined in detail the importance of this controversy. The committee on Industrial Relations submitted the following report to the 1934 Convention:

"Your committee calls attention to the fact that the officers of the Kohler Manufacturing Company, Kohler, Wisconsin, have disregarded and violated all the provisions of Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act, denying to their employees the right to organize and elect their representatives without intimidation or coercion.

"That the National Labor Relations Board, upon investigation, not only proved that this company had violated the National Recovery Act, but in open defiance of the provisions of Section 7-A and the agencies of the Government provided for the enforcement of this act, has openly created and supported in every possible manner 'The Kohler Workers' Association,' a 'company union.'

"Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted by amending it and striking out the second resolve, the subject of which shall be referred to the officers and Executive Council for further consideration, and that the resolution as amended be approved and referred to the officers and the Incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to follow up this case until every available resource has been utilized to bring about the recognition of the bona fide national and international organizations and the American Federation of Labor, representing employees employed by the Kohler Manufacturing Company."

Your committee, recognizing the importance of this dispute, particularly on account of the prominent position taken by Mr. Walter J. Kohler, Sr., of the manufacturing industries and, also, through his political affiliations with the Republican party.

Your committee calls attention to the fact that although it was proven that the company violated the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act guaranteeing the employees the right to organize without discrimination; that employees were discharged for union activities; that a "company union" was formed; and that a vote was taken illegally and unfairly denying employees on strike the right to vote because of their efforts to organize; that there were no governmental provisions strong enough to compel this company to live up to the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

From those appearing before the committee it was intimated that full compliance with the report of the committee on Industrial Relations accepted by last year's convention was not fully complied with and requests were made that a report on this controversy should be requested from the Executive Council.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and that the action taken at the 1934 Convention be reaffirmed.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, we consider this a very important matter. We are not opposed to the recommendation of the committee. However, a similar recommendation was made a year ago, and we haven't had results.

This strike, as the resolution indicates, has been in progress since July, 1934. The affairs that have taken place there in the way of combating the efforts of organized labor's right to collective bargaining resulted in the massacre that you have all been made familiar with, in which two of our members were murdered and over forty others injured.

We heard some very eloquent appeals to this convention for the shorter work day, for the right of collective bargaining, and a number of other important matters. That is exactly what these men were striving for—the right to organize under the banner of the American Federation of Labor and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choice.

Many of you are familiar with this man, this despot who heads this company. His name is made public through the highest priced magazines in the nation. His wares are widely advertised and he has great influence, and if this thing is permitted to go on, if the organized workers of America do not make an effort to support this proposition it will mean a serious setback for the labor movement of the Northwest and perhaps throughout the entire country. There is involved in this not only a matter of principle but a matter of policy of the American Federation of Labor.

This proposition has been unqualifiedly endorsed by the organized workers of the State of Wisconsin. It has been endorsed by all of those who have had any intimate dealings with it, and we are appealing today to the American labor movement, through the American Federation of Labor, to back up those loyal men who are still fighting this despotic rule over there in the little village of Kohler, four miles from the City of Sheboygan.

We are satisfied, I think, with the report of the committee providing it is not dragged out as it was a year ago. We earnestly appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to act upon this matter in a way that we may get results and bring about a settlement in favor of these workers who are so nobly struggling to improve their conditions in that particular industry.

Delegate Harvey, New Orleans Central Trades and Labor Council: I desire to ask a question of the Secretary of the committee. Has the committee investigated what action the Executive Council has taken on the recommendation of last year's convention?

Delegate Henning: Only insofar as the representatives who appeared before the committee made statements as to the assignments and assistance rendered by President Green and one of the organizers, Paul Smith. We had those reports from the representatives of this Federal Labor Union at Sheboygan.

Delegate Heymanns, Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wisconsin: As one of the sponsors of this resolution, let me say that there is not much to be added to what has already been said. Brother Handley brought forward what had been said last year and what the resolution itself puts forth. It is not necessary for me to again point out to you the importance that this man holds in the ranks of our organized enemies. He is ready to put us down when the opportunity presents itself. This man was an enemy of organized labor many, many years ago, and some of the old timers here will remember that they had a strike there about forty years ago. About ten years ago they tried to organize the machinists in one part of the plant and this man called a conference of his workers

and told them no such thing was going on in his plant.

In 1928 this man was successful in buying the governorship of the State of Wisconsin on the Republican reactionary ticket, and as proof of that I want to remind you that this man was haled into the courts of our state under the State Corrupt Practices Act. Many union men throughout the country were probably under a false notion at that time that he was a friend of labor and that we were supporting him. This man in his own shop had his own superintendent and works manager call some of us fellows into the office and questioned our right to listen to public speeches of political opponents, and when I say political opponents I mention certain friends of labor—none other than Senator Blaine, who some of us evidently made the mistake of going and listening to on our own time in the public park, and later we had explained to us certain rights that we had as American citizens.

When Section 7-A of the National Recovery Act became the law of the land we workers approached the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor for organizers. There are a number of different kinds of production in that shop and that is the reason the organization is a Federal Labor Union. We had no conflict with any other International Union. Immediately, as soon as we organized, this man got busy. He put spies outside of the meeting hall when we had a meeting. They circulated a petition in the shop asking us to sign and say that we were satisfied with the policy of this company, in a plant where we were earning as low as \$300 a year and as low as \$8 for two weeks' work. We were asked to sign that kind of a petition and we refused. Some of us did sign that. We did that with only one thing in mind. We wanted to organize a union under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. This man was determined to stop us, so they went further and they organized a company union. It is not necessary for me to go into the details. It is only necessary for me to remind you that the National Labor Relations Board last year in a decision declared that the Kohler Company had violated Section 7-A of the Recovery Act by so doing. I quote the decision of the National Labor Relations Board:

"Thus it is clear that the company participated in forming and engaged actively in promoting the new organization, that the workers had no opportunity of expressing an unfettered choice as to whether or not they wished to belong to it, and that the company not only indicated its favorable attitude toward the organization, but stood ready to finance its existence. Under such circumstances the organization could not have that independence which is essential to a true collective bargaining agency, and the sudden and extensive promotion of the plant at the time when an outside union was just being formed can only be considered as a deliberate design to influence the allegiance of the employees and to interfere with their free and unhampered self organization which Section 7-A guarantees."

Those are not my words, brothers and sisters, they are the words of the Government, of the National Labor Relations Board. This man started a company union. A week before this company union was started he laid off one entire section of the plant, by way of intimidating the workers. That was not sufficient. They started this company union, and this man who is considered a "big shot" in this country, one of the leaders of our organized enemies who was Governor of the great State of Wisconsin at one time, went down so low as to advise his workers to join the company union. I want to ask you if you can call that American by any stretch of the imagination.

After this company union was organized, we workers were herded into the office and intimidated and forced to join this organization. Most of us refused. That was not enough. Another week went by and they laid off another two hundred and fifty men. Four hundred and eighty-five in all were laid off. We kept up our organization. Our meetings grew larger and larger. The plant employed about 2100 people at that time and we had 1867 in our organization, 1367 fully paid and the balance partially paid and with applications filed. This man was determined to stop them.

We asked the help of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor which we had at all times and we asked the help of the State NRA machinery. Nothing came out of that.

Things dragged on and in June, 1934, we submitted a 14-point proposal to the officials of the Kohler Company. Immediately after they received these 14 points—and, by the way, there was nothing unreasonable in

those 14 points; they asked for what any other union would ask for, the right of collective bargaining, the right to confer with management about working conditions, wages, etc. Then the company went to work and shut down the entire plant. Everybody was laid off. But somehow this did not prove as much intimidation to the workers as Walter J. Kohler thought it would when he gave the order to lay off the entire plant.

On July 6 we had a meeting with the Kohler Company. We had as our able assistant Brother Ohl, President of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and all we could get in that meeting was to listen to a despot tell us what the policy of the Kohler Company was, that we could like it or leave it. He said, "We don't care how many members you have, we don't care how strong your organization, we don't care how near right you may be. That is the policy of the Kohler Company and it will remain the policy of the company."

We were forced to go on strike and the strike vote was unanimous, by a secret ballot. It is not necessary for me to repeat all that happened in this strike. I only want to point out to you that this village of Kohler, Wisconsin, is four miles away from where 80 per cent of the workers live. This village has less than ten per cent of the rank and file workers living in it. The officials of that village are officials of the company. The President of the village is the chief research engineer. They have three aldermen, one is a company lawyer and the other is the works manager, and the employment manager is the works treasurer. Why do I point that out? Simply to show that as village officials these men used their title and power, as village officials under the law of Wisconsin, and deputized an army of thugs and strike-breakers to come in there, and on July 27 this riot took place. It was company-provoked. I am not standing here, brothers and sisters, asking you to believe what I say. I just want to give you the words of a Government representative sent there by the Chicago Regional Labor Board, a priest of the Catholic Church, Father Maguire. Father Maguire said:

"I have been in many strikes, but I never saw such needless and ruthless killing by supporters of the law. There was a worse

strike in Milwaukee recently, but the authorities found no need to call out troops nor to resort to violence. Not a person was killed or wounded during that strike, but one boy killed himself by coming in contact with a live wire. When it is understood that most of the people were shot in the back last Friday, the ruthlessness is evident. You don't have to shoot people in the back when they are running away. I examined a score of persons and all except two were shot in the back. As a member of the Chicago Regional Labor Board I am not going behind fences to say what I have to say. Human lives and human rights are precious in preserving. They are more sacred than property rights and I shall do all I can to prevent a repetition of such violence. A deep wrong has been done in this county and you should go to the bottom to see who was responsible by using their influence and these should be punished as they deserve.

"When the time comes to say other things I will say them. I have no personal interest in this controversy except to help make a settlement, therefore I have nothing to say about the merits or demerits of either side in this controversy. I never saw such a stubborn and embarrassing situation as in Kohler."

Those are not my words, those are not the words of a union labor spokesman, they are the words of a representative of the Federal Government in that strike, when he was speaking to the Sheboygan County Board Members assembled in a special session a few days after the riot.

Brothers and sisters, it is a serious situation when we as workers, as American citizens under the law, organized in a bona fide labor union to promote the happiness of workers, something that we are here assembled for, run up against something like that, run up against a despot and get shot in the back. Two of our brothers were killed there that night in cold blood. About 100 were injured, but only about 50 reported to the hospital. I ask you to believe me when I tell you that with my own eyes I saw workers covered from the back of their head to the bottom of their feet with buckshot, and we counted as high as 90 marks on some workers—and they were all in the back. You may hear the story put out by Kohler's organized publicity; you may hear stories to a different effect, but I ask you in all sincerity, how can any bunch of people attack by getting shot in the back?

Those are things we saw with our own eyes, and at the inquest held by the authori-

ties in Sheboygan County, the same facts were brought forward. At that inquest it was brought forward and it was admitted that that night they did not know how many different fellows they had around there carrying guns. They just deputized anybody who came along. Rumors spread that they had members of strike breaking agencies there, but these men were riding around on these armored cars. I ask you, how many of you have seen an employer get four armored trucks with sheet iron and everything wired up and about thirty men on each truck, parading up and down past a peaceful picket line all day? Windows were broken there, but not one single attempt was made to stop this company-provoked riot until the people were all in one certain place. And while this was going on the picket line was intact and was peaceful. Then they opened up with gas from four different sides, and when these people were all there they let them have it with lead.

We are not here in the spirit of revenge. Our resolution is not presented with that spirit, with the idea of getting revenge on Kohler. Far from it. Our resolution is in, brothers and sisters, to get justice and we feel that we are entitled to that justice. Contrary to opinions that may exist our strike is in full progress. You could pass that plant today and see pickets marching up and down—a small number—yes, because we have not the means to support these people. The plant operates to a certain extent, and contrary to some opinions they are not operating fully. The pickets are on duty every day.

I just want to call your attention to the fact that on last Labor Day in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, after a strike lasting 14 months, 500 members walked behind a sign, which read "Kohler Federal Labor Union 18545," in the face of the worst intimidation that any union in the country ever ran up against. I want to ask you, is it fair to let these men down? We buried our brothers that were shot in the back, but we will not bury our union principles, come what may. We buried those brothers, but we know we do not have to bury the confidence we have in the labor movement of this country. We circularized the country last January, after every means of settlement except an unconditional sur-

render had been exhausted—and, by the way, all we have left was unconditional surrender. We refused; as union men we could not do anything but refuse. We called the strike on the advice of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, as advised by Organizer Paul J. Smith and we followed their advice at all times. In January, 1935, when these men faced unconditional surrender, 800 of them assembled in the hall at Sheboygan and refused unanimously. They said, "We came out fighting, and no matter how long it takes we are going to continue to fight." We declared the Kohler Company unfair to organized labor and we circularized the country. Many of you delegates have seen our circulars. You see them on the tables here this morning.

That is our second circular. The State Federation of Labor of Wisconsin circularized the country in our behalf, and when the convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor came along, we introduced practically the same resolution that we have introduced here, asking for their support. We got that support unanimously and in order to back us up further, the Wisconsin Federation of Labor sent a copy of that resolution to every State Federation of Labor and every national and international union and city central body in the country. To date we have sent out about 25,000 of these large circulars you see on the table. We have no financial means to keep on except what we have donated by our brothers and sisters. Let me not forget this morning to thank you, in the name of my local union, for the moral and financial support we got from you in the past. It would have been impossible to keep going on for fifteen months without that support from our own members. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor voted to give us their assistance.

We were advised by the organizers of the American Federation of Labor to come to this body of labor, to the Supreme Court of Labor, as President Green calls it, and ask for your support, to keep this fight going and to get justice for these men and I know that you brothers and sisters will not fail us. We have the

support of the entire labor movement of the country as far as individual locals are concerned. We have received hundreds of letters to date. The Chicago Federation of Labor, through Radio Station WCFL, broadcast for a long time that the Kohler Company was unfair and that the strike was in full progress. We know we have the assurance of the labor movement of this country and we are more determined now than ever to keep up this fight until justice is done to our brothers.

Last year we had a resolution in at the San Francisco convention which was referred to the Executive Council. We expected some immediate and effective support of that Executive Council, but we failed to see it. If this resolution is referred to the Executive Council and nothing is done, then you won't help us out there at all. What we need is nation-wide help, we need to have the Federation circularize the entire country pointing out the attitude of this man, pointing out to the labor movement and the general public as well, the attitude of the company.

At the present time this man operates with scab labor and he is underbidding every plumbing manufacturer in the United States. He has been successful in getting orders for Government contracts. I ask you if that is not a tragic situation where a man who has no regard for Government laws or for the present Administration can operate his plant with scabs and defy labor and the Government and the public and still be successful in getting Government orders to keep these scabs working. I ask you, brothers and sisters, I ask the representatives of the different international unions and above all the building trades organizations to send in a strong protest to the Governor on this matter to stop action of that kind.

In conclusion, I want to ask you to consider this carefully. We are not unreasonable, but something must be done for our people now. I don't think you will force me to go back and tell them that the American Federation of Labor can do nothing for them. I simply can't do it. I have too much confidence in the American Federation of Labor to believe for one moment that we will not get justice. Please don't send me back without getting anything

at all for these brothers who so loyally upheld the traditions of the American labor movement, by standing up against the worst conditions and fighting like men, fighting a clean battle. In return I only promise you one thing, that with your help we will uphold the principles of the American Federation of Labor and we will never surrender to Kohler's millions and Kohler's autocracy.

I thank you.

Delegate Mortimer, Automobile Workers' Union No. 18463: It seems to me, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that this is a case that needs special consideration. The facts related by this brother here are just another indication of what this brother mentioned. They, too, are evidently living under a state of local Fascism, and since this strike has now been going on for fifteen months, surely that is long enough for this Executive Council to make up its mind as to what it is going to do about it.

I would like to amend the committee's report, Mr. Chairman, if it is in order, that this be submitted to the Executive Council with the earnest request that they take immediate action against the Kohler Company, Kohler, Wisconsin.

President Green: Let the Chair make a brief explanation to the delegates, if I may, regarding this very distressing case. The loyalty and the emotion of this Federal Labor Union established at the Kohler Manufacturing Plant challenges our admiration. I hold them in the highest regard and the highest esteem. The sacrifices they have made, the splendid fight they have carried on, touches our deepest emotions. There isn't anything in the world that I would not do if I could do in order to bring about a fair settlement of this grievous controversy.

I have explored the situation in order to find some way by which we could be of service. It is a most tragic situation, as you all must know. The owner of this plant or at least the representative of the owners of the plant, was elected Governor of the State of Wisconsin. He has a nationwide reputation and has advertised his manufactured product very extensively. He established what was called an ideal working man's village. You have all read in the magazines about the village of Kohler, the ideal place. I did not think it was

quite so ideal when these men struck, because I don't believe men living in an ideal environment, where it is said that the millennium has been applied, would fight against a condition of that kind.

The village of Kohler, as Brother Handley and the delegate from the Federal Labor Union has explained, is Kohler-owned. It is administered by the Kohler Company. The officers of the city, the police officers are controlled by the Kohler Company. That is difficulty No. 1.

Second, when the strike took place the matter was referred to the National Labor Relations Board, as has already been explained. A vote was taken by orders of that board. A majority of the workers, according to the certification of the tellers who held the election, voted in support of the company union. We through our representatives in Wisconsin challenged the right of the company union to be put upon the ballot and I am of the opinion that it was a violation of the National Recovery Act to place upon the ballot the question as to whether or not the workers wanted this company union. But the National Labor Relations Board decided otherwise and a vote was taken, and a majority of the vote was certified to Washington as being in favor of the company union.

Notwithstanding that fact, the strike went on and on. It was a splendid strike in every way. Unfortunately, the Kohler Company was able to operate its plant to some extent—and they report to a very large extent with its company union and those who would not join with us in the strike. But notwithstanding tremendous odds the workers who were on strike continued to strike.

Now, what does the Kohler Company manufacture? The question as to the boycott of the goods of this company was then taken up and the local union and the State Federation of Labor of Wisconsin have done noble work in publicizing the fact that these goods are being manufactured by strikebreakers at a plant where a strike is in effect, at a plant where a large number of loyal workers are locked out and on strike. But they sell their goods very largely to contractors who build buildings and homes, and these contractors install their products in these buildings.

I have taken that matter up with some of our building trades organizations in an effort to see whether our building trades organizations could or would refuse to install these products, and they have reported to me that they have been confronted with very great difficulties, when considering such a proposition particularly in these days of widespread unemployment, when from 60 to 65 per cent of building trades workers have been unemployed.

Now, then, the question as to what we could do was the question uppermost in our minds. There are some things we can do. The plant is operating, I do not know how fully. Perhaps we can establish a nationwide boycott of these goods, but we will have to have the support of the building trades organizations in order to make such a boycott effective.

We have assigned our representatives to help these brothers. I say to you that we have explored the situation in an effort to find out what we could do and what we might do in order to bring about a settlement of this distressing controversy.

I know I can pledge to the convention the support of the Executive Council that it will do everything that lies within its power to help these brothers who are making such a wonderful fight. The problem is what we can do in order to make it effective. That is the problem that is presented to you. It is your problem as well as ours, but I say to you that these men should receive the full support of the American Federation of Labor in carrying on their heroic struggle.

Delegate Friedrich, Milwaukee Federated Trades Council: I wish to offer an amendment to the committee's report and add to it that the Executive Council give consideration to giving nation-wide publicity through circularization to all units of the labor movement on this matter at the earliest opportunity.

The amendment was seconded.

Delegate Friedrich: I must face the reality that perhaps it will not be possible to get what we call a settlement in this case, due to the attitude of the employer with whom we have to deal. This may have to be one of those finish fights that we have to go into from time to time. We have had them in the past and I believe this fight here today

is one of those fights which comes every so often, which we must face, no matter what the odds are.

It is true the committee in its report has stated that placing a company on the unfair list or instituting a boycott is something that should be done only after the most careful consideration, and I agree with that policy. I agree that we must be cautious in this regard, but there may come a time when we can be too cautious, just as it has been proven in the past when we have had to take action, and that action has cost us a great deal. Take the Buck Stove and Range Company case, the Danbury Hatters case and others, they have cost us a great deal, but who in this convention here today will say that the fight that was made against those companies was not a fight worthwhile, that in the final analysis redounded to the credit of the organized labor movement and wrote some of the most glorious pages of history into our record. I say to you we may have to do here what was done by the Danbury Hatters. They, too, defied the organized labor movement. They defied public opinion. They operated their plant on a non-union basis. Just recently we read in the labor papers of this country that the owner of that concern died practically penniless. It was a fight that was never given up.

Here is a situation where we may have to do the same thing. We have gone on record in this convention. First let me say we talk about not having a boycott. I know that is a difficult situation. On the other hand, we institute a boycott against German goods because of Nazism and Hitlerism, and I want to tell you that in the village of Kohler, in the person of Walter J. Kohler, you have a man who out-Hitlers Hitler in his attitude toward the organized labor movement.

As has been stated here he advertises extensively. Not only does he advertise in the regular manner but he has in his organization a great publicity machine which picks up every little item it can since the strike has taken place, in order to publicize and in order to try to show up the organized labor movement in the wrong light.

Unless we take action here which will give a great measure of support to these strikers, which will publicize from our point

of view the fact that this company is unfair to organized labor, if we turn their proposition down and vote this amendment down, I say to you that before our proceedings are printed, Kohler will have thousands and thousands of circulars going over the country telling the people that the American Federation of Labor has refused to support the Kohler strikers. That is the situation we are up against and I say we cannot publicly here take a stand that if an employer is able to lick one small single unit of the labor movement, that is all he has to worry about.

In this case we have an outstanding occurrence and we must all do our part, we must give nation-wide publicity to the injury that has been done to these strikers in the village of Kohler. I know from the response we have received here that you will do that, you will vote for this amendment and direct the Executive Council at its earliest opportunity to add its force to the forces organized by these strikers and by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, so that we may circularize the country and that when these housing projects are being undertaken, even though building tradesmen may have to put these projects in, this campaign will have its effect. I realize the situation the building tradesmen are in, but when a nation-wide publicity campaign is carried on and the owners of buildings and homes realize what it means, they will come to our assistance, because they do not want to have their homes or buildings built nor do they want to buy homes with these products installed in them. There is nothing we can do which will help so much as to send out the word that we do not want these blood-stained facilities of the Kohler Company installed in homes that workers will have to live in.

The motion to adopt the amendment offered by Delegate Friedrich was carried by unanimous vote.

The report of the committee, as amended, was adopted by unanimous vote.

Opportunity was given at this time for committee announcements by chairmen of the various committees.

At 12:30 o'clock p. m. the convention recessed until 2:30 o'clock p. m.

SIXTH DAY—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

ABSENTEES:

Hannah, E. I., Katz, Kaiser, DeWitt, Rundle, Billet, Eardley, Slich, Rosqvist, Regan, Doane, Wade, David, Wise, Palmer, Hanoway, Osborne, Swetland, Dance, Sigman, Howat, Dallas, Singer, Bradley, Shave, Dahlager, Burke, M. J.; Slout, Mayer, Hymes, Weinberg, Flynn, Al, Nadelhoffer, Bender, Burns, T. F.; Serra; Malkovich, Dougherty, Iglesias.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of a committee to escort the Commissioner of Education to the platform. He is scheduled to address the convention at 3 o'clock this afternoon. The Chair appoints on that committee William J. Moran, of the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers; Thomas E. Burke, of the Plumbers and Steamfitters, and Charles P. Howard, of the International Typographical Union.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Secretary Gillooly, of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee is in receipt of a communication from International President Thomas F. McMahon, of the United Textile Workers of America, requesting that the name of William Smith be substituted in place of Alexander McKeown as delegate from the United Textile Workers of America, to this convention, who is unable to attend.

We, therefore, recommend that William Smith be seated in place of Alexander McKeown, to represent the United Textile Workers of America, with 132 votes.

It has been brought to the attention of your Committee that there was an error in the number of votes reported for the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. The vote should have read 45 instead of 37, and we recommend that the records of this Convention be corrected accordingly.

We find that J. A. Burks, who has been seated to represent jointly several local unions chartered in the same vicinity, has been certified to represent Federal Labor Union No. 18718, of Birmingham, Ala., with one additional vote, and we recommend that it be so recorded.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Henning, of the Committee on Industrial Relations, continued to report, as follows:

JEWELRY WORKERS vs. DIEGES & CLUST, NEW YORK CITY

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Samuel E. Beardsley and Leon Williams, International Jewelry Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The firm of Dieges & Clust, of 15 John Street, New York City, New York, manufacturers of fraternity, scholastic and emblematic jewelry and sports goods, after operating their factory under an agreement with Local No. 1, International Jewelry Workers' Union, from November 6, 1933, to June 30, 1935; and

WHEREAS, On June 28, 1935, the said firm of Dieges & Clust, without any notification to Local No. 1, International Jewelry Workers' Union, or its members, declared a lockout on its employees; and

WHEREAS, Numerous attempts having been made by the International Jewelry Workers' Union and Local No. 1, I. J. W. U., to settle this lockout with the firm, but without results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declares the product of this concern unfair to organized labor and that it does not recommend the fraternity, scholastic, emblematic jewelry and sports goods manufactured by said firm to the members of organized labor and its friends until this firm terminates the lockout against the members of Local No. 1, International Jewelry Workers' Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use its good offices in bringing about a satisfactory adjustment with the firm and, failing to do so, that every possible publicity be given to the attitude of this firm.

Your committee recommends that the first Resolve be stricken from the resolution, and that with this change concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONSUMERS' RESEARCH, INC., WASHINGTON, N. J.

The committee amended the following resolution by eliminating the second resolve as follows:

RESOLVED, That Consumers' Research, Inc., be put on the Unfair List of the American Federation of Labor until a fair settlement of the strike; and, be it further

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Susan Jenkins, Technical, Editorial and Office As-

sistants' Union No. 20055, Washington, N. J.

WHEREAS, Consumers' Research, Inc., of Washington, N. J., an organization supplying informational services on consumers' goods to over 50,000 consumer-subscribers throughout the United States, has followed policies injurious to the best interests of the organized labor movement by (1) Discharging three active members of the Union of their employes, one of them the President, on the day the Union applied for recognition. (2) Intimidating Union members and forcing members out of the Union by false accusations of racketeering and dishonesty against Union leaders. (3) Using such anti-labor tactics as an injunction against picketing, arrest of pickets and sympathizers, armed guards and a strike-breaking detective agency, firing on pickets, inciting vigilante action during the strike forced upon the Union, and (4) Refusing to deal with or accept correspondence from the Union; and

WHEREAS, The Technical, Editorial and Office Assistants' Union, American Federation of Labor, No. 20055, its membership composed of the majority of Consumers' Research employes, is now in its sixth week of a strike to win Union recognition and a Union agreement granting a minimum salary of \$16 a week, a maximum working week of 35 hours, and a statement of reasons for discharges; and

WHEREAS, Consumers' Research, Inc., numbers many American Federation of Labor members among its subscribers, and in the sale of its services appeals to friends and supporters of the organized labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge all its affiliated Unions, Central and State bodies, to support the strike of Local 20055 to secure Union conditions and recognition; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention appeal to all consumer organizations and individual consumers to join with organized labor in protesting the anti-labor policies of Consumers' Research, Inc.

Your committee recommends that the second resolve of this resolution be stricken out; that the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist Technical, Editorial and Office Assistants' Union No. 20055, Washington, N. J., in every possible manner in an effort to bring about a settlement of the dispute between this local union and the Consumers' Research, Inc.; and that in the event of failure to bring about such satisfactory settlement, the officers and the Executive Council be directed

to carry out the contents of this resolution in the most effective manner possible.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution with the elimination of the second resolve.

Delegate Jenkins, Technical, Editorial and Office Assistants' Union, No. 20055, Washington, New Jersey: Mr. President and delegates, I am the delegate who sponsored the resolution before you. In many respects the situation that exists in the small town of Washington, New Jersey, where my union is now on strike, parallels that which the delegate from Kohler has just described, of course on a much smaller scale. I would like to make one correction in the resolution. When this resolution was written we were in the sixth week of the strike. Commencing next Wednesday, we enter the eighth week of the strike. Now, I would like to refer back to a remark which Mr. Henning, Secretary of the committee, made a while ago. He said that it was the policy of the American Federation of Labor not to enter into boycotts or to recommend the use of an unfair list in connection with the settlement of the strike until every other method had been tried.

As a matter of fact, that is the situation that exists in this strike. Everything that could be done has been done in an attempt to arrive at an agreement with our employers, the directors of the Consumers' Research, Incorporated. Many attempts at investigation and arbitration have been made. Three or four different groups or bodies of people have offered their services to investigate or to arbitrate; in each case the union has accepted these offers and Consumers' Research has rejected them. Mr. William J. Murphy, who has been appointed by President Green as his personal representative in this matter, has gone to see the board of directors of Consumers' Research on many occasions in an attempt to induce them to enter into negotiations or a discussion of some sort, and in each case he has failed. It is Mr. Murphy's opinion that Consumers' Research intends doing nothing toward a settlement of this strike.

The Sheriff of Warren County has on several occasions tried to induce the board

of directors of Consumers' Research to arbitrate or to negotiate, and the Sheriff has reported complete failure. A member of the local borough council attempted to induce Consumers' Research to arbitrate and he also failed. An association of the subscribers to Consumers' Research, made up of those subscribers who reside in this eastern district, have also attempted to induce Consumers' Research to settle this strike, and they have failed. The Department of Labor has sent an investigator, Commissioner John A. Moffett, to look into this question. He has called on the directors of Consumers' Research, but so far no results have been obtained.

I refer back to the actions of Consumers' Research described in the resolution. The injunction which they have secured against us is so stringent that the effect of our pickets has been practically nullified. According to the terms of this injunction, pickets must remain at least twenty-five feet apart, and there are many other restrictions on their activities. Under this injunction more than half the union are now cited for contempt for such actions as whistling, gesturing, what is described as huddling on the streets—although there were only two parties to this huddle—and many other similar actions.

We have received the support of the local Hosley Union, Branch No. 20, and also the Oxford Branch of the Federation of Dyers and Finishers, have supported us in this strike. The members of these unions also are cited for contempt and many of them have been arrested. Several of the dyers have even been arrested in their homes and were taken before the Justice of the Peace handcuffed. These cases have been brought before the local Justices of the peace, one of whom is a member of the firm of Consumers' Research, and the other his partner. Pickets have been hit by cars driven by armed constables, many of us have been hurt, one so seriously that he was in the hospital for some time. On one occasion the constables fired on the picket line as they passed through it in a car.

Our employers have also used a whispering and slander campaign against the union in an attempt to alienate the support of the town, and to a certain extent they have been successful in antagonizing the

non-working class element. All these actions have been an attempt to discredit the union, to influence the local union from picketing and to intimidate our own members. A condition of terror now exists in Washington. There has even been beginnings of a Ku Klux Klan activity and a fiery cross has been burned.

The strike has received some local publicity, but this publicity has not extended beyond the east. Our problem is to reach the large majority of Consumers' Research subscribers, many of whom are totally ignorant of what is going on and are even now renewing their subscriptions. It is at this time of the year that the large majority of renewals occur, since the annual handbook on buying has just been issued. We have no other channel of communication with these subscribers all over the country except through the channels provided by the American Federation of Labor.

Time is a very important factor in this situation. It may be that in a few weeks the union will be extinguished unless they receive some concrete help. We can no longer expect help from Local Union, Branch No. 20, which has already supported us so fully. The help must come from the wide membership of the American Federation of Labor. There are between fifty and sixty thousand subscribers of Consumers' Research. Of course comparatively few people are involved in this strike. There are some forty union members now on strike, half of whom are married and have children, which brings the total number dependent upon the union for food to between sixty-five and seventy. We have set up a soup kitchen and we are feeding the large majority of these people by collecting food from the farmers and by other means. But this cannot go on much longer. If we cannot get the help of the American Federation of Labor, I doubt if we can continue this struggle beyond a few more weeks.

The Consumers' Research has appealed to organized labor in the sale of its services. Why can we not appeal to organized labor not to buy these services?

Delegate Harper, Technical Research Employees: This question of the Consumers' Research strike has been brought forward by the union. Here is one which we in the

technical research field in Chicago feel the American Federation of Labor should take some definite action on. We are a very newly organized people. We have fought for a long time to bring about organization in our field and we have been very successful in doing it. However, this strike of Consumers' Research, if it is successful, will mean much to the organization. If the employers of the Consumers' Research are able to defeat the workers there it will mean we cannot carry on the organizing of people in our group.

It is very true that the policy of the American Federation of Labor is not to take any hasty action. With that we are agreed. However, here is a place where it has been clearly shown that a group of employers, supposed to be operating on a non-profit basis, supposed to be operating for the benefit of organized people, is taking the most drastic action against their employees. The time is here for the American Federation of Labor to show that it is behind the organization of people in this field. The greatest mass of the people who are subscribers to Consumers' Research are sympathetic to organized labor. We cannot, however, rely solely upon the sympathies of these people; we must use the power of organized labor to compel them to deal with us. The only way we can assure this new field that has come into the ranks of organized labor is that the organized group of the American Federation of Labor stand pat on the stand that we consider Consumers' Research unfair to organized labor, and we ask our locals, our central bodies and the international organizations not to subscribe for this, because that will be the best means of settling the strike at the present time.

Secretary Henning: The committee took into consideration the information we received, namely, that the dispute has been handled with the regional board, but has not been handled by the National Labor Board. We thought that the American Federation of Labor could see that that avenue is utilized. The preface of our report gives the Executive Council full authority to do what these brothers and sisters are asking after they have taken those steps.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Woll moved that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be made a special order of business for 10:00 o'clock Wednesday morning.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

President Green: We have with us this afternoon the Commissioner of Education of the United States. You recall I mentioned a few days ago that Commissioner Studebaker would address the convention this

afternoon at 3 o'clock. He is here with us and I am pleased indeed to present him to you just now. Perhaps I ought to say first that he came to Washington from Des Moines, Iowa, where he had made a brilliant record of achievement in the field of education. He had taken a most progressive position and endeared himself to the hearts and affections of Des Moines. My good friend, Chauncey Weaver, and others who have come here from Des Moines, Iowa, express themselves as in hearty accord with the work of the Commissioner, and advise me that the people of that city hold him in special regard and high esteem. It has been my privilege to know him for some time and I regard him as an outstanding educator. I also told you that in his early life he was a member of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, so he comes to us in a double capacity, Commissioner of Education of the United States and a bricklayer.

HON. JOHN W. STUDEBAKER
Commissioner of Education of the United States

Mr. President, members of the convention, and brothers: I always have a rather queer feeling when I stand up behind a microphone. It reminds me of the days when I played football, a long time ago, and it was customary for the coach to insist that the players wear nose guards. It always bothered me because I couldn't look around the thing.

I have been in a great many groups—I have to be in the position I occupy—but I don't know of any group in America in which I feel more at home than I do in this particular one this afternoon. I labored, as the President has said, for a number of years, not merely to get an experience—I got experience because I had to work. I joined the Bricklayers' Union the first chance I got out in Nebraska. I later came over to Iowa and came to a union town and joined. I won't tell you the disposition the fellows made of my initiation fee that night, but they promptly disposed of it in a fitting way.

If I had to go to work again at that kind of labor, the first thing I would do would be to join a union. I believe in an organization of people who have common purposes. Personally, I see no way we can work out our purposes in America without organization. You are a democratic group, you express yourselves freely. I have seen that here this afternoon, as I have seen it many, many times in union halls. You have heard my name, Studebaker. I am often asked if I am a relative of the Studebaker people who made wagons years ago and later made automobiles. There is a trace of relationship, but it never did me any good. The rest of them got the wagon wheels long ago; all I got was the waggin' tongue.

I am reminded of a fellow bricklayer with whom I worked several summers, Pat

Mullin was his name. He was by all odds the most expert bricklayer I ever knew. He could run the lead up two feet without using a plumb rule and when he applied the plumb rule every brick touched it. Admiringly, I said to him one day: "Pat, did you ever see any one who could beat you laying brick?" He replied: "Yis, but I never let 'em do it." There is something to that, that fine old American, fair, square, fighting spirit.

Then I feel at home here, too, for another very fundamental reason. I am a part of the institution which your great organization helped more than any other organization in America to create, the American public school system. If there is any one in this room who hasn't read fully the record of the American Federation of Labor in relation to public education you ought to do so. I know of no other organization which has so splendid a record in promotion of public education.

I have here a little bulletin issued by the American Federation of Labor in 1929, entitled "Education for All." In this bulletin, as in others, I witness again a very interesting and forward-looking businesslike procedure. Here in the back of it are notes making it convenient for one to see at a glance the chronology of the attempts made by the American Federation of Labor to advance public education in the United States. I commend this little pamphlet of all others to you. On the subject of compulsory education, for instance, your efforts date back to 1881, and down to date. Other questions dealt with are Importance of Education, Free Textbooks, Character of Textbooks, Size of Classes, Teachers' Salaries, Tenure of Position, Democracy in Education, Training for Citizenship, Illiteracy, Teaching of English, Special Classes, Adaptation to Modern Convenience, Physical Education, Wider Use of School Plant, and many other subjects in the field of education.

Now, coming back to Democracy in Education, may I read you one of your passages passed in your convention of 1917. It reads in part as follows:

"When consideration is given the effective part played by the Prussian school system in the development of the habit of instinctive, unthinking obedience on the part of the masses of people, the vital importance

to American institutions of breaking away from Prussian methods in our school system is driven home."

In 1919 the following statement was adopted:

"In a democracy the primary requirement is a citizenship educated to straightforward, logical thinking, based on facts established by carefully sifted evidence. The schools can not develop this essential mental fiber if the pupils are carefully shielded from knowledge of the topics that men and women think about. Secondary only to a citizen's ability to do his own thinking, is his ability to make his influence felt in his group and community by effectively presenting his views to his fellows, and meeting opposition in a spirit of tolerance. This power of effective self-expression and the habits of tolerance, and of intellectual fairness toward opponents, can not be formed without the discussion of topics that give opportunity for their exercise. Therefore, in order to enable the schools to perform one of their chief functions, preparation for active citizenship, the pupils should be encouraged to discuss under intelligent supervision current events and the problems of citizenship."

Finally, over here under the caption "Teachers as Citizens," we find the following:

"It is unquestionable that teachers have no right to impose their personal views on pupils. But it is necessary in some quarters to emphasize that neither do school authorities have that right. And it is further necessary to ask this convention to endorse with all its power the principle that men and women in becoming teachers do not thereby surrender their rights as American citizens, and that inquisitions by school authorities into the personal, religious, political, and economic views of teachers is intolerable in a free country, strikes at the very basis of our public school system, and can result only in the development of mental and moral servility and the stultification of teachers and pupils alike."

I challenge any one to go anywhere in the field of education and find more convincing, more wise, more effectively stated principles than those which I have just read.

I take a great deal of pride in the very active part played in American education by a former Iowan, who, I think, among all men was the outstanding promoter of the splendid program which is now in operation and which has been since 1918 called "Vocational Education." I may have a word to say about that later, but I learned a vocation, I watched it carefully.

I have had some very pleasant relations with labor for sixteen years, as a public school administrator in the city of Des Moines. During that period of time we built more than thirty school buildings costing millions of dollars. We spent other millions of dollars on maintenance and in

all of that time there was no skilled labor done in connection with the public school system of that city that was not done by union labor. During those sixteen years there was absolutely no trouble. I am proud of the kind of workmanship we had there and I invite everybody in the land to go and look at it. For a number of years I was on the Directory Board of the local Chamber of Commerce. It was a booster organization. Labor came to see that the Chamber on all counts did not oppose labor. I always wondered why a representative of labor could not sit on that Board. I sat there and I wondered why labor could not sit there, and I began to argue for it and for many years a representative of the Trades and Labor Assembly of Des Moines has sat on the Directory Board of the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce—not the United States Chamber of Commerce, but the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce.

I could go on and talk a good deal about how these relationships could be worked out fairly, the musicians and the carpenters, the arrangement of the school curriculum, inviting labor men as well as business men into the high schools to talk to the boys and girls and into the colleges and universities to do the same thing. I can say to you at this point that so long as I am United States Commissioner of Education I shall want the whole-hearted co-operation of the committees of the American Federation of Labor, working hand in hand with us on any problems involving American education in so far as the office is involved.

Now there are some great problems of education to be faced. One of them is this problem of what we shall do with the youth. I notice Mr. Charles Taussig, Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration, on the platform this afternoon. Doubtless he will have some interesting things to tell you from his point of view. I did not know he was going to be here and I will not extend my remarks on that subject, but I shall say a few things.

There are five things we can do for young people. We can put them to work full time at an early age. That was done many years ago. Many years ago the age of employability was fourteen and fifteen, as you know, and you worked hard to push that up. Through your help and because of the natural trend of events, the age of employability has gone to seventeen, eighteen and nineteen in reasonably good time.

Another thing which we have been doing in recent years, we can let young people waste their lives away in idleness by subjecting them to all the degenerate forces of idleness. They will develop inferiority complexes, they will lose their skill and ability to produce by the educative processes, they will develop habits of idleness and anti-social attitudes. Millions of our

young people have been engaged in that kind of process for the past several years. No society can afford that.

The third thing we can do is to socialize their care at public expense by putting them into armies and preparing them for war. Many European countries have practiced that on a rather general scale. We don't want to do that.

Another thing we can do is to extend schooling in part time, giving them part time opportunities for work. That is a very wholesome program and it is in operation and you have stood for that in connection with vocational education. Part time education with work opportunities is a program which you helped to develop in the United States, but even that is becoming difficult. It seems to me there is every reason to believe that the only sane, sensible, definite, thorough-going answer to that question is a deliberate plan to extend much beyond the present status full time opportunities for school.

I could have read to you in your own literature suggestions with regard to the junior college. I must say I have always had a little feeling that a system was unfair which said to an individual, you may at public expense, and a great deal at that, go to a university and have the taxpayers provide for your education if you choose certain particular professions, but if you choose to extend your opportunities in other fields, into young manhood or young womanhood while at the same time taking additional general education you do not find it so easy at public expense.

We have got to go on with the program of developing junior colleges. I know people who will say we have too many college graduates now or too many of this kind of a person. We have too many people, but we are not going to neglect any of our people because we have not been wise enough to solve some of our vocational and educational problems. We are going to solve these problems, and I for one, believe everyone ought to see that while we have not developed 100 per cent perfection in the department of American education, we have nevertheless made good strides forward in the practices of learning, as in automobiles.

Therefore, I have no patience with the theory that because we are not perfect in handling the intensely human equation involved in all the educational processes we should not extend the full time opportunity and throw people out on the streets in idleness. That is the thing the American Federation of Labor ought to work for, and it is far better than putting them in armies, and certainly better than allowing them to waste away in idleness.

The President has had some outstanding, forward looking plans which have already been inaugurated to that end. One is the Civilian Conservation Camp program which has enrolled one million young men. It is the responsibility of my office to direct

the educational work in these camps. Perhaps you have seen public announcement of the fact by the President that after this year the camps will be reduced to approximately three hundred thousand boys, and I know he has in mind that these camps shall improve in every way and that they shall be something in the nature of a grand Antioch College, where boys can work and learn and go back and take up their lives later in their respective communities.

Then there is the fifty million dollar appropriation for the Youth Administration, which, as the President says, is the problem of finding work and of giving jobs and opportunities for education to hundreds of thousands of young people. More than 250,000 young people have been enabled already to go back to school by virtue of the fact that they have been furnished jobs which enabled them to do that.

Then there is the program of emergency adult education, in which tens of thousands of pupils learn while unemployed teachers teach. Of course I do not need to mention the general objective to improve the common lot of man, which ought to have its general reflex and reaction upon you. Modern society develops great improvements in and extensions of education. In civilized society organized education lifts the individual from the biologic plane to the social plane, from social impotency to social competency. We do not ordinarily think enough about the fact that education is a relative thing, it is relative to need. In our pioneer days a boy got a very good education working with his father. He learned his trade, he knew how to barter in trade, and he got along excellently. That can no longer be done, the complexities of life have forced the issues to the place where, in order to induct the immature infant baby who is no more capable now than the infant of centuries ago, into competent adulthood in complicated society, requires many more years than we formerly spent on that process. In other words, educational longevity, so to speak, must be increased. Our biggest problem in that connection is to make democracy work. All over the world we have seen the breakdown of democracy. Together with our English speaking peoples and a few other nations, America stands as the beaconlight of democracy in the world.

H. G. Wells said, "Civilization is a race between education and catastrophe." I would like to rephrase it and say, "Democracy is a race between education and the chaos of ignorance which destroys democracy and supplants it with dictatorship."

I am very fond of two immortal sentences uttered by the Father of Our Country, George Washington, in his Farewell Address. He said as follows: "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, to that extent it is essential that public opinion be enlightened. Promote, therefore, as

an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge." Those are immortal statements. I wish they were emblazoned upon every high school auditorium wall and on the walls of all the labor temples and chambers of commerce in the United States.

We have built a system of education and of schools, but it is not adequate to the demands of democracy in these modern days. In the race between the growing complexity of society and the enlargement and adaptation of education, I suspect that education is lagging. We have been too naive up to date in our reliance upon the power of elementary and secondary education to prepare our people for the hard and arduous task of being intelligent adult citizens. We are not a well-schooled nation.

From what you know of my own experiences I think you will agree that I do not believe that all of one's education is secured in school, but I do think you will agree with me that there is a high degree of correlation between the quality of one's education and the chance he has to go to school. Now America, from that angle, is not well schooled. We have about seventy-five million adults in the United States, sixty-four million of them have not finished high school, thirty-two million of them have not finished the eight grades of the common school, only 2,100,000 have finished in the colleges or universities. In one sense you may say we have an aristocratic system of education, from the standpoint of our proportion of our gross population which has been turned out, so to speak, as finished products.

I do not believe that after you get through a university, or a college, you know how to be a competent citizen unless you keep right on studying the problems of a moving democracy. So I think the time has come when we must extend organized, systematic, competently managed civic education into adult life. The cracker barrel forums of the country store and the old town meeting are gone. The simple conditions of life are gone. We can not preserve or manage a democracy by relying upon the simple and accidental devices of adult civic education which served well enough in the simple life that is gone forever. We need a broad program, a public adult education, but we must have a real program of adult civic education. We need it for adults for the same reason that we have it for adolescents in high school and for a few people in college. The newspapers, books, magazines, radios, political parties, various organizations such as this one—and you are a good forum—will help, but we don't rely on the accidental groupings of people on the secondary school level or upon the college level to achieve the kind of education we want. We have discovered in modern society, in this thing we call education, that we must adapt the principal mechanisms in other fields, we must endeavor to systematize it and work with it. We must

discuss our problems and share our experiences if we are to improve our democracy.

What is democracy? It can be defined in many, many ways, but certainly above all things it is a concept which respects personality. It creates governmental forums and generates and regenerates a spirit, it encourages the growth of personality. It makes for tolerance of race and religion, and it makes the successes of each the successes of all. It provides a representative government and gives to all a chance to participate, and through participation to grow personally. It is the purpose of democracy to nurture ability and genius in whatever degree these qualities are found in any individual, in any group. Thus and only thus can democracy become a true sharing of experiences. It is in this most complete sharing process that democracy gathers its strength. Dictatorships of all kinds block sharing, cut off communication, stifle initiative, finally sterilize thinking at the bottom and thereafter it runs dry at the top.

What do I mean by forums? I mean simply this, that I think the time has arrived that the public must do for us as adults what you and I have always stood for in behalf of children and adolescents, young men and women in tax-supported institutions of higher learning. In all of the American communities, rural and urban alike, public education must now step forward, organize public forums under public school auspices for all adults, so that they may walk into the school buildings hundreds of times every school year and sit together—the banker, the baker, the butcher, the candlestick maker, and the farmer, and discuss their common problems as American citizens. Furthermore, all of the good techniques that have been used in colleges and universities, along with the secondary schools, must be applied there, because a social machine cannot operate without a pilot any more intelligently than any other kind of a machine without an engineer.

We need in each one of these public forums competent, well trained leaders teaching under public education, making a life's work out of this business of public forums dealing with adults, as well as those young people who have just passed out of early manhood or womanhood. That is the kind of thing we need—not a single forum or a half a dozen in a community during a fifty-two week period, but hundreds of them, where we can all assemble, as one of your statements said many years ago, to discuss current issues, not only in the high schools and colleges, but out here in this adult life where experience makes learning effective.

We all know, as men and women, fathers and mothers of children, that we cannot succeed with the most effective methods of teaching in getting into the minds and attitudes and habits of sixteen-, seventeen- and eighteen-year-olds by the time they finish high school, even all the knowledge

they ought to possess, and if we did do that, much of it would be out of date ten years later. Psychology has taught us in recent years that you can't teach an old dog new tricks. That never was true of a dog, to say nothing of human beings. We have to learn how to band ourselves together by the millions in our respective American communities, under the guidance of the local school systems, for the purpose of discussing what our common interests are—and they are much more numerous than our differences, and when we do that we can march forward with this torch of democracy sky high.

I hope, as the Commissioner of Education of the United States Government, to adopt and adapt some of the principles of the Department of Agriculture, which has for many, many years used Federal money for experiment stations in agriculture. I want to adapt this principle to this field of learning in the field of democracy, to set up some experiment stations and demonstration centers and see how adults can get themselves organized for these great purposes. There can be no suggestion in that on the part of the Administration to dominate the thinking of the American people. It would be one of the grandest things for this convention to sponsor the idea of some demonstration centers where adults could get together under competent leadership and see what they can do to figure out these very, very difficult problems of economics and government and sociology in the good old United States of America.

America will win in this struggle to preserve the blessings of democracy if such organizations as yours, under your competent leadership, will go forward during the next decade or two with the same indomitable spirit which you have exemplified since your very beginning.

Thank you very much.

President Green: Mr. Commissioner, you have made some very valuable suggestions, and I respectfully suggest that the Committee on Education take into account and into consideration these most practical suggestions offered by you in your address this afternoon. I am sure the delegates deeply appreciate your message. We are grateful to you for this visit. We are proud of your association with our labor movement and we are pleased beyond measure to learn that you believe in the organization, structure, objective and philosophy of the organized labor movement. I wish to assure you on behalf of the Convention, that you can rely upon the active co-operation and support of the American Federation of Labor in the promotion of your progressive and constructive educational policies.

We thank you for coming, Mr. Commissioner, and we deeply appreciate your inspiring address.

I want to present to you just now another distinguished visitor, one who is engaged in a very important work for the Federal Government. I refer to our good friend, Mr. Charles W. Taussig, Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration.

You know about this great movement and what the Federal Government is endeavoring to do through this organization for the youth of the nation. Our distinguished visitor will tell us in a direct way what he and his associates are trying to do.

Without further ado I present to you, with a feeling of very great pleasure, Mr. Charles W. Taussig, Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration.

MR. CHARLES WILLIAM TAUSSIG
(Chairman, National Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration)

Mr. President and Delegates to this Convention: I appreciate your invitation to address you this afternoon, not merely because of the pleasure it affords me but as an evidence of your interest in the problem of Youth. As a product of the New York public schools myself, I am keenly aware that we touch but the surface of the youth problem if we confine our efforts to those under-privileged boys and girls who have had the advantage of at least some years in college. It is difficult to assist youths to adjust themselves to a social order that seems to have grown away from them. For a number of years, some slight attention has been given to the problems of the university groups and now we are devoting much more attention to these youths. Their problem is far from easy of solution but it is not comparable in difficulties to that of the great mass of youth, the sons and daughters of your membership to whom we must intelligently direct much of our effort.

I am very sorry that the previous speaker did not deal more with the youth problem. I know of no one more competent to speak on that subject than Dr. Studebaker.

There are two phrases which we have become accustomed to use rather loosely and without fully recognizing their significance. They are "youth movement" and "youth problem." In a social order which, for one reason or another, has been unable to provide employment for all of its employables, danger signals are first to be seen at two strategic points, one, among the comparatively old, and, two, among the comparatively young. A major Federal attack on the first problem has been made

through the Security Act just passed. There is MUCH to be said for pensioning the old. A person who has done his or her work in the world has a right to look forward to leisure and security. Here there is no undermining of the morale. A subsidy or pension will not accomplish the same thing for youth. Youth demands and has a right to participate in the work of the Nation. A partial, but only a partial, answer to this problem of Youth is a longer period of education and a temporary removal from competitive labor markets.

The effort of the National Youth Administration is divided into two major divisions, one, student aid, which is to render emergency financial assistance in order that high school and college youth may complete their education, and, two, collateral youth activities, which consist of job finding and recreational aid. The first division, having to do with formal education, has been turned over to state and municipal educational boards, the Federal Government acting only as fiscal agent. The second division, job finding and recreational aid, has become a joint endeavor of Federal, state, municipal and private agencies.

Let me briefly review the principles under which the administration tackles this important problem.

1. We are unalterably opposed to child labor. Children should be kept in school and out of factory, field and shop.
2. We are aware that we solve no problem if, by putting youth to work, we merely replace adult labor. The National Youth Administration will guard against this at all hazards.
3. To permit the wage scale to be lowered under a broad and careless use of the term "apprentice" is not in the interest of either Youth or Labor. We will diligently guard against this abuse.
4. We regard as secondary only to the major problems of finding jobs for youth and education, the opportunity for youth in their leisure time to enjoy useful and stimulating mental and physical recreation.

The function of the National Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration is to consider such long range problems of youth and to counsel with and advise the administrative branch of the Youth Administration. The Advisory Committee is fortunate in having distinguished representatives of the American Federation of Labor as members, who have devoted much of their time and energy to the business of the committee.

Notwithstanding the able assistance we get from these members, we need more aid from organized labor. It is true we know labor's interests in the youth problem and we shall protect them, but on the other hand, we have surprisingly little information what the youth from the ranks of labor desire. They want jobs, to be sure, but what kind of jobs. They want education, but along what lines; and a multitude of

other questions which the more highly organized college youth are now answering for themselves.

We have information concerning high school students and information regarding youth who were once employed but are jobless now, but of the unfortunately growing numbers of youth who have almost reached their adult years without ever having had the thrill of a job, we know little or nothing. It is among such groups that we naturally find the most discontent and unrest. And who can blame them!

These problems of youth and more are very definitely the concern of organized labor. Speaking for the National Advisory Committee, I would welcome the closest kind of co-operation from the American Federation of Labor. We must not permit a good idea to die. We not only want your aid in developing a long-range program but we welcome your criticism of the way it actually works in your own home town.

Let us not forget that our trade unions, our industries, in fact all of our institutions, both public and private, will in a few years be constituted of and run by that group of young people whom today we call youth. If we neglect them, if we exploit them, if we fail to make them a part of our social and economic life, we need not be surprised if they blast from under our feet the very foundations of our society. We have heard much in the past of that mythical partnership consisting of capital and labor. Today I ask that we add to the firm a third member and admit as junior partner, the Youth of America.

President Green: I am sure that the remarks of our good friend, Chairman Taussig, have served to increase our interest in this youth problem. No commission or board appointed by the Federal Government is meeting a greater responsibility or doing a more effective work than Mr. Taussig and his associates serving on the Advisory Board of the National Youth Administration. We thank you for your visit this afternoon and for your instructive address.

Now we have another visitor this afternoon, representing a section of the Department of Labor of the United States, one who is of us, a part of us. We might say that she is a graduate from the organized labor movement. We would scarcely think of holding a convention without hearing from this distinguished visitor, and after I appoint a couple of gallants and a young lady to serve as a personal escort, I will name her. I will ask Brother Fred Hewitt of the Machinists, Brother Edward Canavan, of the Musicians and Miss Myra Komaroff, of the Detroit Federation of Labor, to come right over here and escort

Mary Anderson, of the Department of Labor, to the stage.

Now I want to present to you our colleague, our fellow worker, a devoted loyal trade unionist, one who served as an organizer in the days gone by, when the pay was small and there were no expense accounts. She served us faithfully and well at that time. I always like to refer to her as "our own Mary". She is the head of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. I present her to you for a short address this afternoon.

MISS MARY ANDERSON

(Women's Bureau, Department of Labor)

Mr. President and fellow trade unionists—I would think my time was somewhat lost if I did not attend the American Federation of Labor convention. I am usually with you every time you meet sometime or other during the convention and I am very glad to be here today.

I wanted to say something about the present situation. First of all I want to say something about the situation of the women workers before the NRA. You will remember that during the depression the women workers were the ones who went the lowest in the scale of wages and worked the longest hours. We found during our investigations that women who were the sole support of families working full time were not making enough, and the family had to have relief besides the earnings of these wage-earners in the family. The wages went so low that purchasing power became almost extinct, as you know.

Then came the Recovery program, the NRA, and during the time of the NRA we did a great deal in working for the same minimum for men and women, knowing that if we did not have the same minimum in the codes the women would get a good many of the jobs and the men would be walking the streets. I might illustrate that by calling your attention to one situation, that which prevailed in the automobile industry. There was a difference between the wages of the men and of the women. Women, as wages go, were receiving good wages as a rule, about 64 cents an hour, but the men who were doing practically the same work were receiving 82 cents an hour. Then one day during the time of the codes, I received a letter from one of the men in Detroit saying that he had been laid off and that a woman had been put in his place and was receiving 64 cents an hour. He had been receiving 82 cents an hour and he said that there were rumors that all of the men in his department were going to be displaced by women. I wrote back to him and asked him to notify me if that happened. In about two weeks I got a letter from him saying that it had happened, that 62 men in his department

had been displaced by that many women, probably at the lower salary.

So it was an effort to keep one group lower than another group, so that when the time came to put it into effect the group that had the lower wages would be the ones to get the jobs. The women were used in lowering wages all along the line. In 75 per cent of the codes the same minimum was carried for women as for men. It was the first time in the history of the employment of women that any such equality had been recognized.

That, of course, meant that women received much higher wages than formerly. Sometimes their salaries were doubled, even though the minimum was very low.

So you see how low we had gone during the depression. Since the NRA was declared unconstitutional we have been getting complaints practically every day that the hours have been increased. This is particularly true in industries that employ women. Hours have been increased to forty-eight, fifty-four and up to sixty and sometimes even up to seventy hours a week, and the wages have been cut to six or seven dollars a week in many instances. We are on the downward grade again, because we have no guarantee and nothing from the Government to hold up the wages.

That means, of course, that what we need in the first place is a strong organization. In the second place we need to have better laws in all the states of the Union. As you all know, it is not an easy task to pass laws in forty-eight states on each subject that comes up. So that at the present time things do not look very encouraging from that standpoint. Wages are going lower. Hours are being increased and the situation is not very good.

I would urge upon you that we need state legislation and need it quickly. We also need much more of cooperation in the trade union movement between the men and the women. We must have the women in the movement. I know it is not easy, because I have tried to do some organization work. I know it is not easy to organize either men or women, but it really can be done. It is not so easy to organize women who are so low in the scale, but it must be done to save the situation.

I would urge upon you that not only the women be organized, but that they should be given their places in the trade union movement, places of responsibility, because it is only in that way that men or women will respond to the duties that they should perform.

I am very glad indeed to be here today and I am always glad to be of the Federation of Labor.

President Green: I want to thank Miss Anderson, for you, for her visit and for her address this afternoon.

The Chair now recognizes the secretary of the Committee upon Industrial Relations, Delegate Henning.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS (continued)

Delegate Henning, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

PROTESTING IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN EGGS AND MEATS

Resolution No. 209—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The co-operative movement of the farmers and the standards of living of American Workers are being undermined by the large scale importation of cheap Oriental eggs and South American meats by Swift & Co., and other companies;

WHEREAS, The attitude of Swift & Co., and other companies toward such cooperative movements and toward organized labor has been historically antagonistic; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Washington State Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as condemning such practices by Swift & Co. as being detrimental to the best interests of the organized farmer and labor movements; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the question be taken up with the A. F. of L. conventions requesting their support in either increasing the tariff on such products or that the economic and political strength of the A. F. of L. as well as their advertising facilities be used to bring about an understanding with these companies.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be concurred in and referred to the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to do all in their power to help the employes and those interested in this controversy with Swift and Company.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 225 by striking out the first resolve, so that the amended resolution would read:

EAGLE PICHER LEAD COMPANY

Resolution No. 225—By Delegates Paul M. Peterson, Reid Robinson and Alex Cashen.

International Union Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, The mine, mill and smelter workers of the Tri-State District of Oklahoma, Kansas and Missouri who are members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are on strike; and

WHEREAS, The issue involved is recognition of the unions and improved working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The methods and tactics employed by the employers are savage, brutal and un-American, in their efforts to break this strike, resorting to violence and bloodshed in their efforts to keep the workers of this section unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use their good offices to the end that the United States Government shall be informed of the actions of the Eagle Picher Lead Company; and be it further

RESOLVED, That every effort be used to the end that the Government shall not purchase any materials containing in whole or in part, the products produced by the Eagle Picher Lead Company.

Your committee recommends that the first resolve be stricken out of this resolution, and with this change concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Peterson, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: Several times this morning I have been tempted to amend the report of the committee, for the reason that I believe the American Federation of Labor is the supreme body to fight for the rights of the workers of this nation.

This particular resolution refers, not to a dozen men, but to four thousand men who are on strike and have been on strike for several months. We heard this morning what happened to the workers in Kohler. We also have our troubles in the Tri-State—not two men killed but a good many killed, many wounded and women and children attacked.

We ask that the products of this company, many of which are purchased by the Federal Government and the State Governments, be placed on the unfair list for more than that reason. This district has provided

the scabs which for years have broken the strikes of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers throughout the Western country, when we finally succeeded in organizing these men. In order to hold that organization and in order to build up the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union to the position it should have in the labor movement in this nation, it is necessary that not only the International Union but the American Federation of Labor do everything within its power to maintain this organization. The winning of this particular strike means the life or death of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization, not only in the Tri-State district, but throughout the nation.

We have had these scabs all over the Northwest. They broke the strike in Montana and in Colorado, men imported from this district. At this time I don't think we can be accused of using unfair tactics when we request, in fact demand, that this convention place the products of this company on the unfair list in order that our organization, that has behind it a record of service and its members a record of getting results not surpassed by any international union in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, may do something for these four thousand men who are on strike, men who live in hovels worse than you people would keep your dogs in, men who before they were organized were working underground for 90 cents ten hours a day. If it is beyond the province or policy of the American Federation of Labor to take direct action, then I think that policy should be changed. If we can put a boycott on foreign goods then we ought to be able to support our own members, the men who are paying the per capita tax to this Federation. If we cannot do everything within our power to win that strike, then I say to you that this convention is not doing everything it should do for the support of the members of the American Federation of Labor.

If I am in order, Mr. Chairman, I would move that that part of the committee's report referring to the striking out of the first resolve be stricken.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: The Chair would have to rule your motion out of order for the reason that you had discussed the matter

at length before offering a motion. Perhaps if the Secretary will make an explanation the whole matter can be cleared up well enough that you might be in accord with the attitude of the committee.

Delegate Henning: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the three resolves as they are outlined here seem to place the question of putting this firm on the unfair list in the predominating position and then, having attained that, if the resolve is carried out they ask for certain other things to be done. The position of the committee is that the things asked for in the second and third resolves should first be taken up and every effort made to assist these men involved in this controversy, carrying into effect what we outlined in the prefix of this report, which is to the effect that all available means should be exhausted before placing a firm on the unfair list, and after those means are exhausted and there is no alternative, then the officers and the Executive Council should use that force which is our final weapon.

Delegate Kuehnle, Federal Labor Union No. 19393: I am not going to speak against the report. However, I would like to say that the parts which are asked to be adopted, in my mind, are very, very important, for it brings to my mind a very important case in which 1356 workers were involved recently. It is the case of the strike of the American Federation of Labor Local of Polishers, Machinists and two Federal Labor Unions against the Colt Patent Firearms Company, a concern which was taking millions and millions of dollars under government contracts from the United States Government. This company, after the employees could not do business with them alone and had formed these various organizations, refused to meet with the organizations, and only after the intervention of organizers of the American Federation of Labor were they willing to meet with these representatives of labor organizations in that plant.

Now on this particular strike, which incidentally lasted thirteen weeks, if such a resolution as this could have been brought forward and the United States Government prevailed upon by the American Federation of Labor not to purchase goods manu-

factured by a strike breaker, I would not be able to tell you today that there are one hundred and thirty people who are discriminated against in that plant.

I believe that the report of the committee is a great forward step and I trust that the Executive Council will take immediate action to see to it that the United States Government be informed and that all the pressure possible within the American Federation of Labor be applied, so that these worthy miners shall receive relief immediately.

President Green: I assure you that will be done.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

ANNOUNCEMENT

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Wharton, of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, to make an important announcement.

Vice-President Wharton: I would like to announce that there will be a meeting of the Committee on Executive Council's Report immediately downstairs in the big room. It is very important that this committee get together.

President Green: The Chair wants to supplement what Brother Wharton said by explaining that this is an emergency meeting and I hope every member of the committee will attend it right away.

The Chair requests that Vice-President Duffy please come forward and preside over the deliberations of the convention for a short period.

Vice-President Duffy in the Chair.

The Secretary of the Committee continued the report as follows:

SAM FINKELSTEIN CLOTHING COMPANY, NORFOLK, VA.

Resolution No. 227—By Delegate E. L. Pickler, Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Since August 14, 1935, a strike has been in progress at the Sam Finkelstein Clothing Company plant located at Norfolk, Va. The strike being called after four members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Local No. 92, had been discharged for belonging to a trade union and every effort having been made to settle the controversy peacefully and amicably; and

WHEREAS, Sam Finkelstein, owner of the Company, has refused to meet William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, after arranging for a conference through the Director of the Regional Labor Board, and has refused every means of settlement, including arbitration by impartial persons; and

WHEREAS, The Company has coerced workers into signing petitions contrary to organized labor and has performed other acts in violation of the letter and spirit of the law of the land and obtained a sweeping injunction restraining strikers, organized labor and sympathizers from peaceful picketing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled request all members of International Unions, Trade and Federal Unions, State Federations and Central Labor Bodies to refrain from purchasing clothing manufactured by the Sam Finkelstein Clothing Company, until the above firm is fair to organized labor.

This resolution deals with the right of employees of the Sam Finkelstein Clothing Company, Norfolk, Virginia, to organize into the organization of their choice, which has resulted in members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America being discharged for belonging to their trade union. This controversy has been referred to and handled by President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor. The President of this company, Sam Finkelstein, refused to meet President Green.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers and the Executive Council; that they continue their efforts to bring about a settlement with this company guaranteeing the employees the right to organize and to select their own representatives without discrimination; and in the event of failure to accomplish this, the officers and the Executive Council take such further action as they may deem advisable.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reports jointly on Resolutions Nos. 247, 248 and 249, and recommends that the words "and publicly brand this firm unfair to union labor" be stricken out of the first resolve in each resolution.

The resolutions as amended read:

RESOLUTIONS

SCIO POTTERY COMPANY, SCIO, OHIO
Resolution No. 247—By Delegates James M. Duffy, John McGillivray and James H.

Grafton, of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

WHEREAS, The Scio Pottery Company of Scio, Ohio, manufacturing semi-porcelain, dinner and table ware, were declared unfair several years ago when they began operation of the non-union shop; and

WHEREAS, The said Scio Pottery Company have exploited women labor in the most extreme way in addition to compelling all employees to buy stock as a basis of employment; and

WHEREAS, The above mentioned company has most definitely and decisively indicated their abhorrence of anything in the nature of a decent standard of wages under a bona-fide Collective Bargaining system permitting their employees to organize into a union of their own choosing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, go on record as condemning the tactics used by the Scio Pottery Company management; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all state, federal and central labor bodies of the American Federation of Labor be notified of the action of this Convention on this Resolution.

S. S. KRESGE—MT. CLEMENS POTTERY, MT. CLEMENS, MICHIGAN

Resolution No. 248—By Delegates James M. Duffy, John McGillivray and James H. Grafton, of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

WHEREAS, The Mt. Clemens Pottery Company of Mt. Clemens, Michigan, manufacturing semi-porcelain, dinner and table ware, is owned and operated by the S. S. Kresge Five and Ten Cent Store Company; and

WHEREAS, The said S. S. Kresge Co., Mt. Clemens Pottery Executives, announced several years ago their intention to operate the above mentioned pottery on the American or non-union shop plan and have in every sense of the word carried out the then publicly announced plan of operation, even setting aside and ignoring in all aspects the NIRA Collective Bargaining requirements; and

WHEREAS, The National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, the parental National Union having jurisdiction under the American Federation of Labor covering pottery workers, have repeatedly during the last eight years been prevented from unionizing the said Mt. Clemens Pottery Company because of the unfair and un-American tactics of the plant management; and

WHEREAS, The management of the Mt. Clemens Pottery Company recently incited,

influenced and intimidated to the point of frenzy, citizens of Mt. Clemens, resulting in an attack upon Organizer Brother Frank Hull and Mr. Gordon C. Norman, a former employe, who were endeavoring to organize the employes, and a brutal attack was made upon the above two mentioned Organizers, they threatened to do them bodily harm unless they agreed to immediately leave the city of Mt. Clemens; and

WHEREAS, The above set forth acts of violence against lawful and peaceful efforts to organize the Mt. Clemens shop frustrated legitimate organized labor activity on the part of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, go on record as condemning the tactics used by the S. S. Kresge, Mt. Clemens Pottery Company management; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all state, federal and central labor bodies of the American Federation of Labor be notified of the action of this Convention on this resolution.

SHENANGO CHINA COMPANY, NEW CASTLE, PA.

Resolution No. 249—By Delegates James M. Duffy, John McGhillivray and James H. Grafton, of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

WHEREAS, The Shenango China Company, of New Castle, Pa., manufacturers of hotel and restaurant china ware, in the midst of a two-year wage agreement declared for the non-union shop plan of operation and attempted to force upon their workmen drastic reductions in wage rates thereby compelling their employes, members of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, to strike in defense of their organization; and

WHEREAS, This Company is now operating as a non-union shop paying wages considerably less than the union scale for pottery workers, as established by ninety-five per cent of the manufacturing potters of America through a wage contract with the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, go on record as condemning the tactics used by the Shenango China Company management; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all state, federal and central labor bodies of the American Federation of Labor be notified of the action of this Convention on this resolution.

These three resolutions were introduced by the National Brotherhood of Operative

Potters, and your committee is reporting on these three resolutions jointly.

Resolution No. 247 involves discrimination on the part of the Scio Pottery Company, Scio, Ohio, with regard to its women employes and in the compelling of all employes to purchase stock in the company.

Resolution No. 248 refers to the Mt. Clemens Pottery Company, of Mt. Clemens, Mich., owned and operated by the S. S. Kresge Company, operating their plant on the non-union basis, denying to their employes the right to organize and to select their own representatives without discrimination.

Resolution No. 249 involves the Shenango China Company, of New Castle, Pa., declaring for a non-union shop in the midst of wage negotiations.

Your committee recommends that the words "and publicly brand this firm unfair to union labor" be stricken out of the first resolve in each resolution. With this change your committee recommends that the resolutions be adopted and referred to the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to assist the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters in each of these three controversies in every possible manner, in an effort to reach a satisfactory settlement in each controversy, and in the event of failure for such further action as the officers and Executive Council deem advisable.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I understood that the officers of the Foundry Workers' organization were to discuss these resolutions here today. I don't know whether they are in the hall or not, but there is a word or two I want to leave with the delegates, so far as reference is made to the Mount Clemens Pottery Company. Mount Clemens is a small city about twenty miles from the city of Detroit. The Mount Clemens Pottery Company was at one time an independent institution which moved to that city and operated as a strictly union shop. Shortly after it located there it came under the control of the S. S. Kresge five- and ten-cent store corporation, and it immediately was operated as a non-

union institution. The union pottery workers were locked out and low wage systems were installed, with their speed-up, and piece work, task method of pay, and despite repeated efforts on the part of the pottery workers to reclaim that shop for their jurisdiction they were unable to do so.

In the spring of this year we received an invitation to Detroit through the persons of some of our members in other trade unions to go to Mount Clemens and assist the Pottery Workers in the Mount Clemens pottery factory to organize a union. I attended their first meeting and I found these new workers who had originally been used as strikebreakers, or those that followed the strikebreakers were so fearful of their positions in the plant that they engaged a place for the meeting hall ten miles outside of the city limits of Mount Clemens, meeting in the garage of a farm house. I got there at 8:30 in the evening and found that the manager of the Mount Clemens Pottery Company had his stool pigeons patrolling the road, not only to see who was attending the meeting, but to divert some of them if possible.

The second meeting of the Pottery Workers was held a little closer to the scene of action, about a mile from the factory, but just on the outskirts of the city. That meeting was attended by some of the stool pigeons of the pottery firm and it was very evident that large quantities of liquor had been freely passed among those attending the meeting for the purpose of disrupting it.

By this time we had gotten in contact with the officers of the Pottery Workers' Union, and at the third meeting, held in Mount Clemens, they were present and the management of the Mount Clemens Pottery Company at this time had been able to mislead the employes of their institution by telling them that if they dared to form a union the factory would be closed down and they would be thrown out of employment. They prevailed upon some of the employes of the plant, some several hundred out of fourteen hundred employes, to go to the temporary residence of Mr. Hull, the national organizer for the Pottery Workers, with clubs, brickbats and other weapons and inform him that if he did not leave the city of Mount Clemens they

were going to run him out of town, that they did not want him there, because he was disturbing the friendly relationship that had existed between the workers and management of that plant. Mr. Hull stood his ground and appealed to the authorities of the city to give him protection. The mayor of the city refused to do so.

Those who had assumed positions of leadership in the formation of the new union were discharged. An appeal was made to the NRA authorities, but, as usual, nothing was done to give the men protection.

The thing I want you to know, my friends, is this, that the S. S. Kresge referred to is the gentleman who took such a noble part in educating the people of our great state in their morals, the gentleman who, after the campaign of 1916 to make Michigan dry, appealed to our present United States Senator, James Couzens, for a contribution to wipe out the deficit of the dry campaign. I remember Mr. Couzens' reply to him was that if he would concern himself more with paying decent wages to his employes in his ten-cent stores and less about whether people took a drink or not, the morals of the people of Michigan would unquestionably be on a higher plane.

It seems that a few years following that Mr. Kresge became so preoccupied with his personal affairs that in order to preserve the integrity of the Kresge firm as a money-making institution, another gentleman was placed at the head of it by the name of Charles VanDeusen. Those of you who attended the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Detroit in 1926 will remember Charles VanDeusen. At that time he was and is today one of the members of the Board of Directors of the Y. M. C. A., the organization that cancelled the invitation to our illustrious President to speak to the members of the Y. M. C. A. while he was in our city. He is the man who rides the white horse and wears a hat with the white plume for a great fraternal organization that bears the name of the lowly Nazarene. He is one of the heads of the S. S. Kresge Company, one of the pillars of society in our great industrial center, whose employes are denied the right to organize and are continued under a feudal system of pay that requires them not only to pay for the machinery they use in this

plant in making this pottery but to pay for the breakage of that machinery and the wear and tear upon it.

I don't know what effect the passage of this resolution will have on the Kresge business, but if the membership of the American Federation of Labor want to render to the Pottery workers of this country the assistance they are entitled to they will see that no member of the American Federation of Labor patronizes an S. S. Kresge store in the United States or Canada, not only their scab pottery but anything else they have for sale, because I am of the opinion that if an examination is made they will find that the bulk of the merchandise that is marketed over the counters of the S. S. Kresge stores is likewise manufactured under the same conditions under which this pottery is manufactured.

Vice President Duffy: Delegate Martel, when you took the floor you said that you expected the officers or the delegates of the Pottery Workers to speak on this matter. I felt the same way, but when they did not take the floor I was ready to put the question. Since that time I have learned that two representatives of the Pottery Workers' organization have come on the platform and are ready to speak. I did not know at that time that they were sitting behind me. I am sure President Green will give to these delegates the privilege of speaking now.

President Green in the Chair.

Mr. Norman, representing the Pottery Workers: Mr. President and delegates, I appreciate the action of the committee on this report, but to fully understand the labor situation in Mount Clemens today, it is necessary to know something of the history of its major industry, the Mount Clemens Pottery Company and the type of man who manages it. To question why in 1914 Mount Clemens, famed as a health resort, a virtual city of beautiful hotels and parks, was considered a logical site for a pottery, situated as it is in the heart of a farm area, 20 miles from Detroit and 100 miles from the nearest market for available Pottery labor; the answer is, I believe, it was part of a plan executed in the hope of achieving cheap labor.

Of course to begin production it was imperative to obtain skilled labor. And union

workers from Ohio and other states were brought to Mount Clemens. In due time there began the insidious practice of sandwiching non-union labor on so-called unimportant jobs. This and other misunderstandings leading directly to the fiasco and strike of 1922. Then lured by promise of the honest wages a Union shop had paid, men and women from the surrounding farms, the majority of whom had never worked in a factory, were recruited as strike breakers. So began the pitiful march of the humanity of a small town subject to every trick in payroll manipulation and sordid trade practice known in the open shop.

The road from 1922 to 1935 is littered with the bruised bodies and broken health of those who never knew that a doctor, registered nurse, and first aid equipment are compulsory by law in a shop of this size. Potters' colic, recognized in all union potteries as calling for special care and treatment, is taboo in Mount Clemens; or to quote one pottery physician gravely explaining to an employee of the glaze room suddenly horribly ill, in his own words the comic phrase, "It must have been something you et." One boy employed at night, and seriously injured when a kiln car severed part of his foot, lay unattended for many minutes where he had fallen, while his fellow workers frantically tried to procure an ambulance and doctor and finally took him to the hospital in their own car. They probably saved his life, but the next day were reprimanded for leaving the shop without the proper authority. There are cases of others injured while working, who, under the promise of a better job, absolved the company of all blame and soon found themselves cast off and forgotten.

Always paying less than the Union scale of wages, in 1931 the Mount Clemens Pottery abandoned all pretense of an honest method of paying their employees and inaugurated the gang work system. Successful in this direction, it was then determined under the guise of relieving local unemployment to hire 200 more employees, this number being added without any increase in the company payroll. Despite the protests of already underpaid workers, these extras were in many cases trained in the trades, thus at one stroke creating a surplus of skilled labor and affording the company the opportunity of replacing

older employes without notice. Breakage and wornout machinery constitute one of the most malicious rackets practiced by this company, where an unwritten law forces each worker or group to pay for ware or machinery broken in use.

Somewhere along the path from a dish salesman to a plant manager, it is generally conceded that Charles Doll must have found a history of old Russia and as a life ambition set about to emulate the Little Czar. The truth of this cannot be denied in view of recent events, when life long residents discovered his hand controlling the actions of men they had elected to public office. With the spring of 1935, facing the prospect of a steadily diminishing pay check, many pottery employes, stung by past unfair practices, made their first direct movement toward organization. In a barn on a country road, leaderless and uncertain how to proceed, four hundred men and a few of the women workers took their stand against this tyranny. They got in touch with Frank Martel, of the Detroit Federation of Labor, who in turn notified the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters of their request that an organizer be sent to Mt. Clemens. Honest, sincere and orderly, this little group did not allow for the extremes of dishonest methods that were called into play against them, nor that from within their own ranks a Judas, who after accepting the office of treasurer, would trade the union applications entrusted to him to the management under the old, old promise of a foreman's job—a promise, incidentally, not yet fulfilled.

They could not know of the letter rushed out by the Chamber of Commerce, carrying the threat to every business that the Pottery would cease operation if they did not use their influence against any Union movement. Nor could they know in advance that the Little Czar was in a position to put on an act that would make Clyde Beatty look like an amateur, when a snap of his whip would make the town's professional uplifters, petty politicians and even the bankers scuttle here and there on the sorry business of threats and cajolery. Letters of apology to Charles Doll were flooded by the fore-

men into each department of the Pottery and any workers refusing to sign were immediately discharged, branded as labor agitators and the business men of the town warned with the usual threats not to hire them. Like a mushroom a company union sprang up over night, carefully headed by men known to be opposed to any union and many temporarily deceived by back slapping foremen and the sudden spirit of good fellowship offered by the management, joined, later to discover it the shell and farce it was intended to be. And so today at the Mt. Clemens Pottery the management will tell you the Union movement is dead, and once again they are one big happy family, with the Little Czar in his most magnanimous mood, taking care of their interests, but there still remains that original group, their ranks thinned a bit, bewildered and disillusioned but infinitely wiser in the ways of labor organization and one can only wonder when the flame is fanned again by a shrinking payroll and the usual injustices if the net result will not be considerably different.

Mr. Charles Doll, the manager of the Mount Clemens Pottery, in an address to all the employes told them that if they organized he would cease operation of the plant and that he would gradually curtail production until Mr. Hull, the Brotherhood's organizer, left town.

This, my friends, only partly explains the clutch which the Little Czar holds on these workmen, but I believe it is sufficient to permit you to understand the grossly unfair practices employed by their factory.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Organizer Hull, from the Operative Potters' International Union.

Organizer Hull, Pottery Workers: I come to you this afternoon as a representative of that great organization, the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, in the capacity of an organizer. It has been my displeasure, my friends, to be delegated to the beautiful state of Michigan in the interests of organization in a great pottery that is owned by the S. S. Kresge five- and ten-cent store corporation. Brother Martel has given the convention a very fine word

picture of the situation as it occurred in Mt. Clemens during my activities in that community, but in addition to what Brother Martel has said I would like to add just this, that this is one pottery in a great basic industry employing, many, many thousands of people. The greater portion of the merchandise of this particular pottery is marketed over the counters of the several five- and ten-cent chain corporations, such as McCrory, Woolworth and many others. The employers of a great majority of all pottery workers in the United States have been operating under a union contract with the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters for over forty years. In that period of time I believe we had one small strike of only a few weeks' duration. Since that time there has been absolute tranquillity. We have proven to the manufacturers in this great industry, at least the majority of them, that a pottery can be operated successfully and pay decent wages and recognize decent hours and working conditions, until we came in contact with this terrible situation in Mount Clemens, where the S. S. Kresge Company are marketing their merchandise next door to Woolworth and McCrory merchandise that is made under union conditions and wages. You might understand that it is only natural that the manufacturer operating under a union contract looks to our organization for relief. He begins to feel about in an effort to discover how it would be possible for him to sell dishes over his counter next door to S. S. Kresge at Kresge's prices. He naturally goes to the man he buys his merchandise from and asks for a reduction in prices. In turn the manufacturer who employs our people operating under the scale comes to us in an effort to get relief, so we are placed in the peculiar position, if you please, that we must either recognize the wage structure of the Mount Clemens Pottery or go into Mount Clemens, Michigan, and organize the people in that plant and insist that they recognize our wage standards. We believe that is fair, we believe that is honorable, we believe that is reasonable.

Now when I embraced this situation in Mount Clemens, immediately when I arrived in the town I was set upon by a band of hoodlums. Mrs. Hull and myself went to the hotel and we were followed. I imme-

diately began to make my contacts, and there was not one automobile, there was a string of automobiles, ten or fifteen of them, following me every place I went, tooting their horns. It became necessary for Mrs. Hull and myself to establish our living quarters in a private apartment. The embarrassment in the hotel atmosphere was too great.

The result was that we were visited by the workers of this plant and requested to leave the community, because one of the traitors in this plant had been given some applications for membership in our organization, and in his efforts to secure his position, he turned them over to the manager of the plant, who in turn, called these people together, held up these applications and inferred that I was the gentleman who presented them to him, that I was interested in having non-union potters moved out of that plant and union potters from another community moved in. In other words he incited these workers. He set about in the plant to pick out the loud speakers, the bad boys of his organization, fellows who could talk the loudest and fight the hardest, and he charged these individuals with the responsibility of removing my presence from Mount Clemens.

As Mr. Martel told you, I informed him that I had visited the city police, the sheriff's office and I was assured that I would get every possible police protection. These people visited me three times in my home. The third time they came, three to five hundred strong, they destroyed the property. They endeavored to crawl in one of the windows and do harm to my wife. They called her all sorts of vile names. And do not forget, ladies and gentlemen, that this program was inaugurated and carried on through the S. S. Kresge five- and ten-cent store corporation. That is their business policy.

After an hour and fifteen minutes, the police came, and when they got there Mrs. Hull was in a dead faint on the floor of the living room. In order to get away from the hands of the mob she ran from the bathroom through the bedroom into the living room and collapsed in a dead faint, and Mrs. Hull is no coward. Her brother is the individual policeman who captured "Pretty Boy" Floyd, and she has no fear in her makeup. Nevertheless, when she was

submitted to that sort of thing it was more than her nerves could stand.

Presently the police of Mount Clemens arrived, and I asked them if they would assist me in removing my wife to the bedchamber and they said, "No, get the hell out of town."

We believe we are reasonable when we speak to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor and request their support in assisting to keep alive a great labor organization, the National Brotherhood of Operative Pottery that has been a part of the great American Federation of Labor since its advent. We heartily agree with the report of the committee. We think it is very fine and we appreciate the consideration extended by the committee, but we desire in addition to that to have the American purchasing public, and especially the women to understand and realize that the dishes made in the Kresge five- and ten-cent corporation are scab-made dishes and made under the most terrible circumstances and conditions imaginable. We believe if we can get that message across in that manner we will be instrumental in removing that terrible obstacle and bringing back to the city and community of Mount Clemens some real Americanism.

For your kind consideration I thank you deeply and I do hope that you will carry this message back to your wives.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Henning: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations on the resolutions referred to it and as submitted by the members of the committee, as follows:

JOHN COEFIELD,
Chairman;

CHARLES D. DUFFY,
JOSEPH S. FAY,
CHARLES J. CASE,
HARRY MILTON,
H. W. SMITH,
L. G. GOUDIE,
JOSEPH J. KEHOE,
R. A. HENNING,

Secretary;
JOSEPH S. McDONAGH,
JAMES J. DOYLE,
JAMES CLOSE,
ABRAHAM SNYDER,
WALTER C. BROOKS,
H. D. ULRICH,
SAMUEL E. BEARDSLEY,
W. W. BRITTON,
Committee on Industrial Relations.

Delegate Henning: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee on Executive Council's report to make a report to this convention that will cheer and please the hearts of every friend of organized labor and every officer and visitor in attendance at this convention. I am happy beyond measure, inexpressibly happy. Words are inadequate to express my feeling of happiness, satisfaction and pleasure in presenting to you, the officers of the Committee on Executive Council's Report for the submission of their report at this time.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Vice-President Wharton: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: The Committee on Executive Council's Report is prepared to submit to you at this time the report just referred to in the President's brief reference a moment ago. This report represents a unanimous agreement between the interested organizations in the Building Trades Department. Secretary Fremming will read the report.

Delegate Fremming, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

That part of the report of the Executive Council entitled "Building Trades Department," found on page 107, has been the subject of much discussion. Your committee is most happy to submit to the convention the full text of an agreement entered into by the several building trades organizations. The agreement is as follows:

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING IN SETTLEMENT OF THE BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT CONTROVERSY

1. A committee of six Building Trades representatives selected by the respective parties of equal representation shall be empowered with the authority to undertake to adjust all pending difficulties. This committee shall reach its decisions by a majority vote and in the event the committee

is unable to agree they shall select by a majority vote the seventh or disinterested person, who shall be added to the committee and the disputed question again taken up for decision by a majority vote of this enlarged committee. Provided, however, that the constitution of the Building Trades Department as of September 1, 1934, shall remain unchanged, but this committee is authorized to make recommendations for changes in the constitution to the Convention of the Building Trades Department. The findings of the committee shall be final and binding. In the event the partisan members of this committee are unable to agree upon the seventh or disinterested person within five days after they undertake the selection of said disinterested person, then each party shall submit the names of candidates for appointment as the disinterested person to George M. Harrison until such time that both parties submit the name of the same individual, whereupon said George M. Harrison shall name said individual as the impartial or seventh member of the committee.

2. The committee provided for in paragraph 1 shall meet within twenty-four hours after the acceptance of this agreement by all parties at interest for the purpose of fixing the time, date and place for the committee to meet and undertake its work, which date shall be as early as possible but in no event later than thirty days from the date of this agreement.

3. Neither Building Trades group, parties to this agreement, shall be recognized by the American Federation of Labor as the Building Trades Department on or after the effective date of this agreement until the committee provided for in paragraph 1 concludes its work and a convention of the Department has been held. After the conclusion of the convention, the officers of the Department shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the actions of the convention, at which time the unified Building Trades organization shall again carry on their work through the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. All other matters shall remain in status quo ante as of September 1, 1934, until the pending controversy is determined by the committee provided for in paragraph 1.

4. When questions in controversy have been disposed of all actions pending in the court shall be withdrawn.

5. When the committee concludes its work, it will call a Convention of the Building Trades Department at such time and place as may be fixed by the committee for the purpose of hearing the report of the committee and such other business as may properly come before the Convention. The following organizations shall be entitled to participate in said convention.

International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers.

International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers.

Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' International Union.

International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

International Union of Elevator Constructors.

International Union of Operating Engineers.

Granite Cutters' International Association.

International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union.

Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union.

International Association of Marble, Stone and Slate Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and Terrazzo Workers' Helpers.

Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association.

United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters.

United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers.

Journemen Stone Cutters' Association of North America.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.

6. In the event there is any dispute over the interpretation or application of the terms of this agreement it shall be referred to George M. Harrison for decision.

7. This matter to be submitted to the American Federation of Labor Convention now in session in Atlantic City, N. J., as a disposition of the Building Trades Department controversy.

U. B. C. & J. of A.	Jos. A. Mullaney
Wm. L. Hutcheson	
B. M. & P. I. U. of A.	M. W. Mitchell
Harry C. Bates	Geo. W. Jones
I. B. E. W.	Wm. J. McSorley,
D. W. Tracy	Lathers Int. Union
Teamsters	Frank Feeney,
Daniel J. Tobin	Pres. of Int. E.C.
I. U. of O. Engs.	L. P. Lindelof
F. A. Fitzgerald	
I.H.C.B. & C.L.U. of A.	John J. Hynes
Jos. V. Moreschi	Samuel Squibb,
Int. Ass'n Marble	by M. J. McDonough
Pol., etc.	John Coefield
William McCarthy	M. J. Colleran,
	O.P. & C.F.I.A.
	J. A. Franklin,
	International
	Brotherhood of
	Boller Makers, Iron
	Ship Builders &
	Helpers of
	America.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the agreement.

Much credit is due Vice-President George M. Harrison, acting as the representative of President Green, for his splendid work in mediating this highly controversial problem. This adjustment further amplified the ability and willingness to settle problems within the Federation.

President Green: It is moved and seconded that the report of the committee and the agreement read be approved by the officers and delegates.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous rising vote.

Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors: I listened to the words of praise expressed by the secretary of the committee about George Harrison, and I cannot forego this

opportunity to congratulate President Green on his choice of George Harrison to handle this matter. I want to say I attended every meeting during this controversy, and George Harrison is a miracle man. Some of you have cause to know, but many of you cannot understand the difficulties that confronted George Harrison. Pray God, may he be with us for many, many moons. He did something in this convention that the entire labor movement was unable to accomplish. President Green, you are to be congratulated upon having appointed him.

President Green: The Chair feels that way about it.

Delegate Feeney: And I appreciate more than words can express the service which this distinguished member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has rendered. This is a great day. I know of no achievement in the history of the American Federation of Labor conventions that equals this. It cannot be surpassed. We have demonstrated that we are not bankrupt, but that we possess the brains, the patience, the ability, to settle our family troubles within the family of organized labor. Surely, if we can settle one like this, as difficult and complicated as this has proved to be, we ought to be able to settle any question that ever arises within the family and at the council table.

A Delegate: Let us have a look at this miracle man.

At the request of President Green, Mr. Harrison arose.

President Green: I want to thank anybody that made any contribution toward the settlement of this very, very serious controversy. The Chair now recognizes the secretary of the committee, who will continue his report.

Delegate Hesketh: What famous city does Vice-President Harrison come from?

President Green: The great city of Cincinnati.

Delegate Hutcheson: As the hour of adjournment has arrived, should we not adjourn? Haven't we done enough work for the day?

President Green: The hour of adjournment has arrived, and after announcements the convention will adjourn.

At 5:45 the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday, October 15.

SEVENTH DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 15, 1935.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

ABSENTEES:

E. I. Hannah, Katz, DeWitt, Rundle, Bilet, Eardley, Slich, Rosqvist, Regan, Doane, Wade, David, Wise, Palmer, Hanoway, Osborne, Sweetland, Dance, Sigman, Howat, Dallas, Singer, Bradley, Shave, Dahlager, M. J. Burke, Slout, Myer, Hymes, Weinberg, Al. Flynn, Nadelhoffer, Bender, T. F. Burns, Serra, Malkovich, Dougherty, Iglesias.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

We, your Committee on Credentials, have examined credential and recommend the seating of John Ross, representing the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, with one vote.

We further recommend, upon telegraphic communication received from Gas Workers' Union No. 18583, Brockton, Massachusetts, the seating of James Nelson, to represent that organization, with one vote.

We have also examined the credential of Matthew P. Maney, representing the Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union, and recommend that the delegate be seated with one vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair is presenting to the convention Captain Haydon, the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, who has an announcement to make.

Captain Haydon: Mr. President and fellow delegates: I just wanted to say that we had a general election in Canada yesterday. The Liberal Party won, and this has two significant features. First, there will be no amalgamation of railways in Canada; second, we retain government ownership and control of the railroads.

Secretary Morrison read communications from George Carlson, Secretary Metal Polishers' Local No. 1, of Detroit, Michigan; Duncan C. McCrea, Prosecuting Attorney,

County of Wayne, and Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., Chairman, Board of Supervisors of the County of Wayne, Michigan. These communications contained invitations to the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Detroit.

President Green: Senator Holt, of West Virginia, has accepted an invitation to address the delegates and officers in attendance at the convention this afternoon. Senator Holt is our friend. He has championed our legislation and has served faithfully and heroically the labor movement of the state from which he comes. I will appoint on a committee to escort Senator Holt to the hall, Delegate Van A. Bittner, of the United Mine Workers' delegation; John B. Easton, Virginia State Federation of Labor, and President Flore, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

The Chair requests the committee to arrange to call upon Senator Holt at the President Hotel, where he is stopping, and escort him to the hall this afternoon.

I also wish to announce that our friend who came to San Francisco all the way from New York to address the last convention, Sol A. Rosenblatt, former Divisional Administrator of the National Industrial Administration, now serving as impartial chairman in the ladies' garment industry of New York, will address us.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: I ask unanimous consent for the introduction of two resolutions by the United Mine Workers. One of them has to do with the National Civic Federation; the other has to do with the American Federationist.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Let us hear the resolutions read.

President Green: Are there objections to the introduction of these two resolutions?

Delegate Koveleski: Yes, without reading. I believe we should have these resolutions read.

Delegate Lewis: After they are introduced and you find out what is in them

you can decide. If they are good, no one will be hurt; if they are bad, the convention can deal with them. Do I get unanimous consent?

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: Not with my consent—I want to hear them read.

Delegate McLaughlin (M. J.), Street Railway Employees: I move that the resolutions be read before being introduced.

President Green: The motion is out of order. The rules provide a time limit for the introduction of resolutions. After the date provided in the rules expires resolutions can only be introduced by unanimous consent. If there are objections, the resolutions cannot be presented; but if there are no objections, they will be introduced.

Delegate Lewis: If there are objections, I have no objection to reading the resolutions. Have I your consent, Mr. President?

President Green: There is a request to have them read. The resolutions can be read.

Delegate Lewis read the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 250—By Delegates, United Mine Workers of America.

RESOLVED, That the American Federationist is hereby prohibited from the acceptance of advertisements or paid printing of any character from concerns which do not generally recognize and practice collective bargaining with legitimate organizations of labor.

The Executive Council is hereby expressly directed to execute this policy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 251—By Delegates, United Mine Workers of America.

RESOLVED, That no officer of the American Federation of Labor shall act as an officer of the National Civic Federation, or be a member thereof.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: You have heard the reading of the resolutions. Are there objections to their introduction? If there are no objections, the resolutions will be accepted and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Secretary Fremming continued the report of the committee as follows:

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Your Committee recommends that the words "And Control," found on page 126 of the Report of the Executive Council in paragraph numbered "1," be stricken; and that paragraph numbered "2" on the same page be stricken out.

With these changes, your Committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

Beginning on page 99 of the Report of the Executive Council under the title of "Trade Union Benefits" will be found a most comprehensive analysis of the efforts of the Trade Union movement to make available to its membership benefits in the form of Death Insurance, Sick and Disability Benefits, Old Age Pensions together with miscellaneous benevolences; while the overall picture indicates a decline in total benefits paid since 1933, it shows a definite increase in Death Benefits as well as miscellaneous benefits.

Attention is called to the fact that four and one-half million dollars have been expended in the form of unemployment benefits.

The Committee recommends that every effort be made by the assembled delegates to bring to the attention of their membership this phase of Trade Union activity within the American Federation of Labor.

After many years of consistent and persistent efforts of the American Federation of Labor, it is most encouraging to observe the steady gains being made in the establishment of the five-day week, and that its universal acceptance is easily forecast.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

DEATH OF TREASURER MARTIN FRANCIS RYAN

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 105, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee wishes to express its profound feelings of emotions and loss over the passing of that sterling character, Martin Francis Ryan, who served the

American Federation of Labor faithfully for many years in an executive capacity.

The Federation and its affiliated Unions have lost one of their outstanding leaders whose wise counsel will be missed when matters of importance confront the general movement.

May we say, "Martin, though you are not with us today, your work is in itself a monument of real accomplishment in the field of human comforts."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FLINT GLASS WORKERS-GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS

The controversy existing between the Flint Glass Workers and Glass Bottle Blowers found on page 127 of the Report of the Executive Council is in the process of adjustment. Your Committee has been advised by the parties at interest that further meetings will be held in Washington in an effort to compose existing differences.

Your Committee recommends that a meeting be held between the two organizations affected in Washington, within ninety days from date, for the purpose of adjusting present difficulties.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FOUNDRY EMPLOYEES-MOLDERS

Your Committee notes that an effort to adjustment of mooted problems affecting the International Molders' Union of North America and International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Unions involved are to be commended for accomplishing the fine results culminating in the Agreement which is found on pages 128 and 129 of the Executive Council's report.

It's regrettable that the Agreement has failed to be ratified by the membership of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees and it is hoped that every effort will be put forth to obtain a satisfactory and equitable adjustment of the controversy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS-SEAMEN

Regarding the problem existing between The Masters, Mates and Pilots and The Seamen, as found on page 129 of the Report of Executive Council, your Committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to call a conference of the interested parties within ninety days after the adjournment of this Convention, for the purposes of composing existing differences.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CHANGE OF TITLE—LAUNDRY WORKERS

On page 130 of the Report of Executive Council under the caption change of title—Laundry Workers.

Your Committee believes that the Executive Council of the American Federation acted wisely in not approving the change in title as requested by the Laundry Workers. While it is true the Laundry Workers have jurisdiction over all Cleaners and Dyers employed within Laundry, the change of title would in all probability cause confusion insofar as Cleaners and Dyers employed in establishments other than the Laundries are concerned.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CHANGE OF TITLE—HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES

Attention is called to the change of title of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees to be found on page 130 of the Executive Council's report, which recites that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor approved the change which now reads, "Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' League of America."

The change in name does not in anywise alter or change the present jurisdiction of the organization.

The committee recommends concurrence in the action of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OBSERVANCE OF CONTRACTS

Your Committee feels strongly on the subject of "Observance of Contracts" which

is set forth in terms not uncertain by the Executive Council on page 132 of its report.

The American Federation of Labor has long since declared itself on this subject and it is the policy of the Federation to keep inviolate the terms and conditions of agreements with the employers. It is well that public attention again be called to the established principle of the American Federation of Labor on this subject.

Employers have on numerous occasions stated that Organized Labor does not keep agreements. Because of this attitude, every effort should be put forth to establish in the minds of executives in our industrial society that Organized Labor, under the American Federation of Labor, are responsible agencies, and that an Agreement or Contract wherever entered into becomes, in fact, an agreement to be lived up to during the duration of its existence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OUT-OF-WORK STAMPS FOR UNEMPLOYED

In the matter of Out-of-Work Stamps for unemployed, found on page 133 of the Report of the Executive Council it will be noted that the Study contemplated by Resolution No. 106 of the San Francisco Convention has been carried out and all affiliated Unions with the American Federation of Labor have been forwarded a copy of the survey for their information and study.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lawrence, Chicago Casket Makers: At the convention last year in San Francisco, there was a promise made by President Green that he would take up the question of issuing unemployment stamps for the Federal Labor Unions and the trade unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Is there anything in the report about that?

President Green: That part of the Executive Council's report to which you have referred was not referred to this committee. I think it went to the Committee on Resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ANTI-INJUNCTION LAWS

In the matter of "Anti-injunction Laws" found on page 144 of the Executive Council's report, your Committee urges a much greater acceleration of effort for the purpose of causing enactment by the remaining 29 States of this beneficial and much needed legislation.

National and International Unions are urged to assist State Federations of Labor in an effort to obtain legislative sanction within the several States, and the State Federations of Labor are again requested to make the Anti-injunction Bill their most important legislative activity in the next session of their respective State Legislatures. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will co-operate to the fullest extent in bringing about a successful conclusion of this most important program.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

On page 145 of the Report of the Executive Council, attention is called to the fact that three States in the Union have thus far failed to pass compensation laws. They are: Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina. In this connection your Committee reminds the delegates of the fact that these three States are faster developing industrially, which makes it increasingly necessary that every possible effort should and must be put forth to write compensation laws into the statute books of these States.

Each National and International Union should make every effort to co-operate with the State Federations in the States named to bring about the long sought for result.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor pledges its full and complete cooperation to this end.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONCLUSION

The Executive Council solemnly warns the country that if recent developments continue there will be two results. First, the present recovery will be halted and second, the ground will be prepared for another collapse like that of 1929. The latest gains in recovery, the report shows, are one-sided and

destined to be temporary. While re-employment in private industry is stagnant and total wage payments are advancing scarcely as fast as the cost of living, profits are increasing by leaps and bounds. This is a new development and a reversal of the sound if slow recovery of 1934 which was based on an effort to hold profits down and to direct an increased share of industrial income to wage earners and so to build up mass purchasing power, the basis of prosperity and recovery.

The Executive Council points out that this effort to launch us on the way to permanent recovery at first promised to be successful. The industrial wage earners' share of the national income, which in 1932 had fallen to 14½ per cent, rose in 1934 to 18 per cent. But it still has far to go, for even in 1929 the wage earners' share was 22 per cent and that was so insufficient that the failure of mass buying power to keep up with production brought on the collapse of 1929 and the depression.

But this brief period of sound recovery seems at an end and the "unhealthy" developments of 1923-1929 are starting all over again. Again all the figures show that production is increasing "faster than either employment or wage payments" and so again unless this development is checked, the share of labor as a group in the income of industry must decline.

The Council admits that these "gains for investors and consumers at the expense of Labor" are having the temporary effect of speeding up recovery.

It will be remembered that much of the profits of industry have been made possible by the expenditure of fabulous sums of public money, without a reasonable return in the form of an increased wages bill by industry. The maintenance of the present economic momentum is made impossible by such fallacious economic policy.

But these forces, if allowed to operate unchecked, produce an unbalanced industry, a shortage of consuming power, because Labor's income increases less rapidly than production. The Council shows not only that such a development if continued must within a few years bring on another recession "but that we cannot count upon a healthy development of business in the next

few months unless workers' buying power can be maintained and further increased in proportion to industrial income as business rises."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

This concludes the Report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Signed:

A. O. WHARTON,

Chairman.

H. C. FREMMING,

Secretary.

MATTHEW J. McLAUGHLIN,

THOMAS KENNEDY,

WM. L. HUTCHESON,

F. H. KNIGHT,

J. J. HYNES,

ANDREW FURUSETH,

JAMES C. SHANESSY,

JOHN J. STRETCH,

HENRY F. SCHMAL,

CHARLES SUMNER,

HENRY W. STRICKLAND,

CHARLES M. RAU,

LOUIS LEONARD,

JOHN MCGILLIVRAY,

JAMES H. KENNEDY,

EDWARD FLORE.

Committee on Officers' Reports.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate W. M.

"No Central Body shall engage in any Brandt, Missouri State Federation of Labor.

Jurisdiction dispute between Local, National or International Unions, without being so instructed by the President of the American Federation of Labor."

This resolution incorporates a question of basic law of the Federation and is covered under Article XI, Section V. The same indicating that there is no thought of delegating to any subordinate branch of the Federation powers executive over subordinate unions of any affiliate International or National Union.

Your Committee is forced to hold the resolution is answered in Law of the Federation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Tom Finnegan, Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The Enamelware Industry of this country is rapidly increasing and along with numerous Fabricated Metal Plants, is employing a large number of men and women; and

WHEREAS, The workers in said industry are very poorly organized and receive, as a rule, very small wages; and

WHEREAS, We, the members of Federal Labor Union No. 18651, A. F. of L., are convinced that Federal Unions in said industry can be considerably strengthened and many new Unions formed in the unorganized plants, thereby greatly improving conditions for the workers and stabilizing the industry as a whole; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of Federal Labor Union No. 18651, A. F. of L., respectfully request the delegates to the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor to endorse an organization drive in said Enamelware Industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That President Green be instructed to consult with delegates from Locals representing Enamelware workers, with a view of selecting a competent organizer to supervise the organization of said industry.

Your Committee is in full sympathy with the resolution, but as the same deals with a question that is executive of this Federation and further calls for a specific action on a separate question of organizing a particular industry your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council and President of the Federation for immediate investigation and all possible aid in accordance with its findings.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

This concludes the labors of your Committee on Local and State Federated Bodies.

Signed, JOSEPH N. WEBER,

Chairman,

WILLIAM J. MORAN,

Secretary,

J. C. HOLMGREN,

JOSEPH M. MARSHALL,

THOMAS C. CASHEN,

JOSEPH HEWITT,

E. D. BIERETZ,

A. ADAMSKI,

JOSEPH C. QUINN,

C. C. COULTER,

ALEXANDER MCKEOWN,

R. E. WOODMANSEE,

ANDREW R. ARMSTRONG,

WM. C. BIRTHRIGHT,

ALFRED H. BILLET,

ABRAHAM CHATMAN,

GEORGE Q. LYNCH,

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

The report as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Delegate Obergfell, Chairman of the Committee: We are ready to submit our report. Secretary Weaver will read the report.

Delegate Weaver, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee amended Resolution No. 81 by adding an additional paragraph to the original resolution. The amended resolution reads as follows:

RETAIL CLERKS

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates W. G. Desepte and C. C. Coulter, Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.

WHEREAS, Since the termination of the Code for the Retail Trade as a result of the adverse decision of the United States Supreme Court on the National Recovery Act, there has developed a widespread movement in the retailing industry to increase the working hours of store employees; and

WHEREAS, The hours for unorganized retail clerks have been increased as high as twenty-five per cent without a corresponding increase in wages; and

WHEREAS, This represents a direct cut in wages in proportion to the number of additional hours imposed; and

WHEREAS, This movement also tends to increase unemployment by reducing the number of employees required under the shorter schedule of working hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled earnestly protest against any movement tending to establish the longer work week or a reduction in wages; and, be it

RESOLVED, That the attention of the organizers and central bodies be directed to the importance of concentrating their efforts to organize all retail store employees so that their working conditions may be fairly determined and suitably regulated by collective bargaining methods; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all members of organized labor are hereby urged to support such a campaign by pledging themselves to patronize union stores displaying the Retail Clerks' Union Store Card, and by consistently demanding the services of Union Clerks who are wearing the monthly working button.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be, and it is hereby requested to issue letters to all local bodies urging the importance of stressing the sentiments herein contained.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 121, be amended by striking out the final paragraph and adding a new paragraph, the amended resolution to read:

UNION MADE BRUSHES

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Herman Templeman, Brushmakers' Union, Local No. 16303.

WHEREAS, Brushmakers' Union Local No. 16303, New York City, New York, has been successful in signing Union Label agreements with some of the Union employers in New York City, New York; and

WHEREAS, Brushmakers' Union Local No. 16303 wishes to apprise all organized labor, member unions of the American Federation of Labor, of the fact that Union Label paint brushes may be procured; and

WHEREAS, Brushmakers' Union Local No. 16303 wishes to secure the co-operation of the delegates assembled at this Convention in advocating the purchase of union-made brushes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That when the Executive Council shall have agreed upon and authorized an appropriate label for use on brushes, that all Local Branches and Trade Councils be notified and duly urged to organize and stress the importance of demanding the label on this class of goods.

Doubting the wisdom or expediency of specific mention of any brush manufactory, firm or corporation in the subject matter of the resolution, your committee recommends that the concluding paragraph be stricken out and the above paragraph substituted in lieu thereof.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

BUYING AMERICAN

Resolution No. 242—By Delegate Carl J.

Shipley, Federal Labor Union No. 18347, South Bend, Indiana.

WHEREAS, The press, compilers of statistics and many publications, inform us of the increasing trend of the investment of American finance in foreign countries where labor and living standards are lower, and later shipping products of these investments for American consumption; and

WHEREAS, One can go into businesses, stores and shops throughout the Nation and find goods and articles made in foreign countries instead of being made in America; and

WHEREAS, If these articles were made in this, our America, that the unemployed beyond estimation would be re-employed and thus eliminate suffering and raise the American standard of living; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to urge its officers and membership to promote as far as possible the buying of American-made goods, that American labor may benefit in the buying of the necessities and luxuries used by American people and in also so doing look for the union label.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution. Your committee agrees with the sentiments herein expressed. The feature of the discussion was that the resolution might properly be taking on a broader scope than specified in the resolution itself.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your Committee had before it for its information the report of the Union Label Trades Department. This report was a real inspiration to us. It showed that the Label Trades Department has been active; that it has conceived a program of action based on the idea that if we are to enlarge the place of trade union made goods, we must develop a broader and in fact a truer conception of the meaning of the trade union movement itself.

Because the report of the Label Department is so encouraging, this Committee has asked President Green to afford Brother Ornburn an opportunity to present it to you.

Your Committee wishes to summarize for this Convention the voluminous report of the Union Label Trades Department, and to bespeak the favorable consideration of this convention for certain major points raised therein.

We would first direct your attention to the careful analysis of the relation of Blue Eagle Label under NRA to our future course of action with our own trade union label. It is recognized that the Blue Eagle label served an excellent purpose as a temporary emergency governmental means of making the public aware that the industrial welfare of a nation is dependent upon the welfare of industrial employees, and that the public can protect and enhance their welfare by purchasing only goods manufactured under conditions favorable to those employees.

The report of the Label Trades Department points out that the government is justified in advancing and maintaining fair standards of work, and of industrial relations by means of boycotting those who do not adhere to such standards and enforcing such boycott by denial of a label designed for that purpose; how much more justified is labor itself in adopting a union label shop card or button for the promotion of the sale of union made goods and union rendered services, and for the maintaining of collective employment standards agreed to between employers and organized workers.

Commenting further on the use of the Blue Eagle Label the Department's report points out while labor will continue to invoke the full strength of our government for the observance of the rights of workers, that we cannot, we must not, permit the symbol of our rights—the trade union label—to be displaced by a purely governmental mark. We should continue to seek the protection and support of our rights from all governmental agencies, but we must not at any time permit the substitution of a purely governmental token for the conduct or symbol of our own free trade union movement.

The report of the Label Trades Department also points out that under the Wagner-Connelly Labor Disputes Act "this Department of the American Federation of Labor assumes a new and greater importance in the field of labor activities and should inspire us to ever renewed, greater and larger activities."

Your Committee agrees with the Label Trades Department's report in its analysis of the relation of the label to our governmental

activities and urges this convention to be guided thereby.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PUBLICITY AND ADVERTISING

Your Committee notes with pleasure the increased valuable publicity which the Labor Trades Department has enjoyed during the last year, both in the press of affiliated bodies and of cooperating organizations such as the Railroad Brotherhoods and the National Farmers' Union.

Of particular value in this publicity campaign have been the cartoons and posters prepared for the Department to enhance its work.

The use of the radio, the participation in trade union conferences and conventions, the giving of our message to all groups on numerous occasions is to be highly commended.

Your Committee wishes to see this splendid work of publicity is continued and developed even further to meet the growing demand for accurate information on the trade union movement. We call upon all affiliated bodies to use this service as the need therefor arises.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Beisel, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: From this report made by the Committee on Labels you will see that the Union Label Trades Department inaugurated a campaign during the past few years for the further promotion of the use of union labels, shop cards and buttons. That campaign was very successful, but no matter what energy and good work the officers of the Union Label Trades Department perform it will not bring the proper results if the representatives of the different organizations will not bring to the attention of their organizations the union label propaganda.

We hope that the delegates assembled here when this report is printed in the minutes, will read it carefully and that when they return to their homes and make reports to their organizations, they will not forget to ask them to make special reference to the report of the Committee on Labels that was made here.

Many of us do not realize the importance of the union label to those organizations that are continuously in the fight for better working conditions. We find that many organizations have built their membership and their working conditions through the support they have received from organized labor, but as one of the delegates of the Bakers' organization, I want to say that years ago we were not able to successfully build up our working conditions, because we did not have the proper support of the other organizations. I know that holds good for many organizations.

The other day mention was made of the fact that the postal employees had secured the forty-hour week. I say that as far as our organization is concerned, wherever we have strong label organizations we have been most successful, and at the time our last contract expired, wherever we had the forty-hour week established in cities we kept the forty-hour week. That was true wherever we had strong label agitation. While we had to take some reduction in wages a few years ago we have practically re-established our wage scale of 1932 and that would not have been done had it not been for the strong agitation of our label.

In my travels I have found many times that where organizations are using strong agitation as far as labels, shop cards and buttons are concerned, those organizations are recognized in those localities and those organizations are able to build up, but the majority of the rank and file in those localities are just never educated to the fact that when it comes to their own welfare they must realize that the best results they can achieve will be achieved by belonging to their organization. When it comes to showing results and the necessity of supporting their organizations, there the lack of cooperation is evident.

I say that ought to be one of the principal matters for our national and local organizations to educate their memberships in the promotion of the union label, shop card and button. Some organizations may say, "Well, we are always talking about union labels, shop cards and buttons," but I want to say if that particular part of the labor movement was brought up to the standard where it should be, it would be much easier for the rest of labor to get them into the

organization and educate them in that way. If they are educated to patronize union labels, shop cards and buttons, then you will be able to make them realize that whatever is done to the building trades or any other organization should also bear the stamp and the endorsement of organized labor.

I hope and trust that the delegates here today will regard this matter as a little more important than they have in the past and don't forget to make that report to your organization when you return home, to patronize union labels, shop cards and buttons. If you do that you will do a great benefit to the organized labor movement.

Delegate Obergfell: That concludes the report of the Committee on Labels, which is submitted and signed by the entire committee.

JOSEPH OBERGFELL, Chairman.
C. A. WEAVER, Secretary,
WILLIAM REZNICEK,
JACK GILL,
WILLIAM J. KELLY,
PETER BEISEL,
W. W. CAMPBELL,
ANTHONY MERLINO,
ROBERT BRUCK,
MICHAEL J. KELLY,
ISRAEL H. GOLDBERG,
NATHAN MARGOLIES,
I. W. HASKINS,
W. G. DESEPTTE,
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG,
MATTHEW BURNS,
JAMES A. TAYLOR,
SELMA BORCHARDT,
W. E. BRYAN,

Committee on Labels.

A motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Labels as a whole was carried.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Bugniazet, of the Committee on State Organizations.

Vice-President Bugniazet: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the report will be made by Delegate Martel, Secretary of the Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Delegate Martel, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-

fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your Committee on State Organizations begs leave to submit the following report:

There were but two matters referred to this Committee, i. e., the portions of the Executive Council's Report dealing with Puerto Rico and a resolution by Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor.

PUERTO RICO

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, Page 162, your Committee reports as follows:

Your Committee has observed with a good deal of interest and satisfaction the progress made by the Free Federation of Working Men of Puerto Rico. We desire to commend the Federation for their efforts and recommend that the Executive Council and Officers of the American Federation of Labor continue to render assistance to the Free Federation of Working Men of Puerto Rico in their efforts to elevate the standard of living of the workers of Puerto Rico. Particularly do we wish to urge that the American Federation of Labor support the Free Federation of Workers in their petition to the Congress of the United States that processing taxes now paid by the citizens of Puerto Rico, in accord with the Agricultural Adjustment legislation, be used in Puerto Rico to protect the health and general welfare of the people of the Island.

We wish to commend the Puerto Rican workers for the progress they have made in the sugar and other agricultural pursuits and likewise to commend the workers in the bed and mattress industry, and other industries for the satisfactory adjustment of their recent strikes.

Attention is directed to the progress made by the Puerto Rican workers in the passage of legislation beneficial to the people of the Island, among the most important of which measures are the raising of taxes to build model homes for workers; the establishment of subsistence farms for rural workers; electrification and irrigation and measures for the elimination of unemployment, the protection of industry, agriculture and labor in general.

We further commend the workers of the

Island of Puerto Rico for having secured an exclusive state fund workmen's compensation law; a program broadening the homestead laws of the Island; the establishment of an eight-hour day in all commercial and industrial establishments, and the broadening of the sphere of activity of the Department of Labor as well as the establishment of universal suffrage.

In all matters of Federal legislation we wish to direct your attention to the need for further sustained support on the part of the officers of the American Federation of Labor to secure for Puerto Rico a more generous allotment of emergency relief appropriation for public works in the Island, also the extension of the Social Security Law to cover the people of Puerto Rico.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. OF L. ORGANIZER FOR CALIFORNIA

Resolution No. 175—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The desire for organization in the State of California has never before been as keen and insistent as it is at the present time; and

WHEREAS, The unwarranted attacks upon some organizers of the bona-fide labor movement by organized bands of hoodlums, vigilantes, and other so-called "law and order agencies" make it extremely difficult for the one organizer stationed in the State of California to render as efficient and quick service as the occasion would demand; and

WHEREAS, If we fail in the performance of our duty these vast numbers of workers may be alienated from the A. F. of L. and brought into a group inimical to the aims and purposes of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we petition this convention of the A. F. of L. to assign another organizer for permanent duty to the State of California.

Your committee recommends that the request of the delegate from the California State Federation of Labor be referred to the President along with all similar requests and that the President be asked to consider these requests for special organizers in the order of their importance, and in accord with the financial ability of the American Federation of Labor to comply with them.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONCLUSION

Your Committee desires to direct attention to the need for continued activity on the part of the State federations and city central bodies to secure State legislation concurrent with Federal legislation passed in recent years to bring to workers employed in strictly intrastate industries the protection obtained for those engaged in interstate commerce by the passage of Federal legislation. We have in mind concurrent legislation covering the abuse of the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes, old age pensions, anti-prison labor, uniform child labor legislation, strengthening of workmen's compensation laws, State acts modeled after the Wagner-Connery Bill and approval of the child labor amendment to the United States Constitution, and to keep abreast with such further social and labor legislation as may be enacted by the Federal Congress.

Your Committee recognizes the very valuable services rendered by State federations and city central bodies, not only in the furthering of State legislation affecting labor, but the splendid support rendered to the American Federation of Labor in its legislative program before Congress, and to that end recommends that this Convention call upon all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to urge their local unions to affiliate with and support State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies.

Respectfully submitted:

G. M. BUGNIAZET, Chairman,
FRANK X. MARTEL, Secretary,
PATRICK GORMAN,
JOHN KMETZ,
JERRY HORAN,
HERBERT RIVERS,
WILLIAM E. WALTER,
CHARLES A. SIGMUND,
T. E. CUNNINGHAM,
J. GOLDSTONE,
ADOLPH J. FRITZ,
REUBEN ZUCKERMAN,
ABRAHAM MILLER,
JOSEPH A. MULLANEY,
JOHN CLINTON,
GLEN W. McCABE,
WILLIAM F. KELLY,
JOHN B. EASTON,

Committee on State
Organizations.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Does the committee recommend that the State Federations of Labor set up forty-eight different kinds of laws under the Wagner Disputes Act?

Delegate Martel: No, Mr. Chairman, the committee recommends that the State Federations of Labor endeavor to secure state legislation that will be similar to and concurrent with that passed by the National Congress. That was done because of the feeling that an effort will be made to deprive those engaged in strictly interstate commerce of the features of the Wagner-Connery Bill.

Delegate Watt: Might I say, Mr. Chairman, that that appears to be merely a pious way. If you go back over the whole history of labor legislation you will find that in most instances it took the various states a period of half a century to get any kind of legislation. I merely want to be recorded as believing that one Federal piece of legislation, and particularly until such time as we have had a Supreme Court decision upon that legislation, is more effective than some crazy quilt that we will set up in forty-eight different fashions if we start adopting state legislation on this particular phase of it. It seems to me we at least should hold off for a period of one year, until such time as we find out what the judiciary is going to do with the Wagner Bill.

Delegate Peterson, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: I would like to amend the committee's report by adding thereto that the State Federations of Labor attempt to pass through the various state legislatures legislation which will stop the use of state militia in labor disputes.

President Green: That would not be germane to the question before the convention at this time. Are there any further remarks?

Delegate Martel: I just want to say, in connection with what Delegate Watt, of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, offered, that the members of the committee do not disagree with his desire. The unfortunate thing is that the Supreme Court is not made up of business agents or secretaries of the State Federations of Labor. If it was, the chances are we would not

have nearly as much difficulty getting Federal legislation applied to the states.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I am opposed to the report of the committee. I want to give you some reasons why I am opposed to it. For fifty years the American Federation of Labor has been trying to get an anti-injunction bill. We haven't got it. We have got a bill that regulates the issuing of injunctions and bases it purely upon equity power. Our anti-injunction bill, as it is piously called, is an authorization and instruction to the courts to issue injunctions.

The American Federation of Labor has evidently given up the fight on the question of injunctions. On the question of the Wagner Disputes Bill it is based upon the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. Nobody knows today what the court is going to do with that. Nobody knows how far it extends. It may not extend any further than just exactly to the seamen, because they are carriers in interstate commerce, and to those who operate the wagons or trucks that carry goods and packages across the state borders. That may be all that it amounts to, and for the American Federation of Labor to expend its energies in any effort to extend that kind of legislation, or to make it state legislation when they know so little about it, seems to me to be not only a waste of effort, but a positive crime.

There is a better way of dealing with the injunction question, and there is a much better way of dealing with labor disputes than we have ever used up to the present. The second section of the Thirteenth Amendment provides specifically for power granted the Congress to vitalize the Thirteenth Amendment. I wrote to Senator Wagner on this question last summer, but by the time he reached my letter the Department of Justice had already reported upon the question and they had taken the position that they thought the Labor Disputes Bill based upon the interstate commerce clause might be sufficient.

I don't believe there is anybody here who has any recollection of the Supreme Court decisions, particularly the decision dealing with the stone cutters' case, in

which the men were forced to work against their will, who can have any doubt as to what will come from the Supreme Court on the question of the Labor Disputes Bill.

The struggle in modern society between the employers who hire labor and the laborers themselves has entered into a phase in which the worker is practically helpless. There is no outlet for the worker anywhere now except to work for somebody, and I vision the fact not very far from now when the man who works for a living will be very much in the same position as the horse after the adoption of the internal explosion engine. We were told it would not make any difference, that they had as many horses as ever, but when they came to the question of counting them it was found that was not so.

I think we are on the wrong track entirely on the question of labor disputes. I think when we surrender the fundamental question of human freedom in the adoption of the so-called anti-injunction bill and now the proposition to have the states pass upon the Labor Disputes Bill—well, I wonder where we are going to land. Are we going to quit the struggle for human freedom? If we are, let us say so and be through with it. If we are not, let us go on with the fight as men should.

The struggle for equality on the religious field took centuries, and more blood was shed than anybody can dream of. The struggle to get equality before the law took two hundred more years for the same kind of struggle, and now we are in the midst of a struggle to extend those fundamental Christian principles of human equality upon our industrial field, and all of a sudden we seem to stop there. If that is what you want to do and you want to adopt such a report as this, I suggest as an amendment at the same time that you move to adjourn the American Federation of Labor as being a useless appendage.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote by show of hands.

President Green: The Chair now calls for the report of the Committee on Legislation and recognizes Delegate Ornburn, Chairman of that Committee.

Delegate Ornburn: Mr. Chairman, Delegate Hyatt, Secretary of the Committee, will report for the Committee on Legislation.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Hyatt, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The Committee on Legislation has had referred to it the following sections of the Report of the Executive Council: National Legislation, page 133; Government Contracts, page 137; bituminous coal industry, page 138; forty-hour week for postal employees, page 138; convict labor, page 139; petition rule changed, page 142; and minimum wage laws, page 145.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 133, the committee reports as follows:

With respect to the material under the caption, National Legislation, the committee feels that no extended comment is necessary. All of the highly important legislative victories enumerated under this caption will be discussed during the convention. We do feel that the organized labor movement has reason for rejoicing over these victories and also for the progress made with respect to legislative problems yet pending. We wish also to comment with gratification upon the evidences contained in this report of a changed public attitude toward remedial legislation and toward the labor movement as the spokesman of the human element in society. This has expressed itself in many areas of organized labor activity and it is especially evident with respect to the political and legislative activities of organized labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 137, the Committee reports as follows:

This section is self-explanatory. It calls attention to a long existing evil in the letting of government contracts. By it the government is made a party to a condition in which the measuring stick of hours, wages and conditions is set by the least desirable element in the industry concerned.

The Walsh Bill, to which the Executive Council refers, seeks to confirm in legislation the principle that the first charge on any industry is the performance of its duty to society by paying adequate wages and maintaining decent working conditions. The committee recommends that the Executive Council be commended for its announcement of an intention to push legislation in the next session. It further recommends, in view of the fact that the Walsh Bill is now held up in the House, that members of organized labor be urged to support this legislation by communicating with their respective Congressional Representatives.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

BITUMINOUS COAL INDUSTRY

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 138, the committee reports as follows:

This section is a statement of fact. The committee recommends that the United Mine Workers be congratulated upon this hard-won victory.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FORTY-HOUR WEEK FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council, page 138, the committee reports as follows:

This section relates an outstanding victory of the organized labor movement and particularly, of course, its civil service members. It is of considerable importance to the entire labor movement as applying to government employment the fundamental principle of shorter hours of labor. The Executive Council calls attention to the fact that one section of the Mead forty-hour bill, that proposing to extend to the railway mail service the long-established dual system of "miles and hours" payment of the steam transportation industry, was stricken from the bill. The intention of further efforts toward the enactment of this section is announced. The committee recommends that the Railway Mail Association be commended for the stand taken by it that the broader interests of a shorter work week should not be endangered by persistence on its part for a portion of the bill even though

one of importance to its members. It is further recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its support of the "miles and hours" principle in the Railway Mail Service at the opportune time.

With respect to the pending measures granting to other branches of the government service a thirty-day vacation and sick leave with pay. This legislation was proposed and passed in the House as the "shorter hours" concession to those groups which were not included in the postal forty-hour bill. The committee notes the statement of the Executive Council that the measure will be pushed in the next session of Congress. It expresses the hope that vigorous and united efforts will be made to that end.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONVICT LABOR

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 139, the committee reports as follows:

This section sets forth gratifying progress made in the elimination of competition of prison-made goods with those produced by free labor. The Ashurst-Summers Bill attacks this evil by invoking the authority of the Federal Government over interstate commerce. The Hawes-Cooper Bill forbids the sale of such prison-made goods on the open market within protected states. The report of the Council points out that this will prevent an insidious bootlegging of prison goods even from states which have protected their own markets from such goods.

The committee notes that twenty-four states have accepted the Hawes-Cooper Act. It is recommended that we express our gratification for this fact and that we urge vigorous continuation of efforts before Congress and the state legislatures for a water-tight completion of this program.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PETITION RULE CHANGED

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 142, the committee reports as follows:

The Committee feels that no extended

comment upon the facts set forth is necessary. The petition rule of Congress in its more liberal form was invoked on several occasions to recall from committees measures which were being subjected to a "pocket veto." It is recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to take advantage of opportunities to liberalize this rule by restoration of at least its former provisions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MINIMUM WAGE LAWS

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 145, the committee reports as follows:

This section of the report of the Executive Council is self-explanatory. The committee recommends vigorous fulfillment of the Council's request that minimum wage laws for women and minors be sponsored and supported in the different states which have not already adopted such protective legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES EXTEND THANKS TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Resolution No. 184—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, William A. Collins, Homer W. Smith, J. N. Hewitt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Galnor, M. T. Finnan, L. E. Swartz, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, Architects and Draftsmen; E. C. Babcock, D. R. Glass, John Daniels, John Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers; Joseph S. McDonagh, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; L. R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in repealing adverse legislation under the so-called Economy Act, these victories including repeal of wage cuts, restoration of promotions, vacations, differentials, for

night work and numerous other hard-won and deeply-cherished rights and privileges; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the postal service, have gained through legislation the five (5) day week, thus not only benefiting themselves but more firmly establishing the principle of shorter hours in industry; and

WHEREAS, These very notable victories would have been impossible without the energetic influence and backing of organized labor and the continuous cooperation and assistance of its officers; be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing Government Workers in this Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby express the deepest gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its allies.

The committee feels that no comment upon this resolution is necessary. It expresses the gratitude of the government employes for the victories gained through their adherence to the organized labor movement. It is further recommended that the convention reaffirm its firmly established policy of supporting standards of employment in public service in accord with the standards prevailing or sought in private employment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HIGHER STANDARDS IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

Resolution No. 180—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, William A. Collins, Homer H. Smith, J. N. Hewitt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Gairnor, M. T. Finnan, L. E. Swartz, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, Architects and Draftsmen; E. C. Babcock, D. R. Glass, John Daniels, John Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; J. H. Windsor, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers; Joseph S. McDonagh, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; L. R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working

conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the restoration, extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals, with employee representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and the extension of the civil service system with the respect to appointment to and tenure in office; the improvement of postal substitute employes and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter work week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employes; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rates of compensation for overtime and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards as a model to those existing in the most advanced establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employes in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hyatt: The Committee asks unanimous consent, on the request of Delegate Windsor, to change the title of his organization as it appears in this resolution to read, "International Plate Printers and Die Stammers and Engravers."

President Green: Are there objections? Hearing none, it is so ordered and the change requested will be made.

The committee reported as follows upon this resolution:

It has been the practice of the civil service delegations in a number of previous conventions to introduce a so-called "blanket resolution" setting forth the numerous items in which standards in Government employment are not in accord with those prevailing in private industry or those sought by

the organized labor movement. All the objectives named are, as the resolution states, in accord with the policies of the American Federation of Labor. It is therefore recommended that the convention reaffirm previous action by endorsing the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NON-CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES IN POSTAL SERVICE

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Civil Service is a protection to Government employes against undesirable working conditions, and safeguards their positions against unfair labor practices and lay-offs; and

WHEREAS, During the past two years temporary, non-civil service employes have been introduced into the postal service in ever increasing numbers; and

WHEREAS, This condition, because it tends to limit the number of regular civil service employes, is a menace to the entire civil service system; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks in convention assembled in Atlanta, Georgia, September 2-7, 1935, went on record as being opposed to the use of these non-civil service employes except during the month of December when the large volume of holiday mail necessitates an increase in the personnel; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 53rd Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to the use of non-civil service employes in the postal service except during the month of December.

Resolution No. 180, signed by the delegates of civil service unions in this convention, contains a declaration for the protection and extension of the civil service.

Resolution No. 3 points to one particular phase of this problem.

The committee recommends that the convention endorse Resolution No. 3 with proper changes in phraseology such as the substitution of the American Federation of Labor for Illinois State Federation of Labor as it confirms the action already taken by the convention with respect to Resolution No. 180.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR INJUNCTION

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States passed an anti-injunction act in 1932, and whereas the State of Illinois passed an anti-injunction act in 1925, both of which acts were intended to limit and restrict the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes; and

WHEREAS, Courts have by their construction of these acts virtually nullified the legislative purpose and intent of the anti-injunction acts; and

WHEREAS, In every important strike in the history of the American labor movement, the injunction has been a favored weapon of the employers against the working class; and

WHEREAS, Where economic pressure and private company thugs failed to break the solidarity and fighting spirit of the strikers, the bosses have always appealed to the courts, which have proved ever ready to heed the voice of the exploiters; and

WHEREAS, Mass arrests, fines, imprisonment and police terrorism, have been the consequences of labor injunctions, all with the open purpose of breaking the strikes and fastening the chains of slavery ever tighter around labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record

1—To condemn the injunctions aimed against labor organizations as a most dangerous and treacherous weapon in the hands of the employers and as a shameful violation of the elementary rights of labor.

2—To demand that the labor injunctions be abolished and courts prohibited from issuing injunctions in labor cases.

3—To pledge ourselves to help with every means in our power all labor organizations engaged in the struggle against injunctions.

4—Urge upon the A. F. of L. to carry on an effective struggle to abolish the menace of the labor injunction.

This resolution expresses the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor, opposing abuses of judicial authority through the issuance of repressive and tyrannical injunctions, often invading the guarantees of the Constitution itself. The committee recommends that the spirit and intent of the resolution be endorsed and that the Executive Council be instructed to continue efforts to put an end to a system which prostitutes the judiciary to an agency for the enemies of collective bargaining and, by thus subjecting certain

members of the judiciary to distrust and contempt, tends to weaken respect for government.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Rand, Federal Labor Union 20039: On various discussions on matters of passing legislation against injunctions, much has been said of the efforts of labor and lobbying for the enactment of legislation to prevent injunctions against workers in labor disputes. But we see here in this Resolution No. 4, submitted by the Illinois State Federation of Labor, that in spite of all these so-called clauses against injunctions, injunctions are still carried out. Injunctions are still placed against workers on strike to prevent them from picketing and striking, forcing them against their will to stay away from concerns on strike under threat of being arrested, jailed and beaten up by the police, because a judge has dared to proclaim that labor, in spite of the fact that it has struggled for many, many years, is still faced with a condition where a judge can say that workers have no right to strike or picket. I don't say they say they have no right to strike, but the very fact that they say there can be no picketing is immediately a denial of the rights of the workers to strike.

I feel, and many of these delegates feel through our experiences of reading of struggles throughout the United States, that the only method labor can use against these injunctions is not by proclaiming that more laws, or perhaps a better law can be passed against injunctions, but the only way is by the defiance of any judge who tries to say, by any rule or rights, that workers have no right to picket. Let us enlist the aid of every local union in the cities and states to defy these injunctions, and by this defiance break these injunctions where the workers can win their rights in spite of that injunction.

Delegate Mortimer, Automobile Workers' Union No. 18463, Cleveland, Ohio: I wish to agree with this brother here. I come from Cleveland, Ohio, where the injunction has been used very, very effectively in quite recent times. In every important strike in Cleveland, injunctions have been issued prohibiting picketing, prohibiting strikers from even going within a certain area of the

plant, and the only way you can get around that is not by passing more laws, because in my opinion we already have anti-injunction laws which do not work. What are we going to do with a judge who defies the law? We have the power, I believe, if we will just organize it properly to defy an injunction, to mass picket a place in spite of injunctions.

I think, as Brother Furuseth said, we are altogether on the wrong track in this business. We have got to devote more time to organization, more time to learning how to defeat these things, rather than to pass more laws that are only interpreted in the opposite way.

President Green: The Chair desires to say on this subject that the delegates who have spoken, I think, reflect to a most unusual degree the feeling of all members of organized labor, representatives of labor and even those who are not associated with us. The use to which the writ of injunction has been subjected in many instances, and particularly when men are striking and striving for the realization of higher standards of life and living has aroused the indignation of the workers. I know of no judicial process that is so highly objectionable to labor as the issuance of an injunction against labor during a strike, and when they are striving to have higher wages and better conditions of employment. The issuance of the injunction, as a rule, limits the activities of labor, denies them a square deal. It is all on the side of the employer, and many times strikes are lost merely because the court sees fit to issue a drastic injunction. It is the purpose of labor, I know, to strive to unite and to concentrate their efforts until they are able to secure relief from these judicial processes.

We have succeeded reasonably well since the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, so far as the issuance of injunctions by Federal Courts is concerned. A great improvement has taken place in that field. Injunctions are not issued now by Federal Courts in labor disputes as quickly and as drastically as they were some years ago. In fact many Federal judges are governed not only by the spirit but by the letter of the Norris-LaGuardia Act and refuse to issue injunctions when applied for by employers.

It is my opinion that if the courts would religiously adhere to the provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, no injunction would issue that would restrain the workers from the exercise of their rights to picket and to act in concert in order to promote the strike in which they are engaged.

In New York State, the New York State Federation of Labor concentrated its efforts to secure the enactment of a state law which provides that in cases of contempt the one who is charged with contempt must be tried by a jury of his peers. That will be a great benefit, I am sure, to the workers in New York State. But we find that, notwithstanding the Norris-LaGuardia Act applying to Federal judicial procedure, the state courts not governed by the provisions of this act go to further extremes in the issuance of injunctions. Our complaint now is very largely against the action of state courts in issuing injunctions and many of these judges as in Cleveland and elsewhere, who issue these highly objectionable injunctions and court orders, are judges that are elected by the people in that community. I think when a judge issues an injunction limiting and denying the right of labor to exercise its economic power, that at the next election that judge ought to be defeated by the laboring people in that district. That is one way that we can get at it, because after all each citizen is a sovereign and can go to the polls and vote on election day. You ought to vote against every one of them who abuse the judicial power conferred upon them. My opinion is that we ought to concentrate our efforts further toward securing legislation in the states as good or better than the Norris-LaGuardia Act, so that we can limit and eventually prohibit the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes and confine the procedure of the courts to what was originally intended—the protection of tangible property alone.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Kovel, and Chris Lane, Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Thousands of workers are unemployed and have no means of support and in many instances are forced to borrow money from loan sharks in order to buy information as to where a job may be procured through private employment agencies; and

WHEREAS, Private employment agencies are now functioning in competition with city, State and Federal free employment agencies, victimizing the poorest of the poor, especially in the catering industry, thereby hindering the progress of recovery; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to sponsor legislation for the abolishment of private employment agencies.

The committee recommends endorsement of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WIDOWS' ANNUITY LAW

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A postal employe pays for his annuity which makes it a contribution and sacrifice on the part of his wife also. Under present law if employe dies, his widow receives no annuity and is often left destitute and, as the National Federation of Post Office Clerks has approved of the passage of a law known as Widows' Annuity Law, which will pay a partial annuity to widow of deceased employe; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that they approve of Congress passing Widows' Annuity Law.

This resolution refers to a sentiment in the ranks of civil service employes of the government that the Federal retirement law should be amended when possible to include provisions for the protection of widows and dependents of deceased employes covered by the retirement law. The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to co-operate with the civil service organizations as to the time when such legislation shall be advanced and as to the form of the legislation for this purpose.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 7 by substituting in the caption the word "Government" for the word "Postal."

The amended resolution reads:

PROPOSING GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' COURT OF APPEALS

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under present law an employe may be reduced in salary or dismissed without just cause, because in any dispute postal officials act as judge, jury and accuser. National Federation of Post Office Clerks approve a passage of Court of Appeals Law to remedy this; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By Illinois Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to go on record as approving passage of Court of Appeals Law by Congress.

A civil service court of appeals, as an impartial tribune of appeals from official decisions, has been sought by government workers. Legislation for that purpose has been several times introduced in Congress with the support of the American Federation of Labor. Continued effort in this direction is contemplated by Resolution No. 180, already endorsed by the convention. It is therefore recommended that Resolution No. 7 be endorsed as in accord with previous action of the convention with an amendment changing the caption to read "Government," instead of "Postal Employees" and the reference to the Illinois State Federation to the American Federation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING LAW

Resolution No. 47.—By Delegate Selma M. Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has on many occasions endorsed legislation which would enable the federal government to aid states in preventing lynching; and

WHEREAS, The Costigan-Wagner Bill, which embodies this principle, was favorably reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee, and was before the Senate for consideration for some time; and

WHEREAS, Parliamentary tactics were used to prevent a vote on this question; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirm its support of federal anti-lynching legislation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we deplore and protest against the parliamentary tactics which prevented a vote by our national Congress on a

question of so great importance to our people, as an anti-lynching bill.

This resolution sets forth the traditional opposition of organized labor to such transgressions of orderly government as the crime of lynching. It is therefore recommended that the convention endorse Resolution No. 47.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROHIBITING USE OF FEDERAL ARMS BY STATES MILITIA IN LABOR DISPUTES

Resolution No. 48.—By Delegate Selma M. Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, In the struggles of many trade union organizations within many states, the state militia has at times been improperly used to help destroy the rights of the workers; and

WHEREAS, Such improper use of the militia violates the spirit and the letter of the law which created our national militia as an arm of defense for the protection of the rights of all of our citizens against a common enemy; and

WHEREAS, The state militia in most states is equipped by the federal government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled condemn the use of militia in industrial disputes; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to support legislation which prevents the abusive use of militia in industrial disputes; legislation which embodies the principle, expressed in the Connery Bill, which prohibits the use of federal arms and equipment by state militia, in any industrial dispute unless the use of such equipment be expressly authorized by the federal authorities in recognition of a national emergency which they deem acute enough to warrant the use of federal military force against citizens of the United States.

This resolution refers to the abusive use of military power in industrial disputes by the states. There can be no question of the position of organized labor with respect to such abusive use. The committee points to a change of public opinion, expressed in a few recent occasions by the policies and acts of state executives, that the use of militia in industrial disputes shall be confined strictly to its proper functions; namely, the impartial maintenance of law and order and

of legal rights. We are aware that this encouraging change of public policy is as yet not general and that the evils at which the resolution is aimed still exist to a distressing degree. It does, however, feel that the reform sought would not be hastened, but might be aggravated by transferring power of decision and sanction to the arbitrary will of professional soldiers far removed from the scene of trouble and often of a reactionary point of view toward organized labor. The committee, therefore, recommends that the resolution be amended by the insertion of the word "abusive" in the first resolve. It further recommends that the second resolve be amended by the substitution of the following language:

"RESOLVED, That we call upon the Executive Council to support legislation which will prevent the abusive use of state militia in industrial disputes; legislation which will confine the use of such militia solely to the maintenance of law and order, including protection of the rights and privileges of wage earners with respect to picketing, peaceful assembly, etc. We further urge the enactment of legislation which will establish impartial non-military agencies or tribunals through which use of Federal arms and equipment by militia in industrial disputes shall be immediately investigated and misuse of such equipment be severely punished.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY TO CLASSIFY GROUP IV (b) EMPLOYEES OF THE NAVAL FIELD SERVICE TO THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects' and Draftsmen's Unions, and E. Claude Babcock, and John F. Daniels, of the American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, Section 2 of the Brookhart Act enacted by the 71st Congress, expressly provided that the Group IV (b) Employees of the Naval Field Establishment be placed under the salary rates of the Classification Act of 1923 as amended; and

WHEREAS, After a protracted delay of several years, the special board of the Navy Department has finally completed the final allocation for this group; and

WHEREAS, In doing so, those entrusted with this work have disregarded the principle of equal pay for equal work when compared with the rates of pay allowed for

similar work at the Navy Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Personnel Classification Board of the Civil Service Commission be directed to review this final allocation, taking into account the provisions of the Classification Act and the precedents established for corresponding positions in the Navy Department offices; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Chairmen of the Civil Service Committees of both Houses of Congress be advised of what has transpired in this instance for the purpose of investigating the various abuses that have developed since the Classification Act of 1923 was enacted; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, through its Legislative Committee and all other A. F. of L. agencies in Washington, aid and assist in the consummation of the foregoing resolves.

This resolution requests the support of the American Federation of Labor for the correction of a technical discrimination against a certain group of employees. The resolution is signed by the delegates representing the group concerned. We recommend endorsement of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS—PANAMA CANAL ZONE EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate Lee R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to the improvement of working conditions of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, relating particularly to the employment of American citizens by the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company and other agencies of the United States Government performing functions on the Isthmus of Panama, and contractors performing work for the above agencies; that the chosen representatives of Organized Labor on the Canal Zone be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions, regardless of position, leave or quarters status; that Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees be allowed to retire after 25 years of service at age 55; that widows of retired annuitants of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees shall receive two-thirds of the annuity received by the retired annuitant; that a more equitable method of handling disability fault cases under the Canal Zone retirement laws be enacted, that a local agent representing the Public

Works Administration be assigned to the Canal Zone; that a resident commissioner-ship similar to those now in effect for Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands be established for the Canal Zone; and that the Panama Railroad Steamship Line be continued in operation on account of the undoubted benefits which result therefrom to the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad and the employes thereof; and

WHEREAS, These policies are in accord with the policy of the American Federation of Labor that the United States Government should establish employment standards which will be a model for private industry to emulate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of the above policies; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to continue their cooperation with the Canal Zone Central Labor Union to bring about the accomplishment of these objectives.

This is a blanket resolution setting forth the ideals and aims of the union workers on the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad. It refers to safeguards of their rights of collective bargaining and to improved conditions sought with respect to legislation and administration, the appointment of an agent for the Public Works Administration and for the designation of a resident commissioner similar to the practice with respect to Puerto Rico. It urges the continuation of operation of the Panama Railroad Steamship Company. Many of the objectives have been endorsed by previous conventions. The others are those which have arisen out of recent developments. The committee recommends endorsement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

EMPLOYMENT OF AMERICAN CITIZENS ON EMERGENCY RELIEF PROJECTS IN PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Lee R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 was enacted for the purpose of providing relief, work relief, and to increase employment by providing for useful projects; and

WHEREAS, If sums appropriated under the Act are allotted to the Canal Zone relatively few American citizens will be

employed thereon, as the major portion of the work will be performed by aliens; and

WHEREAS, This practice would appear to be defeating the purpose of the Act; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the employment of American citizens on such Emergency Relief projects in the Canal Zone, at wage scales commensurate with those prevailing on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to co-operate with the Panama Metal Trades Council on the program as outlined above.

This resolution sets forth that money allotted to the Canal Zone may be expended for the relief of aliens to the detriment of American citizens. Previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have endorsed legislative and other remedial efforts looking to the solution of the problem of discrimination against American citizens in the Canal Zone for the benefit of aliens. The trade unionists of the Canal Zone ask that this policy be continued with respect to the specific problem mentioned. The committee recommends endorsement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OVERTIME PAY FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates E. Claude Babcock, John F. Daniels, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, Thousands of employees of the Government of the United States are required to work excessive hours up to 84 hours a week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to insist that no employee of the Government be required to work in excess of forty hours in any week unless he be granted overtime pay or compensatory time off.

This resolution sets forth the probably little known fact that the federal government is, with respect to certain large groups of its employes, one of the worst offenders in the exaction of excessively long hours without

compensation of any kind for such excessive work. Such a condition is, of course, diametrically opposed to the principles of the American Federation of Labor and to the whole trend toward enlightened industrial standards. The committee, therefore, recommends endorsement of the resolution with the reservation that overtime or compensatory time shall not be administered to break down hourly and daily standards for such overtime or compensatory time.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Babcock, Government Employees: The delegates to this convention have doubtless been submitted to propaganda which has been broadcast about the hours of labor of Government employees. As a matter of fact, a survey by our organization shows that there are at present in the United States, 9904 permanent government employees, working 84 hours a week for salaries down to fifty dollars a month. There are scores and thousands of Government employees working more than sixty hours a week. We hope this resolution will be adopted.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

SUBSISTENCE COSTS FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates E. Claude Babcock, John F. Daniels, David R. Glass, John E. Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States requires thousands of its civilian employees to pay for quarters, subsistence, and laundry which are not actually used by these employees; and

WHEREAS, The charges referred to are, in thousands of cases, greatly in excess of the cost to the Government of the materials and services; and

WHEREAS, Many of the employees submitted to the above practices receive cash salaries as low as \$50.00 a month and are required to work excessive hours (9,904 of them actually being required to work 84 hours a week); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled deplores the above practices; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. supports the principle that quarters, subsistence,

and laundry should be furnished to civilian employees of the Government, only optionally and at cost.

The resolution points to a deplorable form of chiseling at the expense of certain already under-paid and under-privileged government workers. The remedy asked is simply that these employees shall not be compelled to pay exorbitant rates for services that they do not want and do not use in the efficient operation of their various jobs and positions. The committee recommends endorsement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMPENSATION LEGISLATION TO COVER OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, The protection of Workmen's Compensation Laws, except in a very few instances, does not cover occupational diseases arising out of conditions of employment; and

WHEREAS, The recent extension of such benefits in a few states, to compensate workers who become afflicted with silicosis and other occupational diseases, immediately resulted in the removal of large firms to neighboring states where workers are totally unprotected by compensation except in the event of physical accident; and

WHEREAS, In many states, workers are forced to rely upon the expensive, dilatory, and uncertain processes of litigation under common law because of the refusal of private insurance companies to write compensation coverage for such employees; and

WHEREAS, States which recognize their responsibilities to afford humanitarian standards and honest compensation for employees in hazardous industries should be given federal assistance, so that decent employers within such states who fulfill their obligations to society shall not be penalized by the migration of conscienceless competitors to states which fail to afford decent standards of compensation to employees afflicted with occupational disease; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that Federal legislation be sought to provide:

1. That Federal grants in aid be established to match appropriations for the conduct of state-pooled funds for Work-

men's Compensation to cover occupational accidents or diseases; and

2. That the U. S. Department of Labor be requested to investigate the consequences of unrestricted competition of standards among the states, to determine whether the citizens of progressive states are being penalized in interstate commerce by the mining or manufacture within states which afford little or no protection to the employees; and

3. That the U. S. Department of Labor be requested to set up adequate standards which will safeguard the health of the workers involved, and that they be empowered to devise legislative or trade agreements which will cause the effective use of such safeguards by all firms in occupations involving dust hazards; and

4. That no department of the Federal Government, including special relief agencies, shall purchase materials mined, quarried, manufactured or sold by firms which do not maintain adequate standards which will safeguard the workers involved.

The resolution emphasizes an old condition, that of the handicap placed upon fair states and industries by the competition of unfair states and industries. The particular problem now presented is that some states have recently enacted advancements in workmen's compensation laws to cover occupational diseases and accidents and that the less advanced states are thus providing attractive havens for unfair employers. It is proposed to remedy this by application to such compensation laws of the "states-aid" principle found in many other forms of legislation.

The committee recommends endorsement of the resolution and further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to support the drafting and enactment of federal and state legislation which will remedy the situation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 142 and 210 which are as follows:

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYEES OF U. S. NAVY YARDS AND ARSENALS

Resolution No. 142—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, W. F. Robinson, Charles Fry, N. P. Alfafas, R. A. Henning, Dan Haggerty, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The several "economy acts" passed by Congress deprived Government

employees of cherished conditions of employment, some of which have not, as yet, been restored to them; and

WHEREAS, The long distance trend of the times requires a further improvement in the conditions of employment of Federal employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the following as part of its immediate legislative program:

1. Restoration and extension of the 30 days' leave of absence with pay to navy yard and arsenal employees, and to other skilled trades services where this condition of employment does not at present apply, in accordance with the provisions of the Ramspeck Leave Bill, H. R. 8458.

2. Extension of the 15 days' sick leave privilege to the skilled trades services where this condition of employment does not at present apply, in accordance with the provisions of the Ramspeck Leave Bill, H. R. 8459.

3. Amending the Retirement Act to provide for optional retirement after 30 years of service, without additional cost to the employees.

4. Amending the Retirement Act to provide a pension for the widows of deceased retired Federal employees.

5. Leveling up the schedule of wages in effect at the arsenals to the rates paid at the navy yards, and seeking to have the intermediate and minimum rates of pay in the Navy Yard Wage Schedule abolished and in the case of mechanics restricted for use of apprentices during their first and second years, respectively, after having completed their apprenticeship.

6. Preventing by legislation or otherwise, Military and Naval personnel from performing work which should be performed by civilian employees.

ENDORSEMENT OF GOVERNMENT NAVY YARD EMPLOYEES' LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Resolution No. 210—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The navy yard employees are endeavoring to secure, through the activity of their labor unions, various legislative improvements, which will tend to shorten hours, improve working conditions, and otherwise be of benefit to both the Government employees and the public generally; and

WHEREAS, All of these objectives are in keeping with the program and policies of the American labor movement, and are deserving of support; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and officers of the American Federation of Labor,

be and hereby are, instructed to support and work for the advancement and successful accomplishment of the legislative program of the Navy Yard employees, as follows:

Abolition of second and third class mechanic rates.

A thirty-hour work week for all navy yard employees.

Optional retirement after thirty years of service.

Restoration of former thirty-day leave with accumulative privilege.

Extension of sick leave to include all Government employees.

Establishment of a Civil Court of Appeals.

Recognition of union committees representing the employees.

Definite restrictions against the practice of using enlisted men to perform work which should rightfully be done by civilian mechanics.

Naval vessels, munitions and other implements of war to be constructed and manufactured in Government Navy Yards, arsenals or other Government owned or operated establishments, in order to reduce the cost of maintaining adequate military and naval defenses and to eliminate private profit, which will remove the incentive of war profiteers, to provoke or aggravate wars and thus minimize the possibility of war; also to build up the Government plants so as to be of maximum value in emergency.

A fair share of the new naval vessels to be awarded to the Puget Sound Navy Yard for construction.

Resolution No. 142 refers to certain legislative remnants of the pernicious Economy Act now almost entirely a thing of the past through the efforts of the unions of Government employees energetically backed by the American Federation of Labor. The resolution refers to the pending vacation and sick leave bills in Congress and to the desire of the trades to have returned to them previous leave provisions taken away by the Economy Act and the extension of liberalized provisions to other branches of the trades. The Ramspeck vacation and sick leave bills have passed the House and are now pending in the Senate and the report of the Executive Committee announces the intention of continued efforts for their enactment. The resolution also requests support of an amendment of the retirement act granting 30-year optional retirement to employees under the Civil Service Retirement Act. This subject is covered by another resolution which has been repeatedly adopted by conventions. Support of widows' annuities as an amendment to

the Retirement Act is also requested. This is covered by another resolution. The request for the leveling up of the wages, of wage rates in arsenals to those prevailing in navy yards is one which the convention should sympathetically consider. With respect to the prevention by legislation or otherwise of the performance of civilian work by enlisted men, previous conventions have endorsed this objective. Resolution No. 210 advocates practically the same objectives. In addition, it advocates the construction of all naval vessels and the manufacture of all implements of war in Government establishments. It asks for a fair apportionment of work for the Puget Sound Navy Yard. The committee recommends that the convention endorse Resolution No. 142 and that Resolution No. 210 be referred to the Executive Council for coordination of its requests with the general program of organized labor with respect to employment in Government establishments and its program concerning the manufacture of military and naval equipment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SEAMEN'S BILL

Resolution No. 160—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in session at Atlantic City that we reiterate our petition for the passing of the so-called King Bill (S. 379 and H. R. 5380) by the Senate and the House of Representatives on whose calendar the Bill at present is, largely because of opposition from the State Department; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be forwarded to the presiding officers of the Senate and of the House of Representatives.

Previous conventions have endorsed the efforts of the Seamen's Union for the enactment of the King Bill, now introduced in the 74th Congress. The committee recommends that the convention reaffirm this action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TREATY OF SAFETY OF LIFE AT SEA

Resolution No. 161—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in session at Atlantic City that we reiterate our protest against the passage of the Treaty of Safety of Life at Sea at present before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it be forwarded to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

As in the case of Resolution No. 160, the Seamen's Union requests reaffirmation of previous action of conventions with respect to opposition to the so-called Treaty of Safety of Life at Sea. The committee recommends that the convention so record itself.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL TEXTILE ACT

Resolution No. 165—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, Alex McKeown, Emil Rieve, Wm. F. Kelly and Frank Schweitzer, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, At the 74th Congress of the United States there was introduced into the House of Representatives, H. R. 9072, a bill to safeguard the textile workers of the country against further degradation of labor standards; and

WHEREAS, It has become apparent that no such remedial steps will be taken unless under force of law; and

WHEREAS, The most blatant digressions from the so-called "Code Standards" have taken place in the textile industry, in which not only wages have been reduced, and hours lengthened, but also discrimination against union activity has grown apace; and

WHEREAS, The absence of protection of the constitutional right to free assembly, and thus to organization and bargaining collectively has been denied the textile workers, through lack of courageous protection; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in support of House Resolution 9072, a bill to "rehabilitate" the Textile Industry; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor formally endorse said National Textile Act, and authorize the Legislative Committee of the Federation to work for its passage; and be it further

RESOLVED, That communications be sent to all State Federation and City Central Bodies urging their active support for this legislation.

This resolution is signed by the delegation from the United Textile Workers. It requests support for H. R. 9072, already introduced in Congress. Its preamble sets forth that it is for the purpose of rehabilitating and stabilizing labor conditions, to prevent unemployment, to regulate child labor, to provide minimum wages and maximum hours, etc. It consists of some forty-nine pages of technical legislative references to the textile industry. In view of the highly technical nature of this proposed legislation, it is recommended that the matter be referred to the Executive Council for careful study and action in accord with the laws, policies and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION COMMISSION

Resolution No. 181—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, William A. Collins, Homer W. Smith, J. N. Hewitt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, L. E. Swartz, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, Architects and Draftsmen; E. C. Babcock, D. R. Glass, John Daniels, John Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers; Joseph S. McDonagh, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; L. R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer injury compensation laws covering Government workers, and since its establishment it has performed its important functions in a humane way, satisfactory to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, The duties and responsibilities of said commission have been greatly expanded by operations incident to emergency legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its approval of the Commission and its administration and its maintenance as an independent establishment.

This resolution, signed by the civil service delegates in the convention, has been unanimously adopted by several previous conventions. It thanks the Commission for the fair and impartial manner in which it has administered its important functions and opposes its absorption into any other government establishment. The committee recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions No. 182 and 6, which are as follows:

THIRTY-YEAR OPTIONAL RETIREMENT FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 182—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, William A. Collins, Homer W. Smith, J. N. Hewitt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, L. E. Swartz, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; N. P. Alfias, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, Architects and Draftsmen; E. C. Babcock, D. R. Glass, John Daniels, John S. McDonagh, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; L. R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union; J. H. Windsor, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years of service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration made in previous conventions and instructs its Executive Council to co-operate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a thirty-year optional retirement law.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' THIRTY (30) YEAR OPTIONAL RETIREMENT

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present retirement law compels a post office employee to work until he is 63 years of age regardless of service, and National Federation of Post Office Clerks approves the introducing of a law to make 30 years of service the only qualification for voluntary retirement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to approve of the passage of such a law to be known as 30-Year Optional Retirement Law.

The civil service unions are seeking an amendment to the Civil Service Retirement Law which will permit an employee to retire after thirty years' service.

Inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor has traditionally supported the civil service employees of the government in their efforts to enact and improve the retirement law, it is recommended that the convention go on record as reaffirming previous action by endorsing these resolutions with the exception that the caption of Resolution No. 6 be changed to "Government Employees" instead of "Postal Employees."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FAIR WORKING CONDITIONS ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Resolution No. 183—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, William A. Collins, Homer W. Smith, J. N. Hewitt, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, L. E. Swartz, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; N. P. Alfias, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemund, Architects and Draftsmen; E. C. Babcock, D. R. Glass, John Daniels, John Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers; Joseph S. McDonagh, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; L. R. Biel, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The United States standard of living requires a fair wage for all workers; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has awarded contracts to private business and commercial concerns for manufacture, construction or service without any provision or requirement as to the wages

to be paid to the employees engaged on this work; and

WHEREAS, These concerns, in the absence of any provision or requirements as to payment of wages, have paid their employees wages far below a living standard; and

WHEREAS, This condition could be corrected if the Federal Government would inaugurate a scale of wages that will enable these employees to maintain their families in conformity with the American standards of living; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take such action as may be necessary for the enactment of legislation making it mandatory that such employees receive the prevailing rates of wages prescribed by the various trade unions in the various industries; and that the contractor be required to submit wage scales and hours of labor on all contracts; and be it further

RESOLVED, That such employees be protected from being forced to give up any part of the compensation to which they are entitled under their contract of employment, a practice known as the "kick-back racket," or being discharged or refused further employment for protesting against such "kick-back" racket or other abuses.

This resolution requests a continuation of the determined efforts of the American Federation of Labor against the unfair practices under which government contracts are let. Progress in this connection through the Walsh Bill is set forth in the report of the Executive Council. The committee recommends that we endorse the resolution as in accord with clearly established policies now in gratifying prospect of consummation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 194 and 244.

The resolutions are as follows:

AMERICAN YOUTH ACT

Resolution No. 194—By Delegates Morrie Fine, Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago, Ill.; William B. Clark, Cleaners, Pressers and Dyers' Union No. 20001, New Haven, Conn.; Edward McCloskey, Radio and Television Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18369, Philadelphia, Pa.; Pearl Barr, Radio and Refrigerator Workers' Union No. 19214,

Cincinnati, Ohio; Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20048, Baltimore, Md.; and William E. Kuehn, Federal Labor Union No. 19398, Hartford, Conn.

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration, established by the Executive Order of President Roosevelt on June 26, 1935, pays recognition to the fact that there is a distinct youth problem in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration is inadequate to meet the needs of unemployed youth in providing \$50,000,000 for 500,000 young people, the program to be terminated in June, 1936;

WHEREAS, Six dollars a month benefits to needy high school and vocational school students do not further the American tradition of free public education;

WHEREAS, Fifteen dollars a month wages to young apprentices as provided in the National Youth Administration would further reduce employment and wages among adult workers;

WHEREAS, Student and trade union and other organized youth are not represented in the councils and administration of the National Youth Administration, thereby making that Governmental agency undemocratically controlled;

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act which is sponsored by the American Youth Congress will be introduced into Congress at the next session;

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act provides for an adequate program for putting young people to work at trade union wages;

WHEREAS, It provides educational opportunities for those in need;

WHEREAS, The Act provides youth itself with the responsibility, acting with representatives of organized labor, social service, education and consumers' organizations through the Secretary of Labor and Commissioner of Education, for the administration of the program for the welfare of American youth; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in 1935 endorse the American Youth Act and strongly urge its adoption by Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council communicate with the city central labor bodies, and the State federations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to urge them to call upon their respective Congressmen and Senators to support the American Youth Act in Congress.

AMERICAN YOUTH ACT

Resolution No. 244—By Delegate George O. Buckingham, Federation of Truck Unions, York, Pa.

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration, established by the Executive Order of President Roosevelt on June 26, 1935, pays recognition to the fact that there is a distinct youth problem in the United States;

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration is inadequate to meet the needs of unemployed youth in providing \$50,000,000 for 500,000 young people, the program to be terminated in June, 1936;

WHEREAS, Six dollars a month benefits to needy high school and vocational school students do not further the American tradition of free public education;

WHEREAS, Fifteen dollars a month wages to young apprentices as provided in the National Youth Administration would further reduce employment and wages among adult workers;

WHEREAS, Student and trade union and other organized youth are not represented in the councils and administration of the National Youth Administration, thereby making that Governmental agency undemocratically controlled;

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act, which is sponsored by the American Youth Congress, will be introduced into Congress at the next session;

WHEREAS, The American Youth Act provides for an adequate program for putting young people to work at trade union wages;

WHEREAS, It provides educational opportunities for those in need;

WHEREAS, The Act provides youth itself with the responsibility, acting with representatives of organized labor, social service, education and consumers' organizations through the Secretary of Labor and the Commissioner of Education, for the administration of the program for the welfare of American youth; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in 1935, endorse the American Youth Act and strongly urge its adoption by Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council communicate with the city central labor bodies, and the State federations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to urge them to call upon their respective Congressmen and Senators to support the American Youth Act in Congress.

These two resolutions are identical. They set forth that the benefits to needy stu-

dents under the National Youth Administration are inadequate. It further sets forth the claim that trade unionists and organized youth are not represented on the National Youth Administration. It supports an act, not yet introduced in Congress, which, it is claimed, will remedy this objection. There can be no question as to the policy and attitude of the American Federation of Labor with respect to the problems of youth. This traditional policy has been many times manifested in the course of the depression. The committee therefore recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts for the relief and protection of youth and that it be further instructed to support such legislation as may be effective for this purpose and in accord with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Fine, Merchandise Service Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago: I believe that the American Youth Act, as dealt with in this resolution and as just reported upon by the Committee on Legislation, is much more important to the young people of the United States than possibly any other resolution that is being dealt with at this time.

This convention has paid quite a bit of attention to the problems of the young people of the United States. Many of the guest speakers who have spoken from this platform have deplored the critical condition being faced by the millions of unemployed young people in the United States. They have pointed out that these millions of people who are suffering idleness, who have not been trained for any vocation, who cannot find room in industry are beginning to enter into a stage of what might even be termed degeneration in certain small sections.

It was also pointed out that the Nazi regime in Hitler's Germany, against which the American Federation of Labor has taken such a determined stand, has utilized these millions of young people who are suffering in a like fashion in Germany to make up the storm troops of German Fascism.

I am glad to say that among all these millions of young people who are unemployed there is also a progressive section who are looking for a better form of living

under this Government. These people have banded together under the American Youth Congress, which embraces 860 organizations, including over 150 local unions of the American Federation of Labor and five Central Labor Unions.

They have begun to tackle systematically and carefully all the problems that face the young people. They hailed the National Youth Administration insofar as it recognized that there was a distinct and special youth problem in the United States, but after careful examination of the provisions and the practices of the National Youth Administration they found it was entirely inadequate to meet the needs of the youth; secondly that it was contrary to the best interests of organized labor; and thirdly, that it was entirely undemocratic in its administration. I appreciate those are very severe charges and I want to say those charges are not made loosely at all, that the National Youth Administration has been carefully studied from every single viewpoint. We have watched its application in the various states. I know, for instance, in my own state of Illinois, that the appropriations for students are entirely inadequate. In the first place, in the University of Illinois, where three thousand students have applied for relief from the National Youth Administration, only one thousand were promised relief. When they went to get jobs they found that \$15 was not only the minimum but the maximum for students attending the University of Illinois. This could not possibly take care of many of the expenses of these students.

Yesterday I was present before the Committee on Law, and the members of that committee were quite surprised when a member of a Federal Labor Union pointed out that members of their Unions were losing their jobs today and were in danger of going out of the Union because young fellows in high school and college were taking the places of these people who were formerly employed.

While they formerly received \$20, \$25 and \$30 a week in the University of Chicago, today young students are receiving \$15 and \$25 a month for the same work that these people had been doing before.

Therefore, the National Youth Administration is inimical to the interests of or-

ganized labor. Fifty million dollars was appropriated for the solving of youth problems. Of this fifty million dollars, thirty million dollars have been spent for student youth relief, but don't forget that the Federal Emergency Relief Administration appropriated last year thirty million dollars in order to continue the education of youth attending schools and this thirty million dollars of the National Youth Administration merely replaces the thirty million dollars of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and that leaves twenty million dollars for the administrative expenses and to meet the problems of three and one-half million unemployed youths.

What is the program for the unemployed youth? In the first place to put them at work at WPA projects at a maximum wage of twenty-five dollars a month. That is even less than the prevailing wage scale originally announced by the Federal Government against which the American Federation of Labor has taken a stand. Therefore, from every viewpoint that it may be viewed, we find that the National Youth Administration does not meet the needs of the youth of the country.

My last point on the National Youth Administration is this, that it has proposed a plan for apprenticeship. This would provide for not only lowering the union scales that are established today, but it would affect the wage standards for minors and apprentices in industry. As yet they have not advanced this program into practice, but I feel that if the American Federation of Labor convention will take a position against this plan of apprenticeship, which will make people produce in factories at much less than the prevailing wages, this National Youth Administration will be unable to put this clause of apprenticeship into effect.

In conclusion, the American Youth Act has been upheld and adopted by 860 organizations of the American Youth Congress, by the Rhode Island State Federation of Labor, by the Seattle Central Labor Union, and it is being discussed in scores of locals. It provides for jobs at a minimum wage of fifteen dollars, it provides that jobs be given to young people who will not replace adults who are at present employed. It

provides for adequate relief for students who are in school.

I want to urge all delegates here to reject the report of the Committee on Legislation and to insist that the Executive Council take favorable action on the American Youth Act.

I thank you.

President Green: I think there is some mistake. I will ask the Secretary of the committee to read his recommendation again.

Secretary Hyatt read the report of the committee, and continued:

For further explanation of the committee's report I desire to say that you will discover by what we have just said that the aims and ideals of the Federation are in sympathy with the problems of youth. We did, however, consider that it would be very unwise for this convention to emphatically and finally endorse the specific acts which the legal machinery of the American Federation of Labor has not yet had time to carefully scrutinize. There is nothing in our report that does not leave the way clear to do what the delegates ask. It instructs the Executive Council to continue its efforts for relief and protection of youth and that it be further instructed to support such legislation as may be effected for this purpose in accord with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Fine: And it will undertake a study of the American Youth Act with a view to taking favorable action?

President Green: The Executive Council, under the instructions of the committee, will study every phase of it and endeavor to make a report that will be in accord with the traditional policies of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

PROTESTING DISPLACEMENT OF NAVY YARD EMPLOYEES, BREMERTON, WASHINGTON, BY RELIEF WORKERS

Resolution No. 208—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The following report has been submitted by the employees of the Bremerton Navy Yard which speaks for itself.

The Central Trades Council of Bremerton and vicinity at a regular meeting August 26 last, appointed a committee to investigate and submit a report on working conditions and discriminations, if any, against certain crafts in the Puget Sound Navy Yard.

A. The Committee finds that the Public Works Division X70 of the Navy Yard has had about 7 Helpers General or Laborers painting the interior of the Pipe Shop, X56, since about September 9 to the present date. The supervision in the shops where the work is performed designates the work to be performed by these Laborers or Helpers under the orders from above.

B. Sheet Metal Shop X17 has had 2 to 3 Helpers or Laborers painting the interior of the shop the last three weeks.

C. The New Boat Shop X58 also has had Helpers or Laborers painting the interior of the shop for about three weeks. A crane operator also has to engage in painting the interior of the shop when he is not operating the crane that he is assigned to. In reference to paragraphs "B" and "C", practically all of these workers are employees of the shops indicated.

The above named workers noted in paragraphs "A", "B", and "C" are regular Navy Yard employees and not workers classed as Emergency Relief Navy Workers. The fact that Helpers and/or Laborers are required to perform the work of skilled workmen, such as Painters, without receiving the Painter's scale wage, is evident that if the above practice is allowed to continue, it will result in the undermining of the Painters' wage scale, and set an example that will surely be followed in other crafts.

The Emergency Relief, Navy employees, approximately 1100 in number, now working in the Navy Yard and other Navy stations in the vicinity, receive the following compensation:

Unskilled—\$55.00 per month, 128 hours, .4230 cents per hour.

Helpers—\$65.00 per month, 128 hours, 50 cents per hour.

Skilled—\$85.00 per month, 128 hours, .6538 cents per hour.

Professional—\$94.00 per month, 128 hours, .7230 cents per hour.

Comparable Navy Yard workers (regular) receive compensation as follows:

Laborers, 1st Class, \$117.02 per month, 174 hours, .6725 cents per hour.

Laborers, 2nd Class, \$106.49 per month, 174 hours, .612 cents per hour.

1st Class Helpers General, \$131.54 per month, 174 hours, .756 cents per hour.

2nd Class Helpers General, \$121.10 per month, 174 hours, .696 cents per hour.

Skilled Mach., 1st Class, \$194.18 per month, 174 hours, \$1.116 per hour.

Skilled Mach., 2nd Class, \$183.74 per month, 174 hours, \$1.056 per hour.

Skilled Mach., 3rd Class, \$173.30 per month, 174 hours, .996 cents per hour.

Skilled Pipefitter—1st Class, \$206.71 per month, 174 hours, \$1.188 per hour.

Skilled Pipefitter—2nd Class, \$196.27 per month, 174 hours, \$1.128 per hour.

Skilled Pipefitter—3rd Class, \$185.83 per month, 174 hours, \$1.068 per hour.

Skilled Painters, 1st Class, \$200.45 per month, 174 hours, \$1.152 per hour.

Skilled Painters, 2nd Class, \$190.00 per month, 174 hours, \$1.092 per hour.

Skilled Painters, 3rd Class, \$179.57 per month, 174 hours, \$1.032 per hour.

Skilled Shipfitters, 1st Class, \$190.00 per month, 174 hours, \$1.092 per hour.

Skilled Shipfitter, 2nd Class, \$179.57 per month, 174 hours, \$1.032 per hour.

Skilled Shipfitter, 3rd Class, \$169.13 per month, 174 hours, .972 cents per hour.

Skilled Patternmaker, 1st Class, \$229.62 per month, 174 hours, \$1.32 per hour.

Skilled Patternmaker, 2nd Class, \$219.24 per month, 174 hours, \$1.26 per hour.

Skilled Patternmaker, 3rd Class, \$208.80 per month, 174 hours, \$1.20 per hour.

Skilled Molders, 1st Class, \$210.89 per month, 174 hours, \$1.212 per hour.

Skilled Molders, 2nd Class, \$200.45 per month, 174 hours, \$1.152 per hour.

Skilled Molders, 3rd Class, \$190.00 per month, 174 hours, \$1.092 per hour.

Professional, Grade 1, \$2,000 to \$2,600 per annum.

Professional, Grade 2, \$2,600 to \$3,200 per annum.

Professional, Grade 3, \$3,200 to \$3,800 per annum.

The daily wage paid Helpers General is similar to that paid Helpers General Machinist, Electrician and Sheet Metal Helpers.

Sheet Metal Workers and Electricians receive a daily wage similar to that received by Pipefitters.

All regular Navy Yard employes work 8 hours per day, 5 days per week, except some Professional and Clerical Workers who work 39 hours per week.

When comparison is made between the compensation received by the Emergency Relief, Navy employes and the regular Navy Yard Workers as noted on page 2, and taking into consideration that those workers have to work together on many jobs, is there any wonder that everybody in the community, organized and unorganized, are emphatically opposed to the present program. The Emergency Relief, Navy employes, should by all means receive the same hourly rate of pay as that received by the Navy Yard workers. Organized labor here earnestly feels that the present program is the most serious and dastardly blow received by the workers of the country and that a change to a union hourly wage rate should be made as soon as possible; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this report be submitted to the A. F. of L. convention with a request that action be taken by the Convention and Instructions be given the Executive Council to contact the parties necessary to change this condition.

This resolution sets forth in great detail the fact that emergency relief workers are employed in direct association with the regular craftsmen of the Bremerton Navy Yard and at wages much below the regular wage scales for these permanent employes. In view of the fact that the conditions complained of are transgressions of the position of the American Federation of Labor as opposing so-called "subsistence wages" on government relief projects, the committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and consultation with the crafts concerned with a view to the remedy of the situation.

Secretary Hyatt: The committee recommends adoption of this section of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS IN CIVIL SERVICE

Resolution No. 240—By Delegates C. B. Noxon, Colorado State Federation of Labor; J. B. Easton, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; Reuben Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The officials in governmental departments have adopted certain civil service rules and requirements with which personnel appointees must comply before being permitted to hold certain clerical, supervisory and other positions, in the general recovery and re-employment activity; and

WHEREAS, Many of these rules and requirements are educational in nature and require as a condition of employment graduation from a high school or college; and

WHEREAS, There are thousands of members of organized labor whose close contacts and years of experience with the working people of the country are eminently and peculiarly qualified to hold many positions of importance and trust in government service, except that they have been deprived of high school and college education through circumstances over which they had no control; and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned educational qualifications should be stricken from such civil service examinations because they amount to discrimination against those

whose circumstances have demanded they labor instead of attending school, which discrimination affects literally millions of American citizens and actually deprives those workers of sympathetic representation in countless instances; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor enter vigorous objections to these unfair educational qualifications adopted by certain governmental agencies, and sincerely request that such agencies and individuals modify their requirements so that real representatives of the working people may be given opportunity to serve their fellow workers and the nation in cases where such representatives can demonstrate reasonable practical qualifications and ability as the real nature of such positions demand.

This resolution deplors requirements for positions which overemphasize the importance of formal education as against training and experience. The Committee recommends that the resolution be endorsed and that the Executive Council be instructed to confer with the United States Civil Service Commission and the proper Federal and State appointing and examining agencies for the remedy of such discriminations and to take such other action as may be necessary to effectuate the object of the resolution.

MEEHAN BILL

AN ACT DISPENSING WITH EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS AS A CONDITION OF TAKING CERTAIN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS

BE IT ENACTED, ETC., AS FOLLOWS:

Chapter thirty-one of the General Laws is hereby amended by inserting after section six, as most recently amended by chapter two hundred and sixty of the acts of nineteen hundred and thirty-two, the following new section:—Section 6A. No rule or regulation shall be made setting up educational requirements as a condition of taking a civil service examination except in respect to professional and other positions for which such requirements are expressly imposed by statute and to the extent of the requirements so imposed. Approved April 26, 1935.

Delegate Easton, West Virginia State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, delegates to the convention—I had not intended saying anything about this resolution except for the importance of it, plus the confusion back here in the hall. I doubt that many of the delegates from the center of the hall to the rear heard the resolution read. For that reason I desire to make a brief statement.

This resolution covers the subject of class legislation if there ever was one. The Federal Government through its Civil Service has set up certain rules and regulations for those examinations, and in practically all instances they require a high school and in some instances a college education. We have witnessed in our state, as no doubt you all have, a growing tendency on the part of some group with headquarters here in Washington, and in some instances in the state, a desire to grab unto themselves—and that is a serious charge—the plums that are being distributed as the result of legislation. We in the ranks of labor down in my state, and the presidents and secretaries of some 40 state federations that are represented here, have held conferences and devoted a great deal of time to this subject.

We have expressed ourselves unalterably opposed to the discrimination set up in these regulations. I dare say if the men and women in this convention were requested to raise their hands as to who went to high school and college, who are leaders of the labor movement, there would not be so many hands go up. And yet, Mr. Chairman, having had contact with labor leaders all over the country, having witnessed the things they have done, I feel it is wrong that they should be denied the right to take the examinations in many instances. We contend it is manifestly unfair. We do not desire to lower any standards; let the standards stay up, but let the practical men and women who have obtained an education they are not ashamed to display any place or any time have an equal opportunity with the boys or girls who have been favored with a high school or college education.

We are saying, as citizens of this great country, having accomplished the things that labor has through its leadership and its membership, we should at least be privileged with the rest of these people to test our knowledge and training as against their educational requirements. We do not desire to attack civil service or standards, we want that understood, but we agree on this one thing: That we should all have an equal opportunity. I am not aspiring for a job, I have the best job I ever had and I want to keep it as long as I can, but if I should want to sit down to take an examination I should not be discrim-

inated against because I decided to go to work instead of to high school or college.

We think labor is being discriminated against, and we say in no uncertain terms and with all the force at our command that the Executive Council should speak in the same terms in handling this matter with the Federal Government that it has spoken on other occasions. The committee should say that should the Executive Council meet with failure when they go before the particular agency of Government that deals with this matter they should take the matter before the Civil Service Department and even to the President or the Congress of the United States.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: As announced in this hall, upon two occasions, there were conferences held of delegates of state federations of labor in the Ambassador Hotel last week. This resolution came before the conference for discussion. I arise at this time to discuss briefly the reasons for the resolution and the purpose of the resolution.

The desire of the representatives who have signed this resolution, the desire of the persons favoring this resolution, is that no governmental agency, whether it be a department of this Government setting up qualifications or whether it be a Civil Service Commission, shall have the power to say to any American citizen, "You shall not have the right to participate in a Civil Service examination for a position which you may be competent to fill because we have set up qualifications that prevent you from taking that examination." I think in my state and in this hall you will find a number of delegates from other states who will tell you what I am going to tell you. In my state as in these other states the states are co-operating with the Federal Government in relation to employment offices, and there is a grant from the Federal Government to these states for their employment offices if they meet certain qualifications laid down by the Federal Government.

Now, in my state we pioneered in employment offices. The General Assembly of Ohio, in 1889, enacted a law setting up public employment offices, and those offices have been maintained and operated by state appropriations from that day until now. There is in

the state of Ohio a state officer known as the Director of Employment Service and Superintendent of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and civil service examinations have been held over the period of years mentioned for the persons holding positions in these local employment offices.

Now comes along the Federal Government, and now comes an increase in salary of the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendents of these offices, and now comes the Federal Government and says to the state of Ohio, "You must put into your Civil Service examinations for these positions that any person taking the examination for local employment office is required to have a four-year high school diploma." And they have proposed that the person to be appointed by the Governor of Ohio to be Director of Employment shall have a college education. Now what has been the effect of that? The old time trade unionists, men of splendid ability who conducted these employment offices, securing appointment through a civil service examination, conducting these offices over a period of years with satisfaction to the public and to the state, have been told, "You must step aside because you have not got a high school diploma. You must take a subordinate position at a lower salary and permit some person with a college education or a high school diploma to take this position and fill it at an increased salary."

You should not lose sight of this: That under the National Security Act, when it goes into effect, if it is declared constitutional, it is clearly set forth that it shall be administered—through what? Through the public employment agency. Now, Mr. President, I am not prepared to sit still in my seat, I am not prepared to continue to be silent when worthy men are being displaced from their positions and this great department of Government will be manned by social workers. I sincerely trust that in every State in this Union the state federations of labor will get on their toes and see that the resentment of labor is voiced and that this Federation of Labor will go to Washington and see that no qualifications not essential, not necessary, shall be stated when persons are taking civil service examinations which disqualify them from taking the examinations and proving their

competency for the positions to which they aspire.

Delegate Patterson, South Carolina State Federation of Labor: I think the real purpose of the resolution, if I understand it, is more concerned with having people in administrative offices who are friendly, who have a sympathetic idea of labor than for filling the offices from our ranks. It has been the experience of our section of the country that those with no sympathy whatever have banded themselves into organizations and are perfecting these qualifications so that those sympathetic with the aims and principles of organized labor cannot serve in these administrative capacities. I think that is the idea of these state federation delegates who have protested so vigorously. They want those in those positions who have a more sympathetic attitude toward organized labor.

There are groups formed, and being formed, with visions of the future to administrate billions of dollars of out-of-work benefits, to administer millions of dollars under the Social Security Act, and if the American Federation of Labor, and if you and I are not only alert but ready to act you will find that people entirely unsympathetic to the aims of the people who toil and labor will be in these administrative capacities.

Delegate Easton: Yesterday the Honorable John W. Studebaker directed our attention to something I think is very important. We have about 75,000,000 adults in the United States; 64,000,000 of them have not finished high school, therefore they are automatically barred from these examinations.

President Green: I can truthfully say that all of us have been smarting under a sense of injustice. We have felt that barriers have been erected that in operation effectively prevent our representatives of labor in the different states from being appointed to these employment offices. You know that when a department of the Government sets up a standard which provides that those who are appointed to these positions must have secured a high school education or a college diploma, that immediately the men and women of labor who secured their education in their fields are unable to meet such a requirement and conform to such a standard.

Why does it require a setting up of such a standard for appointment of men and wo-

men to these employment offices? What is back of it? What is the basis of it? Was it for the deliberate purpose of preventing labor from serving in these positions? If it was, then I will admit that no more effective method could have been employed, and in operation it has been effective. Behold the situation, make the survey, go to these employment offices which originally were manned by labor and labor representatives and inquire where they are. Instead you will probably find splendid men and women serving, but they are those who have been able to meet the standards academically. But why are our trained workers who through personal contact and personal service and personal training have acquired a knowledge of the work that is to be performed in these employment offices denied the opportunity to be appointed to these positions. I resent it. I feel that it is a blow at me and my class. I have smarted under a sense of injustice, and particularly when I found that the Social Security Act provided that the administrative authority of that great measure would be vested very largely in the employment offices set up in the different states. We have a real grievance upon this question. It is a grievance that cannot be adequately expressed. We feel it keenly, more than words can express.

I am in hearty accord with the resolution, with everything the delegates have said, and I am determined to do everything within my power to correct this wrong, to destroy this barrier and to make it possible for labor to have an equal opportunity with every other person.

Delegate Meehan, Painters: I am pleased to see the delegates here are taking a proper interest in this matter. Three years ago I realized the discrimination being used against the men and women who secured their education in the school of experience in the State of Massachusetts. That state is known by reputation as a state of learning. I filed a bill to eliminate educational qualifications in taking civil service examinations, except where the statute requires it, like the practice of medicine, to be licensed as a plumber, electrician, and so on, where a state law requires it.

Last year the Governor of the state vetoed the bill. As a member of the House

I was able to override the veto in the House. The Senate sustained his veto. This year I am a member of the Senate and was able to get my bill through and the present Governor of Massachusetts has signed it. I suggest that the delegate from West Virginia get a copy of that Act, for it is now a law in Massachusetts.

I have sat in the halls of that legislature now for seven years, and I tell you that the men and women of labor who do not pay more attention to this problem will find that not only the director positions but the minor positions will be closed to you, because the educational requirement will be raised to such an extent that you cannot qualify for the position for which you are particularly trained.

I had one case, that of a young man who served his apprenticeship as a bricklayer. His father was a contractor and is now a Superintendent of Public Buildings for the municipality, and Building Inspector. This young man took an examination for foreman on construction work in the state. He was second in that examination. Then he took an examination for Superintendent of Construction for the United States Government and was first on the list. He passed the examination for clerk on the work. He passed first on the list. He was acting at that time as superintendent of construction for a large contractor. He went to take the examination for Inspector of Public Buildings for the Department of Public Safety, and he was denied that right because he had not completed his high school course.

Another contractor had built millions of dollars' worth of public buildings, but he was denied the right to take the examination because of insufficient education. The same thing applies to inspectors of safety regulations. I filed a bill in the legislature, along with some others, and our troubles began, because, after all, we are surrounded with schools of higher learning, and of course there are people with all kinds of education available for the positions. Labor did not deny the right of the others to take examinations, but we resented the denial of men and women who have secured their knowledge from the school of experience the right to have these examinations.

It seems to me that if the school of higher learning meant what it ought to mean, at least it ought to show on the examination papers, but the man from the school of experience is entitled to an equal chance. This year the bill I referred to has become a law.

If a position is open and the appointing official wants to reach a certain friend he will make the requisition, so far as educational requirements are concerned, fit his particular qualifications. If that person has a high school diploma he will insert, "High School Graduate." If he has gone to a university but did not complete his training there, the requisition will provide, "Some University Training Preferred." And if he has graduated from a college, the requisition will say, "Graduate from a College of Higher Learning."

I think the men and women who took an active part in the labor movement, who secured their knowledge from the school of experience and who helped build up these positions, now that they have been put in a dignified position, ought to be given at least an equal opportunity of appointment both in administrative positions and in the minor positions under these administrators.

I am pleased to hear this matter discussed on the floor of the American Federation of Labor. And I say to the delegates from the state of West Virginia and the delegates from other state federations that the committee has a copy of the bill that was passed this year in Massachusetts. It is brief, but it is more far-reaching than if it was composed of several pages. Take it home with you, and if there is something in it that you do not approve of, change it to meet the conditions in your state. If you do not do something of this kind, men and women who have spent years of work in the labor movement will find themselves unable to take these examinations because they haven't a high school or a college education.

Chairman Ornburn: The committee is sympathetic with the sentiments of the resolution. The resolution provides "That the officers of the American Federation of Labor enter vigorous objection to these unfair educational qualifications adopted by certain Governmental agencies, and sincerely

request that such agencies or individuals modify their requirements so that real representatives of the working people may be given opportunity to serve their fellow workers and the nation in cases where such representatives can demonstrate reasonable qualifications and ability as the real nature of the positions demand."

The report of the committee recommends that the resolution be endorsed and that the Executive Council be instructed to confer with the United States Civil Service Commission and the proper Federal and State appointed examining agencies for the remedies of such discrimination and to take such other action as may be necessary to effectuate the objects of the resolution.

We are attaching to the committee's report a copy of the law which Delegate Meehan has just referred to. It will not be necessary for you to get a copy of the Massachusetts law, but you can get it in the proceedings of this convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Hyatt: This concludes our report, which is signed.

I. M. ORNBURN, Chairman,
GILBERT E. HYATT, Secretary,
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
B. M. JEWELL,
C. L. ROSEMUND,
WILLIAM COLLINS,
SIDNEY HILLMAN,
JAMES M. DUFFY,
RICHARD J. GRAY,
J. N. DAVIS,
JAMES T. MORIARTY,
JOHN DONLIN,
E. C. BABCOCK,
THOMAS V. GREEN,
RAYMOND F. LOWRY,
JAMES H. WINDSOR,
M. T. FINNAN,

Committee on Legislation.

President Green: I am pleased to announce that an agreement has been reached in the State of Ohio between the organized labor representatives of that State and the Administrators of the PWA and WPA which provides for the payment of the prevailing rate of wages for all those employed.

At 12:50 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

SEVENTH DAY—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

ABSENTEES:

Hannab, E. I.; Katz, De Witt, Rundle, Billet, Eardley, Slich, Rosqvist, Regan, Doane, Wade, David, Wise, Palmer, Hanoway, Osborne, Swetland, Dance, Sigman, Howat, Dallas, Singer, Bradley, Shave, Dahlager, Burke, M. J.; Slout, Myer, Weinberg, Hymes, Flynn, Al; Nadehoffer, Bender, Burns, T. F.; Serra, Malkovich, Dougherty, Iglesias.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

October 14, 1935.

William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Understand there is a resolution pending before convention regarding alleged activities of a postal telegraph employe in Dallas, Texas. Any such activity on his part would be against the policy and orders of this organization. We are investigating and if they are found to be true will take appropriate action. Believe that you must realize nothing in the history of Postal Telegraph would give ground for belief that any such action would be countenanced by the officers or management.

FRANK C. PAGE,
Vice-President.

New York, N. Y.,
October 14, 1935.

William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor.

Greetings to you, officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled. May your deliberations bring about the consolidation and solidification of the American working class into and under the banner of the American Federation of Labor and may your legislation lead to the ultimate emancipation of the working mass from capitalistic exploitation. We hope that the American workers will join in masses to the legitimate organizations and make the labor movement so strong and powerful that not only will they be able to resist the attacks of the American capitalist and Fascist who are the true representatives of social evils and injustice and establish justice and social security in the United States, but also help with their

unlimited power to bring liberty and justice throughout the world.

ABE GOLDBERG,
President, Buttonhole
Makers' Union Local
No. 50, Amalgamated
Clothing Workers of
America.

Communications asking that the next convention be held in the City of Detroit, Michigan, were received from Richard W. Reading, City Clerk, which communication contained resolution adopted by the Detroit Common Council, and from the General Manager of the Book-Cadillac Hotel, asking that that hotel be selected as headquarters in the event the convention should be held in Detroit.

Secretary Morrison announced that Delegate R. E. Woodmansee, representing the Springfield, Illinois, Federation of Labor, had asked to be excused from further attendance at the convention, inasmuch as he had been called home.

The request was granted.

ASSIGNMENT OF RESOLUTIONS NOS. 236 AND 241

President Green: I desire to announce that Resolution No. 236, introduced by Brothers Michael J. Colleran and M. J. McDonough and others, and Resolution No. 241, introduced by the same delegates, are referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

The Chair recognizes Vice-President Woll.

Vice-President Woll: Mr. President and fellow delegates: Being advised that this morning there was introduced a resolution in this convention having to do with the right or authority of officers of the American Federation of Labor to be associated with groups or organizations outside of the American Federation of Labor, the resolution relating particularly to the National Civic Federation, of which I have been acting President and am at the present moment, I wish to make this statement and also this announcement. For the past two years I have endeavored to have the National Civic Federation Executive Council

accept my resignation as its acting chairman. On each occasion I was prevailed upon to continue for a while longer. That request for resignation was renewed during the past three months, at the time that Mr. Ellis Searles resigned from membership in the National Civic Federation. Again I was urged to remain for several months until a successor might be selected, but in view of the resolution presented this morning, and in order to relieve this convention of any embarrassment, because personality would be involved, and likewise to free the National Civic Federation from any possible embarrassment, I have again urged the early and immediate acceptance of my resignation as a member and as an officer of the National Civic Federation.

I make this statement now before the convention has acted on the resolution that all delegates may understand that it was not under compulsion, but under the spirit of volunteerism that this action was taken, and to have this convention discuss this or any similar question without the embarrassment of involving any personality.

May I read you, therefore, the telegram I have just sent to Mr. Easley, the Chairman of the Executive Council of the National Civic Federation.

TELEGRAM

Atlantic City, N. J.
October 15, 1935.

Mr. Ralph M. Easley,
Chairman, Executive Board,
National Civic Federation,
570 Lexington Avenue,
New York City.

You will recall on a number of occasions in the past I had proposed resigning as an official of the National Civic Federation because of constantly increasing demands upon my services directly concerning organized labor stop. You will further recall I expressed a similar desire this year at the time of resignation of Mr. Ellis Searles of the United Mine Workers' Union stop. The pressure upon my time and services in the cause of labor are greater today than ever stop. It would now seem that there is some objection in the American Federation of Labor to an officer of the American Federation of Labor being likewise an officer or member of the National Civic Federation stop. A proposal to this effect has been presented to the convention and while the convention is yet to act upon this proposal and though without knowledge of what final decision may be reached by the convention on this question in order to relieve the National Civic Federation from

any possible embarrassment and likewise to allow the American Federation of Labor to act on this proposal free from any possible taint of personality, I herewith renew my resignation as an officer and a member of the National Civic Federation and insist that it must now be accepted stop. In disassociating myself from the National Civic Federation may I express my sincere appreciation for the cordial associations heretofore had with the National Civic Federation.

MATTHEW WOLL.

May I make this additional statement, that my interest has always been in labor, in organized labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, and it requires no resolution, no instruction, no adoption of new laws in order to have me disassociate myself from any group or any cause or any activity that is disagreeable or in the slightest way undesirable by the American Federation of Labor, even by a minority group within the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Will someone explain the element of incompatibility that exists between the two positions? May we have that explained for the benefit of the unenlightened?

President Green: I don't think it is necessary to go into that, Brother Weaver. The matter has not been dealt with in that way.

Delegate Weaver: I withdraw the question.

President Green: Brother Woll has made the statement and it will appear in the proceedings of today's convention.

The Chair now recognizes the Committee on Education—Chairman Harrison, of the Committee on Education.

Vice-President Harrison: The report of the Committee will be submitted through Secretary Millman.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Millman, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The following subjects of the Executive Council's report were submitted to the Committee on Education:

Education, Federal Emergency Workers' Education, Workers' Education Bureau, Enlarged Support for the Workers' Education Bureau, and Child Labor Amendment.

While the Executive Council in its report has devoted only a few pages in its report to a specific consideration of Education, this must not be construed as a lack of consideration for the subject. In a sense the entire report is a notable educational document. Then, too, this report must be appraised against the background of previous reports, of former reports of the educational committee and the countless records of service by the American Federation of Labor to education.

The sections, which have been referred to us, of the Executive Council's report, upon which we submit our findings, are forthright and are a true reflection of labor policy.

EDUCATION

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 146, the committee reported as follows:

Public education, available to all the citizens and supported by all the citizens, is the foundation of our democratic way of life. This ideal American labor early recognized; this goal it has steadfastly championed.

Through the depression our public school system has been seriously handicapped due to a drastic retrenchment in public funds. In many sections of the country equality of educational opportunity has been denied to the children of many of our people. Such a situation is inconsistent with our fundamental principles; its continuance will have grave social consequences.

The economic crisis has wrought great havoc with our schools. The public schools have, in fact, been closed in many localities.

We recognize full well that education is essentially a state function. But, as has been stated by numerous conventions of the A. F. of L., if and when the state and local resources are so inadequate as to make impossible the maintenance of the public schools in any community, the federal government should during such an emergency render aid to the states, to assure to every child adequate schools and schooling.

During an emergency such as this, we must use extraordinary methods. The Federal Government must act in the school crises as it would in any other crises; render adequate emergency aid.

Unless adequate emergency aid is rendered immediately, millions of children will be denied an opportunity to a free public school education; thousands of schools must be closed.

We can not stop at this time and debate whether a more equitable system of taxation will in the future sufficiently augment the resources of the states and their political subdivisions as to enable them to maintain a school system without federal aid. A study to determine our permanent policy on this question must be undertaken and this committee recommends that the permanent Committee on Education of the A. F. of L. be asked to undertake this study at the earliest possible moment. We recognize that an attack on our schools is an attack on the most fundamental American institution; that those who would destroy or in any way hamper the usefulness of the schools would destroy American democracy itself.

We recognize that the depletion of State revenues makes it impossible for States to maintain their schools. Then, too, the high refinancing rate on State and municipal commercial paper increases a State's difficulty. This cost of debt service in some States is so high as to use 44% of the total funds appropriated for educational purposes. And the worst feature of this is that this cost is continually rising, for the interest accumulated one year demands more funds for interest the next.

To assure a rapid control of educational funds by the States which appropriated them, money must be made available to those States at a low interest rate.

We have at previous conventions declared that this emergency aid should be given in any or all of the following forms:

1. Direct grants to the States of funds to enable them to keep open their schools; such funds to be administered by the States in accordance with State law provided that the fundamental principle of equitable opportunity for all persons be observed in the administration of these funds.

2. Loans to educational institutions at a low rate of interest to enable them to maintain themselves at a high degree of efficiency so as to render the best possible public service.

3. Refinancing State and municipal commercial paper at a low rate of interest so as to prevent further curtailment of educational work.

4. Continued appropriations from the Work Relief Funds for the emergency education program in Workers' Education Nursery School Forums.

With the improvement in general economic conditions we insist that such inequalities be righted and that a tax base be found which will assure the continuity of our educational services against such inequalities in the future.

The necessity for such educational reorganization is the more necessary as the clear trend in America is toward a greater emphasis upon the public school system for the education of the democracy. The plan for a nation-wide system of public forums as outlined by Commissioner Studebaker before this Convention and as endorsed two years ago by this Federation, but waits on an up-turn in business and an informed public demand.

In his inspiring address to the convention, Commissioner Studebaker, speaking of the Forum as a medium of public education, said: "So I think the time has come when we must extend organized, systematic, competently managed civic education into adult life. . . . We must discuss our problems and share our experiences if we are to improve our democracy."

Your committee is in hearty accord with this idea presented by the Commissioner of Education and bespeaks for it your active support.

The schools of our nation must afford every child an opportunity for adequate schooling. Children must be kept in schools and out of the factories. We commend the plan of the National Youth Administration to devote itself solely to planning for the welfare of youth and its opposition to the exploitation of children.

Your committee would refer the Convention to the clear definition of educational

problems and issue as set forth a year ago in the Executive Council's report; it remains as the considered goal of labor's educational effort.

FEDERAL FUNDS USED TO PREVENT LABOR ORGANIZATION OF VOCATIONAL TEACHERS

In reaffirmation, the committee wishes to again point out that it is indeed to be regretted that the U. S. Government, while urging labor organization for private industry, permits its own funds appropriated for education to be used to prevent organization.

We urge that legislation be secured that will provide that moneys appropriated by the Federal Government for vocational education, or any other educational work allocated to any state or territory to pay salaries of teachers, supervisors or directors, be not paid to any state or any political subdivision thereof which denies to its employees the right to join any organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

We therefore urge the adoption of the recommendation of the Executive Council to this convention. The only certainty that labor has that its point of view will be given due consideration in educational planning is to participate in the formulation of such plans. We urge such a program built upon the solid support of a permanent Committee on Education in each Central Labor Union.

Among these educational emergency relief projects your committee commends most favorably the promotion of Nursery Schools. Labor in each community should make sure that their community has its full share of funds for this purpose to afford the young children the rich opportunity for early development which this program assures.

When emergency aid was desperately needed for our schools, when millions of children were being threatened with a denial of their right to a free public school education, Senator Bronson Cutting offered an amendment on the floor of the Senate to the Relief Bill asking that forty million dollars be set aside immediately to keep open the schools of our nation for our children, and the Senate adopted the Cutting Amendment.

Your committee wishes to pause in this report to pay a tribute to the man who was big enough to think of the little children. Senator Bronson Cutting, a champion of human rights, who devoted his great natural endowments and his personal fortune to enriching the lives of others. When he ran for the Senate, he had Labor's active and devoted support. He was elected to office by the people whom he always so splendidly served.

His last great act was to secure aid for the nation's children.

This committee asks that the convention rise and stand in a moment's silent tribute to labor's departed friend, to a great natural leader, the late Senator Bronson Cutting.

May labor's fight for the rights of children ever find champions like Senator Cutting.

As the Executive Council's report pointed out, the greatest responsibility for the maintenance of our school system must remain ever with the state and local authorities.

To assure the proper assumption of such responsibility the Executive Council has urged labor's active participation in the educational program of each community.

The Council has specifically urged the appointment of a standing trade union committee on education in every community—labor representation on boards of education and the directorates of public libraries.

Your committee concurs most heartily in the recommendation of the Executive Council and urges that state and local committees should report to the standing committee on education during the year of the work of these trade union Education Committees in the several communities.

The Executive Council's report further states that "reports on problems and work and current information could be cleared through the American Federation of Labor offices." Your committee particularly welcomes this recommendation and urges State Federations and City Central Bodies to clear through the A. F. of L. on educational problems.

It would suggest in this connection that a study on "who selects our textbooks," made a number of years ago by the

Standing Committee on Education, be brought up to date. This study, it will be remembered, presented data whether school textbooks are free, the process of selecting a particular text, the amount of space given in the text of history books to the American Labor movement.

Our fight to safeguard our schools must continue. Labor gave the nation its free public school system, and labor here rededicates itself to promote and safeguard this great national treasure.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Inasmuch as you have adopted the recommendation of the committee which recommends that the delegates and officers in attendance at the convention rise and stand a moment, while we pay a tribute of respect to the late Senator Bronson Cutting, who fought so zealously for the public school system, I ask you now to rise and stand for just a moment.

The delegates and visitors complied with the request, and stood in silence for a brief period.

Secretary Milliman continued his report as follows:

FEDERAL EMERGENCY WORKERS' EDUCATION

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 147, the committee reported as follows:

The Committee is in hearty accord with the report and recommendations of the Executive Council.

The emergency educational program has now been in existence for a period of two years. More than twenty-five millions of dollars have already been expended in this effort to provide relief for necessitous teachers. Of this amount it is reported that over a million dollars of federal money has already been expended in the field of Workers' education. Upwards of \$100,000 of private funds have been appropriated also to assist the government in its program. On the average, approximately 30,000 unemployed teachers have been employed this last year. In the field of workers' education alone, more than 5,000 teachers have been provided with employment during the past two years.

What has been the net result of this emergency educational project? Two years is too short a time to make a final appraisal of such a program; it is not too short to assess certain results and note certain trends.

In accomplishment, candor compels the conclusion that the results have been something less than notable. In the first place setting up a vast educational program under a relief authority has been a cardinal blunder; relief rather than educational standards has seriously impaired both the methods employed and the ends pursued. The division of responsibilities in local communities as between relief and educational authorities has proved unsound administration: school officials have been invited to sponsor programs for which they have had no final authorities. The result has been inefficiency and inaction. This dualism has furthermore resulted in some local authorities refusing any co-operation with the program.

In the second place, the changes and modifications of relief aims, the shifts in administrative control, have further impaired any long time gains from the program. Continuity of policy, and security of tenure are of the first importance for effective educational work; they have been noticeably lacking in the Emergency program. As a result teachers and supervisors have not known from week to week, and month to month how long the program was to be continued; what commitments were possible and what programs to initiate. This uncertainty and insecurity have characterized the whole effort.

In the third place the expenses involved, judged by the results, have been high. Public education is a public service; it represents an important cost of government. The Emergency program, because of the lack of clarity as to objective and shifts in method, and, primarily, its failure to localize responsibility in the educational authorities, has not conserved the funds placed in its control.

These general conclusions have a special application to the field of workers' education. For an activity which by its history and nature is so intertwined with the labor movement, the Emergency Program has developed no comprehensive plan which has been consistently pursued. While at times there has been a gesture at co-operation with the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor, it has not been a permanent part of procedure. As a result supervisors have been appointed with little or no consultation with the officials of State Federations of Labor; they have functioned with even less active collaboration.

The program set up to train teachers for the work have been well conceived. If their accomplishments have been slight it has been due to the lack of decision as to the future of the program and the difficulty of recruiting suitable unemployed teachers for the work. Less than half of the teachers so recruited have proved to possess the qualifications for such a workers' education program. Thus while the quantity of work done has been expanded, the quality has been deficient.

The exception to this general conclusion with reference to workers' education is the integration of the Emergency Educational Program into an active Workers' Educational Program carried forward under the auspices of labor with the established educational institutions. Perhaps the most notable example of such work is on the Pacific Coast where a co-operation plan of workers' education has been worked out systematically over the past ten years between the State Universities and the State Federations of Labor.

The conclusion for Labor is similar to that with other phases of the Recovery Program. Where there is an effective workers' organization there the gains have been substantial; without both the results have been meager.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 148, the committee reports as follows:

The Committee agrees with the Executive Council.

The year 1934-35 has been one of greatly enlarged educational service for the Workers' Education Bureau. In the first place there has been the insistent demand for assistance to new unions in training leaders for the responsible task of conducting union meetings, in interpreting trade union philosophy, and in formulating economic data for wage conferences. Such stability as many of these new unions have developed can be traced di-

rectly to the work of the representatives of the Bureau. For many of the older organizations and their leaders there has also been the necessity for understanding the new duties of labor under the new laws. With the passage of the new social and labor legislation in the 74th Congress the Bureau set up a series of Labor Institutes in various parts of the country which have been of indispensable value in giving to the leaders of our movement the requisite knowledge of those laws and the obligations which devolve upon labor.

Your Committee commends the Bureau for this signal service to the movement. No educational agency could perform such a functional service for labor unless it were under the control of labor. No Workers' Educational agency could have met the challenge of this new situation as effectively as did the Bureau with its years of organic connection with the Federation.

In the second place, the Bureau in response to the request of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration carried forward for the second successive year a service of guidance to labor and educational authorities in connection with the program. Three Regional Directors, two assistant Directors in addition to the National Director, kept in close touch with the personnel selected, took part in many of the teacher training centers, and helped in securing worker groups eager to utilize the services of such trained teachers. For this Special Emergency Service, the Bureau received a grant from the Workers' Educational Bureau; it has been expended for that purpose. Because of the long experience in this year the Bureau was able to render a maximum of service to the Emergency Program. Such values as this program may salvage out of the emergency will owe not a little to the Bureau's efforts.

Your Committee recommends the endorsement by this Convention of the Bureau's policy in connection with the Emergency Program.

In the third place the Bureau developed during the year a special educational program for the workers engaged in the automobile industry. To facilitate this project an office was opened in Detroit, and Dr. Paul L. Vogt was detailed in charge of the program. Institutes, forums, conferences, study classes, and train-

ing courses have all been started. An important addition has been made to the literature for these new members. With the creation of a new international organization of automobile workers a provision has been made for the establishment of a division of education and research to carry on the work begun by the Bureau.

Your Committee desires to commend most highly this constructive service by the Bureau in helping to lay the foundation of such a permanent organization as is this great industry.

In the fourth place the Bureau, in conformity with its declared purpose, began during the past year a series of conferences on collective bargaining, among the organizers and business representatives of the trade unions in preparation of a case book on collective bargaining. Such were held at Chicago, Boston, New York, Detroit and San Francisco. The material thus gathered is being brought together by Dr. Carroll and Dr. Stone with the co-operation of the University of Chicago. When completed it should be of invaluable assistance to labor.

Your Committee commends the Bureau for its visions of service to the movement and urges the continuance of this activity.

In the fifth place, the Bureau has set up in co-operation with the San Francisco School of Social Studies and under the general direction of its Pacific Coast Director, a special study of teaching methods in workers' education in the San Francisco Bay district. Four groups have been selected for the development of methods. While the experimentation is not completed, the results thus far suggest some important additions to our industry of this problem.

Your Committee commends the Bureau on this concrete and useful service.

In the sixth place, the Bureau has just completed arrangements with the Columbia Broadcasting System and the National Advisory Council on the Radio in Education for a new series of Broadcasts on Labor Problems, over a nation-wide network, commencing on Friday, October 18, at 6:45 P. M., Eastern Standard Time, and continuing for nine successive Friday nights.

Your Committee cannot commend too highly the Bureau for this notable educational service

for labor. The results of the two previous series were of the highest order, not only to labor but for the education of the public. We have no doubt that this series will be of equal value. Your Committee urges every national and international union to give the widest publicity to this series through the pages of its official journals; we urge the help of the labor press and all local organizations of labor so that these educational addresses may reach the widest possible audience.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair will now interrupt the report of the committee so that I may be privileged to present to you our distinguished speaker who is here to address you. You will recall that I advised you this morning that Senator Holt, of West Virginia, would appear here this afternoon, prepared to visit with us and address the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention.

I know we all appreciate more than words can express the visit of this distinguished United States Senator. Our appreciation is based upon one fact, and that is that we learned early, while he served as a member of the General Assembly of West Virginia, that he entertained a most broad, comprehensive understanding and sympathetic point of view regarding labor's problems and labor's policies. We found early that he was in accord with the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor in its policies. The organized workers of West Virginia rallied to his support when he was a candidate for election to the United States Senate, and in spite of the opposition of the powerful interests in West Virginia, he won and the masses of West Virginia won a very decided victory.

But we appreciate his presence here for another reason. We hold him in high regard for his ability, his courage, his vision, his point of view. On the floor of the United States Senate he has been a champion of the masses of the people. Enough said—I present to you the distinguished Senator from West Virginia, the Honorable Rush D. Holt.

HONORABLE RUSH D. HOLT (United States Senator, West Virginia)

Mr. Green and those in attendance at the American Federation of Labor Convention: I have attended a number of conventions in the last nine months, since going to Washington, but I want to say that I really enjoy being here at this convention more than any other convention that I have attended, because I believe in organized labor. All my short life, and it is very short, because most of you know my age is only thirty, I have seen many politicians who love organized labor just before they are elected and forget them soon after the election.

I am proud to say that in the four years I served as a member of the West Virginia legislature I had a 100 per cent labor record. I never missed a roll call nor did I ever vote against union labor. And may I say in anticipation that when I finish my six years in the United States Senate you will find that I have a 100 per cent labor record there, too.

I come from a state where a few years ago it was not very good policy to be connected with the labor movement if you were in politics, because we felt the effect of those who were out to destroy organized labor. In the coal fields of West Virginia as well as in the factories and other places where men are employed we could see the people getting the benefit of protection at the hands of those elected, no matter what party it might be, who would beat down organized labor.

But West Virginia has seen a new light and West Virginia believes in organized labor more today than it has ever believed in it before, and it is going to continue along that pathway.

Down in the coal fields of southern West Virginia we have seen coal miners forced to work ten, twelve, fourteen hours a day and receiving \$1.50 and \$2.00 a day for doing it. Today those same men are working seven hours a day and receiving \$5.10. That has not hurt the coal operators, because the coal operators of southern West Virginia are better off today than they have ever been at any time in their history, outside of the World War. In other words, when you give the benefit to organized labor, every one reaps that benefit.

You must restore the purchasing power to the laboring man if you want to restore prosperity to this country. Prosperity comes when labor is employed, whether it be in the mill, mine, or factory, or on the farm. It is the American farmer and the American laboring man who spends the money, it is not these coupon clippers who spend the money and bring prosperity. It is the people who spend, and the American working man must spend, because he must live. As I have said in other speeches,

and I want to repeat it here, the American working man will buy more meat in a day than these coupon clippers will buy in a week, and the American working man will wear out more clothes, except the seat of his pants, in a day than they will in a month.

If you want the mills to sell the products of industry, put the American laboring men to work and they will sell those products. These false profiteers and shortsighted industrialists do not realize that you cannot have dividends if the American people cannot buy their products, and when ten or fifteen million American working men are walking the streets, begging for employment, how can you expect to have prosperity? We must put them to work, and they must be put to work at a wage on which they can live. This idea of starvation wages is a relic of the dark ages and must go in this country. We must give people a living wage, not a wage of \$50.00 and \$60.00 a month, but a wage that they can spend in order to continue to live in this country.

It has been said that I was elected by the labor movement. I say that, too, and I am proud of it. There is no industrial boss, there is no yellow dog coal operator in West Virginia who can tell me what to do when I vote there. Those men have issued yellow dog injunctions against the poor miners of our state for years and years. They have issued the same kind of yellow dog injunctions to those that they send to Congress and to the legislature, but the day of the yellow dog injunction on miners and politicians is past. We are on the road to a brighter day, for a brighter new deal for those who labor in our state. Not only that, but those people have fought and fought bitterly against so-called labor running our country. We have tried these "old dealers" and we have seen the effect. We have seen fifteen million people walking the streets, we have seen the banks close, we have seen the constables tacking notices on the doors of the merchants back in the good old days of the old deal.

They say go back—go back to what? Go back to that idea of Hooverism, the worst economic plight this country has had? And I do not say that in any partisan reflection, I say it only to represent an economic theory that is out of the way and outcast and should be destroyed in this country.

When I say that I point to my own state. I have seen industrial workers declare their freedom from that economic servitude that is past, but, my friends, West Virginia is not going to stand for industrial barons and their yellow dog injunctions from now on. We are going forward.

It has been said that I was elected by labor. I am proud to say that President Green and the American Federation of Labor did endorse me, I am also proud to say that the entire labor movement, particularly the United Mine Workers of America, got behind me and put me in the United States Senate. I am not a bit ashamed of my sponsors either, and I hope that when I have finished my six years in the United States Senate, my record will be such that those who did support me will continue to be my friends.

I have sat and listened to these industrialists talk about the danger of labor controlling the Government. If one must choose between the industrialists controlling the Government and labor controlling the Government, I will take my side with labor.

I noticed the other day that fifty-eight lawyers had decided that the labor bills recently passed by the last session of Congress were unconstitutional. You know what Thomas Jefferson said about the lawyers. He said this country was settled by laborers, not by lawyers. Anyway, whenever you get fifty-eight lawyers to agree on anything you had better be careful of them. These great constitutional lawyers are the same people who said it was unconstitutional to feed people, to keep them from starving to death in this country. My friends, they have forgotten the Constitution for forty years, and now they are awakening because they say we must go back to the Constitution.

I say the interpretation of the American Constitution should be such that the American people can live, and that is what the American Constitution was framed for by the founders of this country.

These Constitutionalists, these Liberty Leaguers, we are not afraid of them because we know they are on the way out, and they are on the way out fast. But, my friends, they are making quite a little bit of noise. A whole lot of those jurists have been mentally dead for twenty years and do not know it. They may be alive and still walking and still holding their place upon the bench in America, but the head up here has been dead long before the economic theory of the past was dead.

But today I say it has been changed, and we are not fearful that we are trying to cause reaction. You know these Tories, these mossbacks are dead, the American people are awake, and they are awake to the principle of the American laboring man having a right to bargain collectively and go down the line for collective bargaining. I have always believed in collective bargaining, because I have seen these so-called Liberty Leaguers meet at the hotels and determine their course of action. That is within the Constitution, but when the people who toil in America get together and band themselves for the common good, then the Constitution is in danger in this country.

I am not afraid of the American Constitution in the hands of the American Federation of Labor and the laboring men of this country. They think more of the Constitution than the Liberty League ever thought of it. They think about the people, and the American people are not afraid of the American labor movement and the destruction of the Constitution.

Oh, yes, let us go back to the good old days in West Virginia when men who believed in collective bargaining were met by Baldwin-Feh thugs and beaten over the head and told to go back and mind their own business. Whenever a man came in to organize the labor movement in our state in certain sections, he was met at the train and asked what his business was, and if they thought his business was at all dangerous they said, "The next train is leaving in a few minutes," and if he did not leave on the next train he was on the way out by some other means and some other method. Maybe that is going back to the Constitution that they talk about. They say we have taken the liberty away from the people. What liberty have the American people lost in recent years since the forward movement of organized labor has come? The Liberty League wants you to get back the liberty to starve to death. But we are not going backwards, we are going forward toward a better and a bigger day for organized labor, and for all the crafts and all the unions. I have dealt with them and I have to say that in four years in the legislature of West Virginia and in my short time in the United States Senate, I have never had an unfair demand or an unfair move made by those who sponsored your movement in Washington and in Charleston, West Virginia. But I have been asked, and I have seen these so-called lobbyists for the industrialists manipulated.

In the past, Congress used to be just like a puppet show. Those men in Congress were puppets and they danced and sung and talked just like they were real, just like they were human beings, but back behind the scenes we saw some one pulling the strings and we saw those behind the screen making the puppets in the national legislative body sing, dance and talk. That day has also gone, and in the place of this puppet business we have substituted the idea of being courageous. I admire a man who is courageous enough to fight for what he believes. If he can't fight with me I want him to fight against me. These politicians wait to see what is happening before they decide which side of the fence to go on. I have taken my side—I have taken it with labor and I intend to go down the line with it. If I must go down to defeat I will go down because I believe in the idea that the men who toil in this country should be represented in the national legislative bodies of our country. We talk about labor and the dangers of labor. We have

tried the "old dealers," the mossbacks, the Tories, the coupon clippers, and they gave us fifteen million unemployed, thousands of closed banks, hundreds of destroyed merchants, and the worst depression this country has ever had, and we are not going back, we are going forward toward a better day. If I live my span of life, which means forty years more, I will continue to battle for the men who toil in the mills, mines and factories of this country.

I thank you very much.

(The address of the Senator was enthusiastically applauded.)

President Green: I ask Senator Holt to accept this response which you have made to his address as an expression of your very deep appreciation of his visit with us and of the sentiments which he uttered. It is indeed refreshing to hear a member of the great United States Senate come before a gathering of representatives of working men and women, numbering more than five million, and speak in our language, express our hopes and aspirations, and encourage us by his declarations. That is indeed a most refreshing experience. I wish there were about 60 more Senators like Senator Holt in the United States Senate. But one man with courage and foresight, sympathy and vision, a real champion of labor, can do much for the workers of the nation. We are proud he is there. We appreciate his visit this afternoon, and in behalf of the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention, I thank him sincerely for his visit and for his address.

We will now continue the report of the Committee on Education.

Secretary Millman continued the report as follows:

ENLARGED SUPPORT FOR THE WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 149, the committee reported as follows:

The Bureau has received during the past year, in addition to the funds from the trade unions, two emergency grants, one from the Carnegie Corporation, of New York, for the conduct of a part of its program, and one from the General Education Board for the specific purpose of aiding the Emergency Educational Program. Both grants were made to the Bureau without condition

and in its recognition of the national service rendered by this agency for the education of wage earners. These grants are emergency in character and will cease when the emergency for which they were appropriated is at an end.

Your committee commends the Bureau for its action in securing such assistance to carry forward its work without impairing the integrity of its own educational program for labor.

The action taken by the Executive Council in increasing the annual grant from the American Federation of Labor from \$200.00 to \$5,000.00 a year is most commendable and this committee is highly appreciative of this most significant and fitting recognition of the services of the Bureau to the Labor movement. A program of education for labor should be supported by labor. Labor education is an investment that pays a substantial interest to the movement. But what is more, labor cannot hope to cope with its future problems without an educational program adequately financed and widely used for labor.

The question of the education of new leaders for their duties, the need of regional conferences for organizers to keep abreast with new legislative developments, the training of labor men for the new administrative posts in connection with the Social Security Bill, and the Trades Disputes Act, to mention but two, make such a training program indispensable.

Your Committee, in reminding this convention of the historic action taken on Workers' Education at Atlantic City in 1919, recommends concurrence in the conclusion of the Executive Council report which urges the international unions not only to continue but also to increase their contribution to the Workers' Education Bureau. Nine years ago the Detroit Convention adopted a proposal for a per capita support of one per cent per member per annum with a minimum of \$25.00 and a maximum of \$1,000.00. We recommend that this basis of financial support be continued, but the maximum contribution be stricken out and* that the contribution to the Bureau be based upon membership rather than an arbitrary figure.

And we urge all state federations and central bodies to undertake active affiliation

with the Bureau so that this great arm of labor can adequately be supported by labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ADDRESS OF THE DIRECTOR, SPENCER MILLER, JR.

For twelve years the director of the Workers' Education Bureau has addressed the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor upon invitation of the President. Each year these addresses have not only been most informative reports of the work of the Bureau, but also have been characterized by a clear breadth of vision and a statement of educational ideals that have been of genuine significance. They have set a standard for future educational addresses.

This year Director Miller has set a new standard of performance. In the opinion of your committee, his address stands out as the most comprehensive picture of the world crisis that has been given before this or any other American forum in recent months. We congratulate him on his brilliant address and we recommend that this address be published in pamphlet form and made available to the trade union movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 142, the committee reported as follows:

For Labor the problem of the Child Labor Amendment is unfinished business! With the passing of the National Industrial Recovery Act the need of a national child labor law becomes imperative. Furthermore, the social evils of child labor, recognized many decades ago, are accentuated at present because the employment of children decreases the employment opportunities of adults. The employment of any one child injures not only the child, whose physical and mental growth is thwarted by too early employment; but the child whose parent loses his job to another child is also injured.

Then, too, a national law is needed to protect the best interests of the states with advanced social legislation which must compete industrially with those states which

have no such legislative standards. States having excellent child labor laws are seriously handicapped in being forced to compete with states which have not made adequate provision for the welfare of their children.

The proposed Child Labor Amendment will give Congress the right to decide at what age children shall be employed. It does no more! It does not give Congress any control over family life or the home life of the child. It simply grants to Congress power which the states now have and exercise.

The Child Labor Amendment is still before the states. Upon Labor must rest the chief burden of its promotion. In season and out Labor has been the chief sponsor of this charter for the children of America. It must answer the misrepresentation of fact of such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and other employing and reactionary groups. This and other groups have falsely represented the Child Labor Amendment as a means whereby the government may step into a home and alter a child's family life. We denounce such a campaign to defeat a child's right to protection under the law.

During the last year four states, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho and Indiana, ratified the amendment. Twenty-four states have to date ratified the amendment, twelve more are needed.

Your Committee is in hearty accord with the recommendation of the Executive Council: That all candidates for state legislatures in states which have not as yet ratified, be asked to declare themselves for or against the amendment; that those who support labor's position should have labor's active support; those who oppose the Child Labor Amendment should be defeated.

We urge further that the commitments of the candidates be published as soon as obtained, in the state local papers in their respective communities, and that in every other way publicity be given to the announced position of candidates that all trade unionists may be informed who are their friends on the ballot.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in the recommendations of the Executive Council's report. We call upon all trade

unionists to devote themselves with renewed zeal to the great task of freeing the children of America from industrial slavery, and call special attention to the last paragraph of the Executive Council's report on this subject. It reads:

"Uniformity in Child Labor legislation can be secured through an Act of Congress after ratification of the Child Labor Amendment by the required number of states. Our primary purpose is to secure the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment. The Executive Council, therefore, warns state federations of labor to exercise the highest degree of care in approving compacts containing provisions governing child labor."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: This is an opportune time to call attention to a very important group of employers who continue to exert all of their influence to defeat the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution. I refer to the American Newspaper Publishers' Association.

It is the policy of this organization to use every newspaper published by members of this association to mislead the people in regard to the objects of this amendment and to bolster up that miserable, unrepentant but nevertheless unctuous and hypocritical section of employers in this country who are always prepared to tell the world that they and not the labor unions are the true friends of the children.

The major part of their most recent propaganda was directed to the parents of the children and the story circulated that should this amendment be adopted, no child could bring in a few sticks for the family stove or a pail of water from the pump for the use of the household without incurring charges under Federal Law.

That may seem somewhat ridiculous to the delegates of this convention, but that was stated in all seriousness in scores and scores of the daily papers of these United States, and apparently was believed 100 per cent by some of the people who served in the legislatures of the different states.

This association has filled the editorial columns in this country with loud protestations that the freedom of the press was in danger, but is not prepared to join with

the friends of little children in giving them a charter of freedom because the great business of publishing a newspaper appears to need the contribution of child life and labor in its scheme of profit-making. There is a wide gulf between their attitude on the freedom of the press and their attitude on the freedom of children from toll. With a crown of sanctity and a robe of virtue they claim special consideration not given to commercial employers in other industries, while at the other extreme they act as the Simon Legrees of modern child slavery.

That attempts are made here and there to gild the chains of the newsboys does not conceal for one moment that they are not primarily interested in child welfare, except insofar as child labor can be made a part of their profit-making system.

This hypocrisy is not 100 per cent prevalent. To the credit of a small section of publishers there are on record refusals to participate in such a program. The New York World Telegram and New York News are among these.

Another such instance comes from St. Louis, and I desire to quote from an editorial in the St. Louis Star-Times which, in concrete form, presents useful information on this aspect of the opposition to the child labor amendment.

You will remember that during the period of NRA and the adoption of codes there was such a thing as the Newspaper Code, and when President Roosevelt signed that newspaper code he declared his entire dissatisfaction with the child labor sections of it and he asked the publishers of the country to make a study of these sections dealing with the sale and delivery of papers.

This paper, published in St. Louis, makes this statement:

"The amendments to the code permit boys between the ages of twelve and fourteen to sell papers in cities of less than 50,000, and to deliver them in all cities. Boys ten years old, now engaged in delivery of papers in cities of less than 50,000, may continue to do so, but no more may be hired below the age of twelve."

The St. Louis paper says further in its editorial:

"However, when the right is demanded to work boys from ten to fourteen years old

during three-hour periods which range from five in the morning to eight at night, it is obvious that the demand is made for economic reasons which will not stand scrutiny. The newspapers are asking for themselves what they would be the first to condemn in any other line of business activity."

Then they deny responsibility on another ground. They say that those little fellows are "little merchants," they buy the newspapers from the newspaper publishing company and then re-sell them as "little merchants" on the street. This paper then goes on to say:

"Legally it is true that the newsboys are not employees. But when the term 'little merchants' is applied to children twelve years old, that is enough to stamp the phrase with the approbrium it merits, as a device for sidestepping the moral responsibility of dealing with problems created by the use of children in industry."

I have been disgusted, and I think every one of us who has given attention to that particular propaganda on the part of the newspapers must have been disgusted with the hypocrisy which has been shown. We have heard publishers of high degree in this country traveling around preaching and prating about the freedom of the press, just as though there ever had been such a thing in this country as the freedom of the press—freedom only to express those things which certain people in the community had money enough to own newspapers desired to have expressed. But when it comes to the children, they want to hang on to that miserable percentage which the children are able to contribute to their profits and which they refuse to give up, and they proceed immediately by this propaganda to blind the people of the United States and to tell them that this thing is not at all needed, that parents will never in the future have control of their children, they will not be able to seek wood and water, they will not be able to feed the chickens, they will not be able to gather the eggs from the hen roosts and they will not be able to do anything in connection with the home.

That is the kind of thing you are asked to believe, and I believe this is the opportune time in this convention of the American Federation of Labor to ask you to

denounce such an organization as the American Newspaper Publishers' Association in propaganda of that kind. They ought to be ashamed of it.

I can picture men like Colonel McCormick, of the Chicago Tribune, and others, when they sit down quietly at home and read over some of the stuff they have caused to be written on that subject, and I wonder if they can hear behind them that message, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me."

I am glad that this organization has taken the stand it has, and I hope every one of its agencies will redouble their efforts in the future to secure the necessary additions to the number of states required to ratify this proposition.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: In connection with the remarks of the last speaker I think there are groups other than the ones he mentions whose opposition to the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment is far more important. In that connection I have filed a resolution, No. 173, in the second day's proceedings, which I hope to discuss when it is reported upon by the Committee on Resolutions.

However, the developments of the past few days make it somewhat necessary to comment on the report of the Executive Council because from releases which I have here in the Boston Press, there is a meeting of nineteen states to be held in the city of Albany, New York, on the 18th and 19th of this month, which is Friday and Saturday of this week. I want to quote two paragraphs from that release:

"At the meeting in Albany, the Massachusetts delegation and probably the delegates from New York will probably try to enlist the support of the delegates from nineteen other states in the compact movement. The commission agreed yesterday to sign the compact to be presented at the Albany meeting, calling for interstate legislation on child labor."

Mr. Chairman, I would like to impress the delegates with the importance of this meeting and the attempt which is going to be made to ratify the so-called child labor compact, so that the delegates won't misunderstand this interstate compact business. They need not have any great in-

terest in it. It is not going to affect any delegate present. Neither will it affect any of their sons or daughters. They are lucky if it affects their grandfathers and their grandmothers, because here is how it works out. First of all those nineteen states get together. Then anything they agree upon must be sent back to their respective legislatures for approval. Then in turn the United States Congress must ratify whatever action they take.

I am making this prediction now, that unless the President of the American Federation of Labor today—and this is the opportune time—emphasizes in no uncertain manner that the American Federation of Labor is bitterly opposed to any child labor compact other than the ratification of the amendment itself, if this compact is signed you will never get ratification in these twelve states, because, every employer, every religious group who are opposing the ratification of the amendment will go back into the states such as the one I represent and say to our people, "You don't need the ratification of the amendment any more. We have agreed upon a child labor compact."

I hope I am not being too audacious in simply saying that now is the time—the meeting is on the 18th and 19th, and nineteen sovereign states are participating. The delegation from our state is already pledged to sign this compact. Let us go out and tell the group meeting in Albany now that we are opposed to it, because if you are going to free the children of America from the curse of child labor, you are never going to do it in this way. This is going to be the run-around. This is going to defeat the child labor amendment. So I hope, Mr. Chairman, that we will do that now.

You are only going to comply with what is contained in the Executive Council's report on pages 143 and 144, and we should tell the group in Albany that we do not want the child labor compact, we want the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.

Delegate Peterson, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: As a member of the legislature of the State of Utah, which in its last session ratified the Child Labor Amendment by a margin of one small vote, don't think that the only people you have to

oppose are the newspapers. We receive our opposition from the farm group in our state, because the newspapers helped with the propaganda. Several religious organizations also helped to spread the propaganda among the farmers of the state that they were going into the homes and tell them what their children might do.

They told them the children would not be able to carry a bucket of coal or go out and water the cow if the Child Labor Amendment passed. We had a bitter fight, we had to reconsider. We were beaten the first time the matter came to a vote in the House. They reconsidered it the next day and we were successful in passing it by the narrow margin of one vote.

In those states where this amendment has not been ratified I urge you delegates to go back home, contact the farm group and let labor spread some propaganda among the farm group. Do it now, don't wait until the legislature is in session. Let us have within the next few years the Child Labor Amendment ratified. Let us see labor go out and put on a fight, not only among the ranks of labor but among the ranks of the farmers. Let us put on a fight such as we have never put on before.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

CCC CAMPS

A year ago the Executive Council spoke in commendation of the CCC Camps to meet the problem of unemployment among the youth of our country. Said the report: "The purpose back of the camps is excellent. The work done in them is often of great value."

During the past twelve months the educational program projected for these camps has taken form and has begun to function actively. Under the supervision of a national educational director, educational advisors in each of the nine corps areas, and local advisors in each of the fourteen hundred and thirty-two camps, an educational program adapted to the needs and desires of these "enrollees" has been developed. More than fifty-six per cent of the three hundred thousand enrollees participated in the courses of instruction which have forestry to automobile repairing. Visual instruction, tuition by correspondence and the radio, have supple-

mented the class-room work. Then, too, the circulation of over three hundred thousand books each month has served to support this educational endeavor. With the proposed doubling of the number of camps and the increase of the enrollment to six hundred thousand, it is planned to expand the educational program in accordance with the plans already developed.

While it is perhaps too early to pass final judgment on this educational program, the growing disposition to consider these camps as a permanent part of our national life prompts your committee to make the following observations:

1. That these CCC Camps have provided the most notable experiment upon a nation-wide scale for adjusting American youth to the machine age.

2. That the success of these camps rests not only upon their voluntary and democratic character, but also upon the fact that they have been free of any suggestion of militarism.

3. That the wisdom of placing the administration of these camps in the hands of responsible and experienced trade union officials has been amply justified.

4. That in planning for the future of these camps that it is imperative that their objectives be made even more clear as primarily educational — the development of American youth and secondarily, the conservation of our natural resources.

5. That as a permanent part of our educational activity, the responsibility for the development of the educational work should be placed in the United States Office of Education.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that this Convention records its approval of the educational program in the camps and urges a continuance of the camps and the further expansion of their educational service.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR DRAMATICS

The struggle of labor is a drama which is being played upon the stage of every industrial nation in the world! It is concerned with the lives and hopes of countless millions; it is the very stuff of which

great drama is lived as well as acted. The growing use by Labor of the spoken drama to tell Labor's story is not new: it is the recovery of an ancient practice which dates back to Greek civilization and before. But the modern emphasis on its use in response to the widespread need to present Labor's story in action is most commendable.

Your committee wishes to commend those International Unions and Workers' Educational Enterprises under labor auspices which are developing this medium of presenting the aims of labor. We recommend that the Officers of the Workers' Education Bureau in co-operation with the Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor make a study of the development of Labor Dramatics during the next year, and report their findings to the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Inasmuch as the Resolutions Committee was dealing with the subject matter of vocational and apprentice training and several resolutions relating to these subjects were referred to that committee, and upon which hearings had been held, our committee therefore referred the following resolutions to the Resolutions Committee:

Resolution No. 63—Protesting the use of Federal funds for vocational schools in private industrial plants.

Resolution No. 64—Apprentice training—Newport News Ship Building Dry Dock Company, Newport News, Va.

Resolution No. 167—Protesting misuse of vocational training funds by manufacturers.

CONCERNING WORKERS' EDUCATION IN CENTRAL LABOR COUNCILS AND OTHER LABOR ASSEMBLIES

Resolution No. 232—By Delegates Lee Roy Musgrave, Vigo County Central Labor Union, Terre Haute, Ind., S. A. Sweeney, South Bend Central Labor Union and W. A. Matchley, Denver, Colorado, Trades and Labor Assembly.

WHEREAS, The rapid changes taking place in American industry are bringing new problems of adjustment to workers; and

WHEREAS, There is a general lack of understanding of the principles, history and practices of organized labor among union members, as well as non-union members; and

WHEREAS, There is a lack of understanding of the purposes and objectives of workers on the part of the public generally; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Central Labor Councils shall assume leadership in educational promotion in local communities by

1. Appointing educational committees to see that labor is adequately represented in direction of public educational systems;

2. That, so far as possible, Central Labor Councils shall conduct public discussion periods as a part of their regular sessions and that wide publicity of these discussions shall be sought in the public press;

3. That union label league exhibits shall be encouraged;

4. That training institutes and colleges for labor leadership shall be encouraged; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Workers' Education Bureau of America be commended for its work in stimulating educational interest among organized labor groups and we urge central labor councils everywhere to co-operate with the Bureau in developing an adequate program of workers' education.

Your Committee has given consideration to the constructive proposal made by the sponsors of this resolution and joins whole heartily in supporting the four-fold program recommended to the Central Labor Councils. Central Bodies are the focal centers of labor action in our great industrial centers; they are the keystones in the arch of labor. They must be strengthened and made more effective for their task. We believe that the plan proposed will help to achieve that end.

We concur in the commendation of the Bureau as set forth in this resolution.

We recommend to all Central Bodies their affiliation with the Bureau in its forthcoming national program and a greater determination in putting into effective action the purpose of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Milliman: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

GEORGE M. HARRISON,
Chairman,
ELMER E. MILLIMAN,
Secretary,

L. P. LINDELOF,
THOMAS E. BURKE,
WM. R. TROTTER,
L. E. SWARTZ,
JOHN B. HAGGERTY,
WALTER V. PRICE,
LEO E. GEORGE,
ROBERT WATT,
WILLIAM WILSON,
P. T. FAGAN,
OTTO J. KAPL,
R. G. SODERSTROM,
NEIL McLELLAN,
CHARLES HANSON,
JOHN J. DEMPSEY,

Committee on Education.

President Green: The Chair desires to supplement what has been said regarding the proposal to meet and deal with the Child Labor Amendment by state compacts, by making the following statement:

We look with apprehension upon these movements. We are suspicious that it is an intent and purpose on the part of state compacts to sidetrack, if you please, the efforts of labor and of those associated with us in support of the Child Labor Amendment to secure its final ratification and guarantee the adoption and inclusion of the Child Labor Amendment in the Constitution of this nation. For this reason labor is opposed to representatives of our movement taking part in these compacts.

We are embarked on a program that calls for the final ratification of the Child Labor

Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We do not propose to be thwarted in our purpose or to be kept from the realization of this objective. We serve notice on those who are responsible for these state compacts that labor will have nothing to do with them or with any decisions made. We urge upon our representatives of labor to refuse to participate in these compacts, even the one that will be held in Albany, October 18th and 19th. We are going forward with our program to secure favorable action in 12 other states so that the Child Labor Amendment may be a part of the fundamental law of the land.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Dalrymple.

Delegate Dalrymple, Rubber Workers' International Union: I read in the October 10 issue of the Philadelphia Record that a large number of delegates walked out on Mr. Murphy, the National Commander of the American Legion, claiming that the Rubber Workers' delegation was part of those who walked out. That statement is untrue and unfounded. We were present at the beginning of Mr. Murphy's speech and at the ending of his speech, and we appreciated fully everything he said. I would appreciate it if this statement is made part of today's proceedings.

President Green: Your statement will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

No further committees being ready to report, at 5:00 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, October 16.

EIGHTH DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 16, 1935.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

ABSENTEES:

Katz, DeWitt, Rundle, Billet, Eardley, Slich, Rosqvist, Regan, Doane, Wade, David, Wise, Palmer, Hanoway, Osborne, Swetland, Dance, Sigman, Howat, Dallas, Singer, Bradley, Shave, Dahlager, Burke, M. J.; Slout, Myer, Hymes, Weinberg, Flynn, Al.; Nadelhoffer, Bender, Burns, T. F.; Serra, Malkovich, Dougherty, Iglesias, Sticht.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Gillooly, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of Adolph Hirschberg as delegate from the Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union to take the place of Frank Burch, who served as alternate delegate in the absence of Delegate Hirschberg.

Upon written request received from the Taxi Chauffeurs' Union No. 19795, New York, N. Y., we recommend the seating of Lee D. Joblon, who was elected as alternate, in place of Delegate B. J. Cannizzaro, who is unable to attend the convention, to represent that organization with 1 vote.

We have examined the credential of Sidney Le Bow, representing the Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union, and recommend that the delegate be seated with 1 vote.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

LEATHER WORKERS' STRIKE ENDED

Secretary Morrison made the following announcement:

President William E. Bryan, of the Leather Workers, asks me to announce that the strike of 1,000 employees at the Wood River (Ill.) plant of the International Shoe Company tannery was terminated yesterday by an agreement by the company to arbitrate the differences. The strike began four months ago because of the company's discrimination against union members. On

Wednesday of last week Gov. Horner intervened and yesterday the company abandoned its position of refusal to discuss the union grievances, agreeing to enter at once into arbitration proceedings. The Wood River plant is the International Shoe Company's largest tannery.

Delegate Patterson, South Carolina State Federation of Labor: On page 441 of yesterday's proceedings on the report of the Executive Council, it appears under the head of "Workmen's Compensation" that there are three states including South Carolina, that have not a compensation law. I want to report that South Carolina now has a workmen's compensation law and I ask that it be changed and that the minutes show that there are only two states that have not workmen's compensation laws.

President Green: I will be very glad to do that, Brother Patterson. As I understand it the legislature of South Carolina enacted a workmen's compensation law following the preparation of the report of the Executive Council, so we are very happy to announce that there are only two states that have thus far refused to enact workmen's compensation legislation. The correction asked for by Delegate Patterson will be made in the proceedings of the convention.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT MR. ROSENBLATT

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of a committee to escort our friend, Mr. Sol Rosenblatt, to the convention hall. He is here in the city in response to our invitation to speak to the delegates and officers in attendance at this convention. I will appoint on that committee Brothers Joseph N. Weber, of the Musicians; President Brown, of the Theatrical Stage Employes, and Delegate Nagler, of the Ladies Garment Workers' International Union.

May the Chair inquire if any of the committees are ready to report.

Vice-President Woll: The Committee on Resolutions will be ready to report in ten minutes.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Delegate Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman and delegates, yesterday when the Committee on Legislation was reporting they reported favorably on Resolution No. 115. After an explanation they say:

"The committee recommends endorsement of the resolution and further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to support the drafting and enactment of state and Federal Legislation which will remedy the situation."

But in the resolves I find language used which should not be used. That is the reason I want to call it to the attention of the convention. In the second resolve it says: "That the United States Department of Labor be instructed to investigate the consequences of unrestricted competition of standards among the states," etc. Are we instructing the United States Department of Labor? What right have we to instruct the United States Department of Labor or any other department of the Government? How would we feel if the United States Department of Labor instructed us to do something? If we did not want to do it we would not like it.

Number 2 in that resolution, to my way of thinking, to be plain and open and above board, should read that the United States Department of Labor be requested to do so and so.

Then Number 3, "that the United States Department of Labor be instructed to set up adequate standards," etc. That also should read that the United States Department of Labor be requested, and I hope the convention will see that these changes are made.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I move that the record be corrected to show that the changes are made as has been suggested by Brother Duffy.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the

chairman and Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice President Woll: Mr. Chairman, speaking in behalf of the Resolutions Committee I desire to state to the convention that there was submitted to this committee approximately 168 resolutions. In addition to that there was submitted approximately 42 sections of the Executive Council's report. Of the 168 resolutions presented, approximately 90 dealt with individual subjects and necessarily will have to be reported upon individually. Of the remaining subjects there were 17 or 18 upon which two or more resolutions were presented in one form or another.

The committee believes that in the interests of expediency and because the one single subject was involved, though perhaps approached in a different direction and though perhaps predicated upon different reasoning, nevertheless they should be reported upon as a whole, so that there will be 17 or 18 subjects wherein several resolutions will deal with the same problem involved.

In reporting upon these resolutions, however, the committee has endeavored to be fair to all introducers and has endeavored to make its report so as to give consideration to each and every resolution within the group. I have been asked to make this statement so that the delegation might well understand the tremendous work that the Committee on Resolutions has had to deal with and the tremendous report involved in presenting the conclusions to this convention.

Might we say that if these resolutions were read in whole even without discussion on the report of the committee, considerable time of the convention would be taken up. We present our report, giving to the convention our best judgment in the time allotted to us to consider the matter referred to us. The secretary will present the report in behalf of the committee.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Frey of the Committee on Resolutions.

RESOLUTIONS NOS. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24,
AND 25 WITHDRAWN

Delegate Frey: It is necessary to inform the convention that one delegate who has introduced six resolutions appeared before the committee and requested that the resolutions be withdrawn. They are Resolutions Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25.

I therefore move that the request of the delegate be granted and the resolutions officially be withdrawn.

Vice President Woll: I second the motion.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Frey: The committee desires first to report upon all of the portions of the Executive Council's report referred to it, except two or three which are held out because they deal with resolutions which have been introduced. In view of the enormous number of resolutions—as the Chairman has said, about 168, some of which occupy almost two pages of the proceedings—it will be the policy of the committee in reporting upon a resolution to give its number and read its resolve unless there is a request by the convention to read the entire resolution. I make that statement in the advantage of the convention and so that we may get through with our work.

The committee now submits its report upon the sections of the Executive Council's report referred to it.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Under the caption "Social Security" and the sub-heads "The Social Security Board"; Title 1, Old Age Assistance; Title 2, Federal Old Age Benefits; Death Benefits; Payments to Aged Persons not Qualified for Benefits; Taxes; Titles 3 and 9, Unemployment Insurance; Title 4, Grants to States for Aid to Dependent Children; Title 5, Grants to States for Maternal and Child Welfare; Title 6, Public Health Works, and Title 10, Grants to States for Aid to the Blind, the Executive Council reports upon the several items contained in the Social Security legislation enacted by the recent session of Congress. As this portion of the Executive Council's report consists of a description of the several features of the Social Security Act it is a matter of information and must be ac-

cepted as one of the most valuable records of most important and far-reaching legislative enactments.

This legislation provides insurance provisions which vitally affect a number of the benefits which have been provided for many years by International Unions, including unemployment and old age pensions. It is evident that if these valuable developments of our trade union movement are to be adequately protected, that amendments to the present National Security Legislation will be required. In the matter of the proportionate share of contributions to be made by labor, by industry, and by the Government, extreme care must be exercised so that the burden of cost will not be placed upon labor.

For these and other reasons, your committee recommends that the Executive Council stand instructed to carefully study those provisions of the legislation which vitally affect the workers' interests, and to introduce such legislation as may be necessary to amend the law so that it will serve the laudable purposes for which it is enacted, and provide for administration which will include adequate representation of labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lawrence, Casket Makers: Regarding the Social Security Act, can we look upon the enactment of the Social Security Law as a victory for labor? This question can be answered by asking ourselves a couple of questions. First, does this law take care of the more than eleven million who are unemployed today? The answer is no. Second, can we consider a law a victory for labor which takes care only of those employed today, who in 1938 may become unemployed and then partly at their own expense and for a short period of time and for a small amount of money, away below the relief that is given today in many of the larger cities?

Why was this law passed? Because the depression of six years has impressed upon the masses of the people in this country that millions of unemployed will remain unemployed for years to come. In the Atlantic City Press the other day the statement was made that the American Federation of Labor

says unemployment increases while industry goes ahead, which means that production increases with less labor. In the face of these facts and the pressure of millions for an unemployment insurance law in this country at the expense of the employer to take care of the eleven million now unemployed and those who will be unemployed in the future for the full period of unemployment without the disgrace of accepting care, it is sidetracking such Federal legislation as is represented by the Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill, which has been introduced into the last two Congresses, that such a measure has been offered as a substitute. But it cannot feed the eleven million unemployed today, and we must recognize that fact and not consider what is written on paper as a victory when it is not.

Vice President Woll: The committee's report on this subject points out that the Social Security legislation is by no means perfect. It calls attention to several dangers involved and the apprehension of certain aspects of that legislation. The Council itself in its report deals with the subject in that light.

Your committee therefore urges the Executive Council, indeed, directs and instructs it to look for the weaknesses within the Social Security legislation, to have introduced the necessary legislation to make it more perfect if not ideal, and thus improve the purposes designed under the bill. I do not understand that the previous delegate objects to that course and I do not see that there is a contrary view expressed to the committee's report.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

RE-EMPLOYMENT

Under this portion of the Executive Council's report there is given a tabulation by International Unions of the number of members working 40 hours or less. In addition there is supplied much information relative to unemployment which points to the necessity for renewed efforts to establish a 30-hour week.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORTED SHORTAGE OF SKILLED WORKERS

During the year the claim was made by a number of employers that there existed a shortage of skilled labor. The Executive Council caused a thorough study to be made and found that instead of a shortage there was a large number of highly skilled workers unemployed. The results of the investigation which is given in this section of the report contains most unfortunately the evidence that instead of a shortage of unskilled labor, the industrial centers contain an army of highly skilled mechanics who are unemployed and many of them on relief.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

Under this section of the Executive Council's report reference is made to the circumstances leading to the creation of a Federal Apprentice Training Committee, and the developments which led to the appointment of a labor representative upon the committee. In addition, reference is made to the establishing of state committees and advisory committees within the several states working under the direction and authority of the Federal Committee, and in addition the periods of apprenticeship and the schedule of processes to be learned.

Your committee welcomes the information given which should materially assist in extending the sound program for apprentice training which is now established.

The committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

This portion of the Executive Council's report presents a record of the development of the National Labor Relations Board; the principles which were adopted for its guidance, the various men who participated in connection with the duties of the board, and the special board that was set up for certain industries. It supplies a most interesting as well as a

most valuable record of the experiences under the National Labor Relations Board. As a historic document it is invaluable.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

THE NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION

In this portion of the Executive Council's report, reference is made under separate headings to features connected with the National Recovery Administration. It is a recital of developments under NRA.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

Under the headings "National Labor Relations Act," "National Security Act," "Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935," "Railroad Retirement Act," "Immigration," "Economy Act," and "Filipinos Exodus," the Executive Council reports upon the success of the American Federation of Labor in securing Federal legislation in the interests of labor.

It is a record of outstanding accomplishment for more legislation of outstanding importance was secured than during any previous session of Congress. It was also a striking tribute to the effectiveness of the non-partisan political policy for outstanding representatives of both political parties gave valuable assistance to the enactment of the legislation.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RELIEF

Under the caption "Relief" the Executive Council devotes fifteen pages to a report upon Federal Relief and various Federal projects established for relief purposes. This section of the report includes numerous tables of statistics and charts, indicating

what has been done by the Government during the year in the field of relief.

This section of the report is a valuable and most comprehensive presentation of data which cannot help but be of utmost importance to all those desiring to inform themselves of the Government's activities in the field of relief.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

Under the caption "National Youth Administration" the Executive Council reports the creation of the National Youth Administration by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and describes the program which is being set into motion for the purpose of beneficial assistance to the youth of the nation.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

STATE COMPACTS

In this portion of its report the Executive Council calls attention to the compacts which have been entered into between states for the purpose of enacting uniform legislation covering the labor of children and other legislation providing for necessary safeguards to labor. The Executive Council in the closing paragraph of its report warns State Federations of Labor to exercise the greatest care in approving compacts between states relative to Child Labor, for uniformity of Child Labor legislation can only be secured through action by Congress after the Child Labor amendment has been ratified.

Your committee is in complete approval with the position taken by the Executive Council, and therefore recommends adoption of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NEED FOR MEDICAL CARE AND ITS COSTS

In this section of the Executive Council's report the Executive Council sets forth the

importance and magnitude of the subject of Medical Care on the part of the wage earners. It is a most illuminating report as to the gravity of the situation presented. The report calls attention to the action of the San Francisco Convention that a study be made of Health Insurance and Medical Services, and the Executive Council recommends that because the American Federation of Labor has neither the finances nor the facilities to carry out these instructions, that the purpose in mind could best be accomplished by urging the Federal Government to study these problems and by participating in such studies.

Your committee concurs in the recommendations submitted as well as in the report on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

(E. C. Report, Page 64)

Under the caption "United States Employment Service," the Executive Council presents a general outline of the scope of both federal and state public employment agencies. The federal service is of great consequence to labor, not only in relation to the placement of workers, but also in connection with the administration of unemployment insurance which, under the Federal Security Act and its provisions for federal aid, is to be paid through public employment agencies in the various states when proper state legislation is enacted. The co-ordinating and standardizing powers and influence of the federal service in relation to the state agencies will enable the Federal Advisory Council of the United States Employment Service to give valuable aid and advice to the various state employment agencies, all of which, as recommended by the Council, should provide for labor representation in connection with their respective activities. Among the membership of the National Council there are now a number of leading trade unionists.

We particularly urge, in accord with the recommendation of the Council, that where now formal education is a prerequisite to eligibility for appointment to positions within the service, that provisions be made whereby, as an alternative, and in the ab-

sence of such formal education, educational experience, as suggested by the Council, as that gained in the field of labor, shall be substituted as a standard of eligibility, to the end that men and women who have had practical experience in the field of labor and labor organizations may be in a position to co-operate fully in the administration of the various federal and state employment services and agencies. We are informed that a report on this subject will shortly be presented to the Advisory Council of the federal service by a committee of that Council which is now giving that matter attention.

The American Federation of Labor and all of its divisions and associated unions will co-operate whole-heartedly with the state and federal agencies in the work of developing a nation-wide public employment service of the highest order.

With these comments, your committee recommends approval of that section of the Council's report to which we have referred.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INTRODUCTION

No comment is necessary in connection with the introductory statement to the Executive Council's report.

Your committee recommends that this portion of the report be adopted.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported upon the following resolutions: 38, 122, 129, 139, 156, 177, 243, 169, all of which relate to the present efforts of the Italian Government to secure its will in Ethiopia through the use of military strength.

The report of the committee is as follows:

ETHIOPIA

Resolutions No. 38, 122, 129, 139, 156, 169, 177, 243, all relate to the present effort of the Italian Government to secure its will in Ethiopia through the use of military strength. The territory of a peaceful nation has been invaded in an effort to carry out a policy of conquest by the Fascist regime and their notorious dictator. Labor is always the major sufferer in every war, this being true of victor and vanquished alike. The civilized nations since the World War

have used their utmost efforts to prevent the adjustment of any international dispute by the arbitrament of war. Our country took the lead in securing the adoption of the Kellogg Pact which abolished the use of force in the adjustment of disputes between the signatory nations. The League of Nations has fostered a series of conferences between nations leading to treaties for the abolition of war. The attack now being made upon Ethiopia is in violation of the Kellogg Pact and of the decisions of the League of Nations. Italy, because of her present acts of aggression against Ethiopia, has been justly convicted of being an outlaw nation. The dictator's determination to secure his objective through the use of armed force was taken with the knowledge that his act might precipitate another general war.

Your committee therefore recommends that this convention express its concurrence with the action of the League of Nations in declaring Italy an outlaw nation which all civilized countries should refuse to assist commercially, financially or in any other manner.

Your committee further recommends that this convention emphatically approve of the policy relative to Italy's attack on Ethiopia which has been announced by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and by Congress.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Harper: This matter of Italy's attack upon Ethiopia and the resolutions and recommendations presented by the committee present to us a peculiar situation. We are heartily in support of the action taken by the President of the United States and by Congress. However, we as members of organized labor, the first to suffer in case of war, should very carefully consider the fact that the position taken by our Government has not been strong enough. We take a position of strict neutrality. We call for a ban upon the shipment of munitions and products of war.

However, we have watched very closely the reports that have gone out through the Department of Commerce and we have seen that persons in the United States who are not interested in keeping us out of war have continued to ship to Italy those

products which may be turned into munitions and products of war. It is not enough to go on record saying we are opposed to war. We as members of organized labor should use our power to stop that war. We cannot sit idly here in the United States and talk about Fascist Italy while it takes the entire civilized world into another war.

Those financial barons that the Senator spoke about yesterday, who, because of a bit of profit, would sacrifice the lives of millions of our young men and our young boys and girls because they want profit, will support Fascist Italy and then expect organized labor to support them in their policies. We must say that there shall be no shipment of any kind to Italy, because anything we ship to that country will assist them in their war on Ethiopia.

We tried once before. We said, "We will not take part in a European war." We elected a President for a second term because he had kept us out of that war, yet inside of a few months we were embroiled in it. We must realize that we are so interlocked, that our financial barons are so interlocked, that they sit around conference tables. We must realize that the only force that can stop a war is the organized force of Labor in America and in Europe together. We must say to our Government, we must say to our Senators, we must say to our President, "The only way to keep us out of war is to ban all shipments to Italy, and we demand that you establish a complete boycott of Italy and apply that sort of sanctions."

We appreciate, and I am sure every member of organized labor appreciates, the efforts of our committee in drawing up a resolution which shows our determination not to take any part in this war. However, we must ask that they go a little farther than that and say there must be no shipments to Italy, because if there are it will draw us into war.

Delegate Ernst, California State Federation of Labor: I would just like to call the attention of the delegates to Resolution No. 177, which is to recognize the Committee for Ethiopian Independence which has been formed in New York City. The purpose of the resolution is to simply closely attach ourselves to an organization which

has among its members some of the best known liberals in the United States who set as their goal working to maintain Ethiopian independence. I realize that it is absolutely impossible, or almost impossible, to deal with each of these resolutions separately and individually, but this particular resolution is very important. I believe in simply stating our position we haven't accomplished enough, we haven't gone on record definitely to do what I believe all organizations desire.

There being such an organization in existence that has this matter at heart, I believe we can at least instruct the Executive Council to get in touch with this committee, to investigate the committee, if you wish, and if we find that we can do so, to attach ourselves to that committee and work with it to maintain the independence of Ethiopia and keep us out of war.

I move as an amendment that the Executive Council be instructed to get in touch with this Committee for Ethiopian Independence, at its address, Presbyterian Building, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, with the object in view of supporting them and aligning ourselves with them if the Executive Council finds that their aims are not incompatible with the aims and objects of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Woll: I rise to speak in opposition to the amendment. The committee considered that part of the resolution in connection with its entire report. Not a word of opposition has been expressed to the committee's report, and I doubt if any one could write a stronger and clearer document on the subject of the conflict now waging between Italy and Ethiopia than has been presented by this committee. It has gone further than the United States Government has or could go on this subject. The report says the American Federation of Labor regards Italy as being an outlaw among the nations of the world. The committee has endorsed every possible and conceivable measure possible by the United States Government to declare, not only its neutrality but also its attitude, without transgressing international relations that would bring us into war.

The amendment now asks the American Federation of Labor, first of all, to align

itself with an independent group within the United States that is working for the independence of Ethiopia. That, of course, can only be construed in one way, and that is to take a partisan point of view in our own councils and our own activities, which would bring our nation into conflict with Italy if not into war. It is the purpose of the people of the United States that we shall not be brought into a European war. The adoption of this amendment would accomplish exactly the opposite of what we desire, and that is peace. Hence I speak for the committee in opposition to the amendment and hope the report will be adopted, because I think it is a clear-cut, definite statement on the situation which I do not think could be strengthened or improved upon.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the amendment offered by Delegate Ernst. I am not sure that those in the back of the hall heard it. It provides that the report of the committee be amended by instructing the committee to co-operate with a committee organized in New York for the purpose of promoting Ethiopian independence.

Delegate Ernst: My amendment was to investigate that committee in New York, and if compatible with the principles of the American Federation of Labor, to co-operate with it.

The amendment was voted upon and lost.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: Your committee had referred to it two resolutions dealing with the organization of youth. The resolutions are as follows:

ORGANIZATION OF YOUTH

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Morris
Fine, Merchandise Service and Delivery
Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The labor movement is witnessing with pride and interest the growing trend among young workers to enter into and build up trade unions, proving themselves to be indispensable to the unified battles which organized labor must wage to win a fit American standard of living; and

WHEREAS, The National Youth Administration, CCC camps, and other measures undertaken by the federal government, pay recognition to the fact that there is a distinct youth problem in industry; and

WHEREAS, The various schemes for the government sponsorship of apprentice training, and hiring of youth on work projects at less than even prevailing wages endanger union standards; and

WHEREAS, Various state federations of labor conventions, as New York, Minnesota, Connecticut, etc., have enthusiastically called for special emphasis and organizational steps on the part of the Federation of Labor in organizing the youth; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Atlantic City from October 7th, issues a call to American youth in industry to join the various locals of the American Federation of Labor, and open up a drive to build unions in so-called "youth" trades; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention urges all international, local and Federal unions to devise special youth forms of activity, such as Labor Sports Leagues, designating special youth committees to encourage and foster organization amongst young people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take a determined stand that there shall be no discrimination against youth demanding equal pay for equal work.

THE ORGANIZATION OF YOUTH

Resolution No. 196—By Delegates Morris Fine, Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers' Union No. 20036, Chicago, Ill.; Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union Local No. 19306, Chicago, Ill.; Frank Marek, Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 19415, Aurora, Ill.; William B. Clark, Cleaners, Pressers and Dyers' Union No. 20001, New Haven, Conn., and Charles H. Schillinger, Radio and Television Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18368, Philadelphia, Pa.

WHEREAS, The Report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the 55th Annual Convention calls for

"every central labor union to plan and initiate not later than December 1st a labor-forward program for the purpose of extending unionism to all the wage-earners of its vicinity. We urge that this be your major activity during the coming winter and that you plan for a sustained undertaking."

WHEREAS, The role of youth in industry has become increasingly important particularly in mass production industries, giving rise to ever-growing trade-union consciousness and orientation on the part of these young Americans, as shown in the growth

and struggles of the Radio, Textile and other A. F. of L. unions.

WHEREAS, There is a distinct youth problem in industry insofar as youth are oftentimes employed at hazardous and arduous occupations which endanger their health prematurely, receiving less wages than adult workers who are employed oftentimes at identical occupations, thus undermining the standards of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the A. F. of L. issues a call to American youth in industry to join the various locals of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention urges all international, local trade and Federal labor unions to devise special youth forms of activity such as Labor Sports Leagues, Trade Union Workers' Schools to teach the principles of unionism, etc., designating special youth committees to encourage and foster organization amongst young people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council set up the necessary agencies to initiate organization in unorganized so-called "youth trades"; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor takes a determined, uncompromising stand that there shall be no discrimination against youth in industry, raising as part of its program the demand of equal pay for equal work.

The trade union movement in the United States in the 1830's was the outstanding group in the movement to establish free public schools so that every wage earner's child would be given an elementary education. Since then and particularly since the American Federation of Labor was organized our trade union movement has been foremost in materially improving the public school system, and in establishing State Universities in which the wage earners' children could secure a higher education.

It was the activity of the American Federation of Labor which launched the movement to enact the Child Labor amendment. In its protection of our youth the American Federation of Labor has fostered legislation restricting the employment of young persons until they had reached their 16th or 18th year.

In addition to all of these activities the American Federation of Labor has fostered workers' education where the youth, as well as the adult, are given the opportunity of securing a better understanding of the indus-

trial problems with which they are forced to contend.

Your committee is aware that in countries controlled by dictators so-called youth movements have been launched for the purpose of training youth to discard all faith in institutions of human liberty, and to create a belief on their part in the alleged virtue of Communism, Fascism, and Nazism.

Your committee is further aware of the fact that advocates of Communism, Fascism and Nazism are endeavoring to organize youth movements in this country paralleling those which now exist in Russia, Italy, Germany and the other countries in Europe now under the control of dictators.

For these reasons your committee recommends nonconcurrence with the resolutions.

Delegate Fine: I believe it will seem that I have undertaken to be the champion of youth at this great convention, having spoken once before, but if so I don't want to imply that youth by itself and of itself can solve all the problems of the entire laboring people of the United States or even its own problems. Still I believe I am justified in speaking on this resolution as well as on all other youth resolutions, since I claim with justifiable pride to be the youngest delegate to this convention. On the second day of the convention we all stood and paid silent tribute to the hundreds of leaders of the American Federation of Labor who had passed away during the past year.

We must have all been impressed with the need of training younger people to fill the ranks of labor to take the places of these pioneers. Brother Swales of the English Trade Union movement pleaded, as a veteran of the labor movement, to the trade unions to open up its ranks and to train young people to take the place of the veterans amongst organized labor.

The importance of organizing youth is not merely a question of humanitarianism; upon this question hinges the future and helps determine the present status of the Labor movement. The Executive Council in its report calls for a drive to build our unions as our major task. Even a brief survey of industry proves that thousands of youth are employed in the important and large-scale mass production industries, as well as in

minor occupations. Witness radio, textile, auto, light metals, etc.

And what has been the record of the young people in these industries. Can anyone forget the glorious and militant struggle of the textile workers; aren't our memories as yet fresh of the fine battle waged by the 15,000 shipping clerks in New York this Summer; aren't we proud of the growth of 47 organizations in the radio industry?

These self-same youth can be used against organized labor if we are not careful. Haven't they been used to cut prevailing wage standards, by employers discriminating against them? They have been used to take the jobs of adult workers. Youth have even been used as National Guardsmen to break strikes.

Merely to recruit youth is one half of the problem, the other half is keeping, educating and activating them. I have talked to representatives of the Federal Labor and other local unions here. They all lament the large turnover of membership. We can keep these young people by giving them interesting, youth activities, as Labor sports leagues, social and youth centers, labor classes and schools. We can undertake to recognize their special problems by advancing special youth demands against discrimination; we must demand equal pay for equal work done. Possibly some of the hard-boiled veterans of the Labor movement will say we will not sugarcoat a pill; if youth won't come into our trade unions on the economic questions alone, we don't want them. This is a very wrong attitude. You must remember company unions, Chambers of Commerce, Mr. Hearst, and other anti-labor elements use sports tournaments, etc., to attract and keep young people.

Special youth committees should be elected by Central Labor unions, locals of Internationals, and Federal Labor unions, to study and take action on these problems. The resolution does not deal directly or indirectly with any "youth movements" aside from its one specific and only recommendation for bringing youth directly into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. Therefore the report of the resolutions committee is irrelevant and does not do justice to the resolution.

Just as Mr. Miller pointed out in his splendid address reporting the Geneva Labor Congress, that congress is historic for its response to youths' appeal for jobs, so let us at this great convention, together with the many other important questions, make this Congress historic by issuing a stirring declaration to the youth in American Industries, "join us, enter our ranks, build the trade unions". Let us provide such activities as will guarantee their entrance into our camp. We want them in our ranks and when we get them the future of the American Federation of Labor is secure. For—he who has the youth has the future. I thank you.

Delegate Hochman, Ladies' Garment Workers: I think the wording of the report on this question is rather unfortunate. The implication there is that youth movements on the part of the labor movement mean either Communist activities or something tied up with Fascism. I think it is a sneer at the labor movements of Europe, where they always had good movements. Formerly, Germany had a marvelous movement, and I know the labor movement of Great Britain is a movement of which they are justly proud. That is one part of it, and because of this, I would vote against the report.

The other part is this, whether we like it or not—and I rather like it—there is a youth movement, and if there is a youth movement there is no reason in the world why this American Federation of Labor, so far as the workers are concerned, should not lead this movement. In this country we all love sports. In our union we are encouraging sports.

I think this report should be referred back to the committee for revision.

Delegate Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wisconsin: I rise to support the two delegates that have spoken on the resolution. I come from one of the largest factories in the State of Wisconsin. We have tried to organize sports in our organization. We failed, but after our local began to be rapidly organized the firm I work for went to work and organized sports in order to take in the younger element of our union. They did that in order to draw them out of the trade union movement. At first we paid no attention to this, but early this year we decided to attempt to have a baseball team. We could not give the young people in our

ranks the same kind of a baseball that the company gave them. The winner of the company baseball team was to get a trip to New Jersey to compete for the inter-factory championship. The New Jersey team belongs to a company union. When that team visited Kenosha the company kept them away from our young people. When the baseball team from Kenosha went to Elizabeth, New Jersey, the New Jersey plant took our boys into a hotel and kept them away from the Elizabeth boys. They did that so that our boys could not preach trade unionism. We instructed the boys of the Kenosha team to get into contact with the Elizabeth men. Still the officials of the company kept the individuals from our factory away from the others, and approximately fifteen men, after spending a week in New Jersey, came back with the name of one man who was interested in organized labor.

I ask you to support the proposition of the two delegates who are opposed to this report. I agree with the delegate from Chicago who said that he who has the youth has the future. I do not agree with the position taken that there is some sort of plan to help the Fascist movement in these resolutions. If we do not get the youth of the United States some other movement will.

Delegate Komaroff, Detroit Federation of Labor: I would like to move that the resolutions dealing with the problems of youth be referred back to that committee for further consideration and to report further on it to this convention.

The motion was seconded.

Secretary Frey: I am opposed to the amendment. The discussion we have just listened to refers to conditions that are not embodied in the report. The committee very clearly pointed out in the forepart of its report that the trade union movement in this country before the Civil War was the body which first began to protect the youth of the country and assure them of education. The report recites the part the American Federation of Labor has played since it has been in existence, and points out that our American Federation of Labor has been the foremost body in this country to assist youth to get an education.

The committee did not recite all that the trade union movement has done. The so-

called craft unions, which are in this convention, for many years have carried out a policy of organizing their apprentice boys so that from the time a boy goes into a shop he goes into a youth organization, an apprentice organization, where everything is done to teach him the principles and the policies of the trade union movement, so that when he does become a journeyman he will have that knowledge and not have to learn it over again.

The resolutions introduced do call for some of the things the American Federation of Labor for many years has been carrying into effect, and with that, of course, there is approval; but these two resolutions carry with them something else in addition to organization of youth so that they will understand what the industrial problem is and how they shall deal with it. They go farther, and after specifying certain forms of organization for youth, such as recreation groups and sport groups and so on, they go farther and carry the implication, if they are approved, that this convention has gone on record in favor of youth movement.

Now there are in this country, as there are in Europe, youth movements, and these youth movements are fostered and developed by people living here who do not believe in our institutions. Some of them believe in Communism, some of them believe in Fascism. Youth movements have been organized by the Nazis in this country. We are all aware of these facts, they come to our attention continually, and if this convention should adopt these two resolutions it would find itself committed to youth organization.

The committee's report makes it clear that labor from the beginning of its organization in this country—not only the American Federation of Labor, but long before—has been committed to working in the interests of youth, and so, as the committee does not desire that action of this convention should be broadcast as favoring youth movements, your committee, for the reasons given, gives the history of our trade union movement in connection with youth, and then to safeguard us recom-

mends that the two resolutions be non-concurred in, not because they favor trade union organization of youth, but because there is embodied in them the same thing that has been embodied in resolutions introduced in these conventions for the past fifty-five years, that is, by indirection to commit the American Federation of Labor to a policy to which it is opposed. The older delegates can remember where, in convention after convention, resolutions were introduced, 99 per cent of which could be approved by the convention, but one per cent of which they were opposed to. It is to the one per cent of these resolutions that the committee is opposed.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I rise at this time to support the recommendation of the committee. And in so doing I want to call attention briefly to the work of the trade union movement in behalf of the childhood of America. Brother Frey has said if we will go back into the history of our trade union movement in America and give it the investigation that we ought to, we will find that our whole public school system of America today was established through the efforts of the labor movement. Back in 1841, on this New England coast, the meetings of the trade unions declared for a free school system in America. Go into the history of your trade union movement in Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, and trace the great struggle the trade unions made to establish free schools in America. Why, even when I was a boy three months was all we got in our free school. We had no free school books, we had no protection for education even in that day, but through the determined efforts of the pioneers of our trade union movement we established the free school system of America.

I haven't the time to trace the struggle we made in bringing about the free schools of our country and bringing about the co-operation of the Government in its grants of land to our free schools. In all these things the original proposition came from the trade union movement of America.

In our American Federation of Labor we have carried on that struggle in all these years, first in enlarging and extending our

school periods for our American children. I have often said in discussing this matter and pointing out the facts to the opponents of labor, some of them brilliant men, that they would not have had an education if it had not been for the struggles of the trade union movement to establish the free schools of America. We have worked continually toward the protection of our childhood. I agree with Secretary Frey and Chairman Woll that we must be careful of youth movements as we see them in Italy and other parts of the world where they are training youth in the lines that are going to bring dictatorships. Let us go on as we have been doing. There is nothing to stop the better youth movements, but there are two things in these resolutions that the committee pointed out that we should be careful about.

Delegate Martel, International Typographical Union: There isn't any one here who is going to quarrel with the constructive work of the American Federation of Labor or any other institution that has done anything to encourage the youth of this nation. I am well aware of the part the American Federation of Labor has played in the institution and encouragement of the free public school system of America. It is possibly the most valuable contribution that was ever made for us who are here today, but it is very evident that the report of the committee as now before the convention is not satisfactory to a large number of delegates. Therefore, I rise to support the amendment to refer this matter back to the convention committee for further consideration and to give a hearing to those who here and now voice their opposition to the report of the committee.

Mention has been made of the possibility of the youth movement in America developing into a Fascist movement or a Nazi movement. Well, what of it? What are we doing to stop it? Are we going to desert the youth of the nation to the Y. M. C. A. and the Boy Scout movement, where they can very readily be shoved into Fascism any time it suits the Y. M. C. A. and Boy Scout movement of America? If we want

to give intelligent direction to the youth movement of this country we must participate in it, at least to the extent of providing an opportunity for the younger members of the trade union movement and our own children to understand what the trade union movement is. I am happy to note there are young delegates in this convention who come in here and attack the citadel of reaction if they think that is what it is.

I am not so concerned with the tender feelings of the secretary of the Committee on Resolutions. He has made his contribution to the trade union movement, and no one can take the credit from Mr. Frey for the constructive work he has done for the movement, but that does not bar us from disagreeing with him, as many of us have done this morning. The report should be sent back to the committee to see if something cannot be done by them that will harmonize the sentiments of the delegates to this convention.

Delegate Komaroff, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor: Were I to occupy my time in supporting this question I would have said to you the very words that Delegate Frey said in opposing it. His first statement was that in the report of the committee they did not deal with any of the questions discussed on the floor, and that is precisely it. They do not deal with any of the questions that were discussed on the floor and therefore, I, as part of the Youth Movement, consider it a superficial report.

We speak of the contribution made by the American Federation of Labor toward free public schools. Fine! A great contribution! We want free public schools. But let us in the American labor movement stop and investigate what the American young man or woman is like when he or she gets out of public school. I think the American young man is a 100 per cent scissor-bill or plain damned fool as far as the American labor movement is concerned. We have to start where the public school leaves off, because when they are turned out of school they know very little about the labor movement.

The Youth Movement, it is said, has implications. Fortunately or unfortunately, sometimes they do have implications, but

that also is precisely it. I put the question to you, in speaking of the National Youth Administration, why should they demand that those jobs pay the union scale of wages, that the youth should not be forced to take Government jobs at a smaller scale of wages than do the workers? Why should that come from outside of the youth centers? It should not. It should come from the youth centers in the American Federation of Labor.

True, maybe they carry more implications now than during the time of the Civil War, but it would be a very queer world if we did not. This world has changed since the Civil War. If the young people do not think, who is going to think?

Therefore, I move that this go back to the committee for a more thorough report.

Delegate Morrill: I am somewhat surprised when the minority comes on the floor. I say the American Federation of Labor is in the youth movement. They have a branch which organizes the youth in the American Federation of Labor unions, a junior union, and if we would use those facilities, we would not have to cooperate with any other dual organization.

We have in our city a large youth movement. It has just been chartered lately by the American Federation of Labor, and we had in our Labor Day parade in South Bend over 500 youths. I believe if the American Federation of Labor would organize their youth under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, into junior unions, so that those branches of the American Federation of Labor can direct and supervise these various junior unions, that would be the proper action.

If we cooperate with any other outside organizations that are intended to organize the youths into the Youth Movement or Youth Congress or whatever you may call it, we do not have direct control over those various movements.

I believe that if all these delegates here would take advice from and cooperate with the American Federation of Labor more and take less advice from the other movements, we would organize our youths along the lines laid down by the American Federation of Labor.

We want to teach our young folks about the trade union movement. We want them to know what we have not been privileged to know when we were young. We want them to realize what it is to be in the labor movement.

We take them into our junior unions from the age of 8 years on up. We can all back it up and I think the committee can bring in some proposition whereby we can organize our youths under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and we will have direct control over such junior and youth organizations. I think if this goes back to the committee they will bring out such a report, because I know the American Federation of Labor does not want to be tied up or co-operate with any kind of movement that might be Communistic. I say that for this reason. The very week that we organized and got our charter for the junior union we had several people come into our office and want to know all about it. We told them what we were doing and they wanted to come to our meetings, and immediately they wanted a committee to go down to some place, to some doctor's office and organize our youths into a Youth Congress. We sent out a committee to contact the various people who were interested and find out who were interested and where they came from, and we found out very definitely that of the three who came to us two of them came from the Communist Party. We don't want anything to do with such like, so we believe we should keep our youth organizations clean and intact through the American Federation of Labor and organize them with a charter from the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the committee.

Vice-President Woll: In connection with this subject, and in conferring with the secretary of the committee in connection with this matter, may I first make the statement that the committee report as submitted is not the report of the secretary of the committee. It is the report of the full committee. It was read to the entire committee and approved by the committee. That ought to be clearly under-

stood, that that is the committee's report and not the secretary's.

It is perhaps unfortunate that erroneous constructions have been placed on the committee's report. It is also true that the committee has been laboring under extreme difficulties and that it could not be expected of a committee within the time allotted to it and the tasks assigned to it, to enter extensively into every proposition and seek to so formulate its report and recommendations and use language that might please every delegate to the convention. Of all of those who have risen, they have not objected to the purport of the committee's report, but rather to the language. There is much the committee might say in connection with it.

In conferring with the secretary, we certainly have no objections if you would desire a more extensive report as to the activities of labor on the youth movement, to have it referred back to the committee to report some time later and give a fuller expression to this subject.

May I also call your attention to the action of the convention on this same subject, which again the committee felt obviated the necessity of extensive report. So far as I am concerned I will not object to having it referred back for a more extensive report and a clearer understanding. Bear in mind that this same matter was before the convention yesterday, when the Committee on Legislation was making its report. The secretary of that committee read the report again on the request of the delegate interested in this resolution, and then he said:

"For further explanation of the committee's report I desire to state that you will discover by what we just said that the aims and ideals of the Federation are in sympathy with the problems of youth. We did, however, consider that it would be very unwise for this convention to emphatically and finally endorse the specific acts which the legal machinery of the American Federation of Labor has not yet had time to carefully scrutinize. There is nothing in our report that does not leave the way clear to do what the delegates ask. It instructs the Executive Council to continue its efforts for relief and protection of youth

and that it be further instructed to support such legislation as may be effected for this purpose in accord with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor."

Then Delegate Fine asked this question: "And it will undertake a study of the American Youth Act with a view to taking favorable action?"

President Green (responding): "The Executive Council, under the instructions of the committee, will study every phase of it and will endeavor to make a report that will be in accord with the traditional policies of the American Federation of Labor."

Now the convention has already expressed itself on this youth movement and instructed its Council to enter into every phase of it. We can, of course, elaborate still further and give you a thesis on the subject of the youth movement if that is what the convention desires, but please do not interpret the report of the committee as being unfavorable to solving the problems of youth, because, after all, that is the problem of life.

A number of delegates called for the question, and when the count was taken, a sufficient number was shown in favor of taking a vote.

Delegate Leighty, Telegraphers: I rise to a point of order, Mr. President.

President Green: What is your point of order?

Delegate Leighty: The rules provide that the previous question shall be moved by at least twenty delegates. After they move the previous question the rules of order provide that it must be voted upon favorably by two-thirds of the membership of this body.

President Green: That is not the rules at all. The convention has expressed a desire to vote and the convention has a right to vote when it expresses that desire.

A viva voce vote was first taken and the Chair stated that the motion to refer the subject matter back to the committee seemed to be lost.

A vote by show of hands then was taken.

President Green: There isn't any question now in the mind of the Chair but that

the motion to refer is lost. The question now recurs upon the motion to concur in the committee's report.

The motion to concur in the committee's report was adopted.

President Green: The secretary of the committee desires to speak to a question of personal privilege.

Delegate Frey: I desire to correct a misapprehension that might follow the remarks of the delegate from the Typographical Union relative to the tender sensibilities of the secretary of this committee. I had the privilege of being an officer in the trade union movement before many delegates could be initiated. During those years the secretary of the committee has of necessity acquired a rhinoceros hide. It is not only impervious to criticism—I might add it is impervious to blunting and it is impervious to bulldozing.

President Green: Our guest speaker is here this morning and I am very much pleased to present him to you. I will interrupt the report of the Committee on Resolutions to present to you our very dear friend and a very sympathetic friend, one who came here at our invitation for the special purpose of bringing to you a message which I know will be inspiring and instructive. Mr. Rosenblatt came all the way from Washington to San Francisco one year ago for the purpose of visiting with us and addressing the convention. Every officer and delegate in the convention a year ago appreciated his visit.

He is here this morning and may I tell you just a little bit about him. First of all he was appointed Divisional Administrator in the National Recovery Administration and later as head of the Enforcement Division of the National Recovery Administration. In those positions he rendered excellent service. He endeared himself to the hearts and minds of the Musicians, the Artists, the Ladies' Garment Workers and others who were very much affected and interested in his decisions.

Now he is the impartial chairman of the cloak and suit industry in New York. He was selected as impartial chairman unanimously by the Ladies' Garment Workers and by the employers. That to me is a

wonderful tribute to his fairness, his impartiality and his good judgment.

I present to you the impartial chairman of the cloak and suit industry, our friend, Mr. Sol Rosenblatt.

MR. SOL A. ROSENBLATT
(Impartial Chairman, Coat and Suit Industry
of New York, and Former Division
Administrator of the National
Recovery Administration)

President Green, ladies and gentlemen: I was tremendously interested in hearing the discussion upon the resolution upon which you just voted, and I must confess that I have been a bit aggrieved in your discussion of anything relating to the National Youth Movement. Frankly, I think at least one member of this convention should have paid tribute to the National Youth Movement led by Joe Weber, who is now celebrating his 44th wedding anniversary.

Once again, although now no longer in political public life, I am sincerely appreciative of your kind invitation to attend and address this great convention, and to greet here my friends who have demonstrated themselves so unselfishly solicitous of the good and welfare of the backbone of the American people.

And with this opportunity which you have bestowed upon me, I desire to address you briefly on that subject with which I have had a most intimate acquaintance, namely, industrial peace through collective agreements where made, or failing collective agreements, industrial peace through compulsory maintenance of fair standards of hours of work and rates of pay.

Now everyone has agreed that industrial peace is an end to be striven for and achieved, if at all possible. Since the very inception of what we call the industrial revolution the questions relating to every aspect of industrial peace have been reflected upon, considered, debated, argued, explained, investigated, reinvestigated and generally and specifically talked about. Students, scholars, so-called labor leaders, capitalists, theorists, Facists, Socialists, Communists and political dogmatists still purport to be interested in the subject. And all the while the answer is as well known to these everlasting purveyors of talk as it is to each and every one of you here who can speak with authority and cite chapter, line and verse of actual occurrences to demonstrate the strength of your position.

Let me speak now from some personal experience on the subject of industrial peace where collective agreements are not present.

The most cursory examination of the subject shows that the employers as a class, so far as labor is concerned, proceed upon that ancient maxim, so succinct and so brief, yet so significant: "Divide and conquer."

Yes, divide and conquer, because experience shows that united, organized labor can not be conquered!

Now, what is the remedy when labor, although somewhat organized, is not sufficiently organized to deal on a parity with the organized employees?

For an actual example, in New York a few years ago, to my own knowledge certain employers had a closed shop agreement with a certain union. They sold their property and the union agreement was terminated. The new employers felt that they had a perfect right to gain at the expense of their employees and thereupon stated that unless the employees were agreeable to reduce their salaries by some 65 per cent their services would no longer be required and would be supplied by what we call a "scab union." And that is precisely what happened. These employees indignantly declined to accept cuts of 65 per cent, and so the employers' threat was carried out, they were discharged and replaced by others who worked for 35 per cent of what the wages should have been.

When instance upon instance of this kind constantly occurred, by reason particularly of the great unemployment situation confronting the country, it became apparent to me that some solution must be found to stop this sort of thing, to rectify it and to make its recurrence impossible.

There was and is only one solution, to my mind.

If, when the forces of labor are divided, to conquer one will not result in any advantage to the "conqueror," then that "conqueror" must see that he gains nothing for his efforts, save possibly some personal satisfaction, which of course is not the goal for which he is striving.

Let me put this a bit plainer. Employers in fighting the organization of labor as well as organized labor have but one motive in view, and that is to secure their labor for the longest period of hours at the cheapest possible rate of wages, so that this saving may be reflected by way of additional profits. And so, if by fighting the organization of labor or a labor union already organized, they will be able to accomplish their end, then as business men they figure that the effort is well worth while and whatever expense entailed is well made.

In these considerations there is an additional one, and that is that perhaps by "conquering" the employer may secure an advantage over his competitor so marked that his competitor must cease from business, and therefore the "conqueror" may achieve an additional market for his products.

But I say to you, if the employer realizes before he commences his fight that if he wins he is no better off than he is at the time of the commencement of the struggle, neither he nor any other reasonable man will undertake the so-called "conquest."

And how is this realization to come upon the employer? How can he be made to understand that if he wins he loses, that if he gains the fight he reaps no advantage?

To me it was comparatively simple, and I put it down on paper with the consent and approval of employers and watched it work and watched it demonstrate its inherent soundness and its strength. I believe that the simple formula which was evolved, if applied generally, would do more to bring about industrial peace and harmony in American industry than any other thing outside of true collective agreements.

The formula was and is that the hours of labor and the minimum rates of pay for all members of their respective classes in an industry shall be the prevailing scale of wages and the maximum number of hours of labor of organizations of such employees affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

This simple provision, tremendously significant in its portents, was merely designed to recognize that the fairest standards for employees are those established by this great Federation and its component organizations. These few words made it certain that the individual employer could derive no benefit or gain from dealing with unorganized employees or with employees belonging to organizations other than those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, because all of such employees, whether so organized or not, were entitled to the maintenance of the same standards, and therefore, should the employer "conquer" the organized employees, to deal with the unorganized employees he would still be bound to meet the same standards.

Moreover, all of the employers, united as they might stand, could find no profit in dividing the employees and "conquering" separate groups, because all employers are placed upon a par and upon a basis of equality whereby their labor costs, based upon meeting the prevailing standards of members of this Federation, would be approximately equal.

To expound further, such a proviso was and is the best guarantee to competing employers that their competitors must proceed on other bases than that of labor cost differential.

I believe I have had the best opportunity of any layman to judge of the working of such a formula and I tell you, based upon my experience with such a provision, that it achieved industrial peace where it was applied.

I am firmly convinced that if the Congress of the United States will provide with respect to goods, wares and merchandise in interstate commerce that they be produced or manufactured under the prevailing hour and wage standards of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and that if the respective States will similarly provide concerning goods, wares and merchandise in intrastate commerce, that the greatest step forward in achieving

industrial peace in the United States will have been taken.

But I have become privileged not only to have witnessed and observed the complete workability of the provision which I have just been discussing, but also to be observing the workings of labor relationships under true collective agreements.

As Impartial Chairman of the great Cloak and Suit industry of New York, I am daily witnessing the evolution and achievement of industrial peace in that great industry affecting the lives and welfare of so very many employers and employees.

That industry, represented through its employees by Mr. David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and one of the most intelligent and able citizens of our day, has for many years demonstrated the advantages and benefits of collective bargaining to both employers and employees and stands today in an enviable position among industries for its scientific solution of otherwise vexatious labor difficulties.

An Impartial Chairman of that industry is not a "cesar" nor a dictator nor one who regulates or controls the industry. He merely passes upon the rights of the respective parties to the collective agreements in force under the terms and provisions of such agreements. In other words, all of the parties have bargained, and results of their bargaining are expressed in the collective agreements. The Impartial Chairman merely interprets the provisions of collective agreements in view of the specific situation which may be presented to him.

Employers can not and do not dictate in this industry, and by the same token the employees are similarly bound by their solemn written agreements. I must say that the spirit of fair play and fair dealing is nowhere more in evidence than between the parties to these collective agreements. I have found the representatives of the employers and the representatives of the employees striving for only one thing, and that is the good of the industry. I have found all of the respective parties equally cognizant of the rights of others, and appreciative of the sincere spirit which prevails to solve their common problems.

I state to you that there is no industry in these United States which can afford to overlook the example set by this Cloak and Suit industry and that there is no industry which exists that could not with greatest profit to itself follow that outstanding example.

Naturally, a collective agreement between employers and employees does not embrace in number of firms and in number of employees more than exist among the parties to such collective agreement; and therefore I am constrained to return to my original thesis in this address.

Where a collective agreement does not embrace all of the employers and all of the

employees in an industry, it is still important that the standards set by such collective agreement be the standards of hours and wages for that entire industry, as otherwise those bound by the collective agreement will be at a competitive disadvantage from those not bound.

It is not my purpose to suggest to this great convention or to advise its constructive leadership. But I feel I would be failing in my duty as a citizen of this country if I did not admonish each and every member of this great organization, that, in my opinion, it is his duty not merely to safeguard the standards of labor for which he has toiled so arduously these many, many years, but indeed that it is incumbent upon him to secure the establishment of such prevailing standards for all engaged and employed in his industry.

Prices in any industry are maintained by employers—why not labor costs through maintenance and establishment of fair and decent standards by labor?

President Green, I know that you are entitled to the sincere thanks of every good American in this country for your labor and for the unstinting and courageous service which you have brought to the solution of the numerous problems of these times.

If the motto of this great convention will be to preserve, protect and firmly establish for all labor the prevailing standards of labor of its component member organizations, then I know that all of us in this country will be on the right road indeed to industrial peace.

President Green: Our visiting guest this morning has submitted a most instructive and inspiring address. It will appear in the printed proceedings of today's convention. I don't know whether we all got the significance of this address and the splendid analysis made of collective bargaining and the value of collective bargaining and of the essential factors so necessary to the development of co-operation and industrial peace.

I want to thank Chairman Rosenblatt for his visit here this morning and for his address.

The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

PROPOSING GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF BANKING INSTITUTIONS

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Louis Leonard, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

RESOLVED, The delegates to the 60th Annual Convention go on record as favoring government ownership of our banking institutions so the people may have a safe place to deposit their money and be able to get loans at a reasonable rate of interest for purchase of homes and other legitimate needs. If this resolution carries, it is to be presented to the next A. F. of L. Convention.

Delegate Frey: Apparently the resolution does not refer to this convention, but it was a resolution referred to a convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

OUT-OF-WORK MEMBERS

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate T. E. Cunningham, Minnesota State Federation of Labor, St. Paul, Minn.

WHEREAS, The Minnesota State Federation of Labor, at its 1935 Convention, adopted a resolution urging upon the American Federation of Labor to consider proposing to the international unions a plan to maintain the members who are out of work in good standing with their various organizations so that suspension because of non-payment of dues may be reduced; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to study this question.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

PREVAILING WAGE ON WPA PROJECTS

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Harry Krauss, Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990, Lancaster, Pa.

Realizing that the so-called Security wage of \$19.00 to \$94.00 for the unemployed on WPA projects is a direct threat to the wage scale of all workers in industry inasmuch that it is impossible to have two wage scales at the same time, that this coolie wage scale will have the effect of flooding the gates of industry with labor willing to work at any price slightly above the WPA scale, and in turn will have the

effect of undermining and breaking up the A. F. of L. unions that have been built up over many years of hard persistent work; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Linoleum Workers' Union offers all its support to the unemployed workers and will assist them in their efforts to organize the unorganized and in their efforts to secure the prevailing wage for unskilled, and trade union wages and conditions for the skilled workers.

Delegate Frey: Resolution No. 32 is not a resolution introduced to this convention, but is one directed to the Linoleum Workers' Union.

No action upon the resolution is required.

The report of the committee was adopted.

PROPOSING REGULATIONS FOR ADMINISTRATION OF LOCAL UNIONS

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate John North, United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 19970, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

WHEREAS, Principles of democracy being imbedded in the American workers and which our forefathers fought and died for; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record for trade union democracy and calls for affiliated unions to establish this principle on the basis of the following procedure:

1—All officials shall be elected by popular vote in secret ballot and elected special committees from the membership be in charge of counting the votes.

2—The practice of not seating delegates to central bodies on various pretexts must stop.

3—The membership shall have the right to recall officials and representatives by a majority vote before the expiration of the official term.

4—No member of the union except those found guilty as strike-breakers or as working in the interests of the employers shall be deprived of the right to be nominated, put on the ballot and to act as an official or representative of the union when elected.

5—All trade union agreements, all amendments to the constitution and all other questions affecting the interests of the membership shall be submitted to the members for a vote.

6—The right of local unions to start a referendum, the right of individual free speech, free criticism of policies, members to initiate policies, the right of local unions

to declare a strike, the right of a member to belong to any political party, all these shall be considered rights which shall not be violated.

7—Nobody shall convict a member or an official on charges involving suspension or expulsion of a member or an official, except by a trial board elected by a popular vote of the members and giving the accused all the privileges of counsel, witnesses, his or her own stenographic record, and full publicity of the proceedings.

8—National and international officials shall call conventions as stipulated in the constitution of the respective organizations, but under all circumstances such conventions shall be held at least every two years.

The democratic policy of the American Federation of Labor provides that every affiliated organization shall have autonomy in determining the rules and procedure for their self-government.

Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

GENERAL STRIKE

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin and Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, In the past it has been the policy of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to prevent rather than to encourage general strikes of industries organized within the Federation; and

WHEREAS, This lack of a united front has caused organized labor to lose considerable ground as well as to discourage organization on a larger level; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the future the American Federation of Labor instead of discouraging these general industrial strikes, use every means in carrying them to a successful conclusion, including a call to all of organized labor, if necessary.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESENTATION OF GIFTS TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: And now the Chair will exercise his prerogative to interrupt the report of the committee and the proceedings

of the convention for just a few moments in order that the delegates and officers may perform a very pleasant duty.

A beautiful custom has been maintained by the American Federation of Labor with unbroken regularity. We have always very deeply appreciated the visits of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to our convention. We have been inspired by their messages. They have endeared themselves to our hearts and they have a place in our affections. Every one of them have been men and women of charming personality. They have come to our shores unacquainted. They have gone away very dear friends. We have always tried to extend to them the warmth of our hospitality and the deep appreciation that is in our hearts for their presence among us.

For that reason and other reasons we have always made it possible for them to carry back some tangible remembrance of their visit to our country and to our convention. You, the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, have made it possible for us to carry out that beautiful custom this morning.

Now it devolves upon me to present to our fraternal delegates the presents that you asked me to give to them for you—presents that are valuable, having some tangible worth, but the sentiment that will be carried with these presents will be far greater than their tangible value. I am now going to present your gifts to the fraternal delegates. I know you will enjoy this moment very greatly.

First of all I want to present to Brother A. Conley, our fraternal delegate from Great Britain, this watch and chain purchased by your committee through your authorization. It is beautifully engraved. I ask you, Brother Conley, to accept this from the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention as a token of their appreciation and their esteem and carry it back with you to Great Britain. And when you look at it, I ask you to remember your visit to the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Then we have not forgotten Mrs. Conley, though she is not with Brother Conley. You

have authorized the committee to purchase a beautiful gift for her. I ask Brother Conley to carry back this wrist watch and present it to Mrs. Conley, and I think that when she gets this present she will love him more than ever.

Fraternal Delegate Conley: Mr. President and fellow trade unionists—After thirty years of work in our trade union movement in Great Britain, I think I can say sincerely this is one of the most embarrassing moments in my life—and I have had many embarrassing moments. I am one of our people across the water who has helped to entertain your fraternal delegates when they have come to Great Britain. I have been in close touch with them year after year, and when Dennis Lane arrived this morning I was delighted. He was one of your two fraternal delegates this year to our Congress in Margate in September. I last met him on our platform there, and it seemed like a breath of the old country to meet Dennis Lane outside of the convention hall this morning.

Just a few words, because I must not trespass on your time. It is difficult to find words to express one's deep feelings of appreciation and thanks and indebtedness for your wonderful hospitality, Mr. Green. Sometimes it has been overpowering. I have often heard stories about your hospitality. It sounded incredible to me and now that I am here and have experienced it, I know it to be the fact.

You are a wonderful movement equal with our movement across the water. Could I say anything or deliver any message on behalf of our people in thanking you for these presents, I would say to the American Federation of Labor, comprised of its millions and millions of trade unionists, be brave, be courageous.

Paraphrasing the words of one of your American writers, I would say:

"Rise as ye ne'er rose before;
Nor hoped before nor dared before;
And show as ne'er was shown before,
The power that lies in you.
Unite as one; see justice done;
Believe and dare and do."

I thank you.

President Green: And now I present to Brother Naesmith a similar watch and

chain appropriately engraved. It is identical to the one you have just presented to Brother Conley.

This is your present, Brother Naesmith. I present it to you and in doing so, I ask you to accept it as a tangible expression of the deep appreciation of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention of your visit with us and of the inspiring message which you delivered. Carry back to your splendid country across the sea a most happy memory of a delightful visit with us and in the days to come please look at this watch occasionally and remember all of us when you do so.

Fraternal Delegate Naesmith: President Green, and fellow delegates: Like my friend Andrew Conley, I have been overwhelmed with your hospitality, with your good will and with your brotherly feelings toward us.

I shall carry back to England very pleasant memories of the men and women whom I have met here. This visit, my first visit to America, has done one thing to me. It has made me feel that I want to come back again, and if my own organization is agreeable, I shall be back here perhaps to meet some of you, but still more to try and study the economic and industrial problems that you are confronted with and fit myself to educate my own people in the British Isles with regard to the scope of your organization and the difficulties you have inside your own country.

The honors that you have bestowed upon us this morning are worthy of you. A young woman said once in our own country that she would rather place the flowers upon her mother's body now than wait until she had passed away. I agree with that statement. Trade union officials often times receive more kicks than thanks. For these expressions of good will toward us I want to thank you and leave you with the hope that in the days to come your movement will realize great triumphs and that your social and civic life will become better and brighter and happier because of the activities of your great Federation that exemplifies all that is best in the working classes of your country.

President Green: And of course we have not forgotten the charming wife of our Fraternal Delegate, Brother Naesmith.

She is here on the platform, sitting with us and we have a beautiful watch for her, suitably engraved. She is just mighty anxious to come up before the microphone and tell you how much she appreciates this gift. I will present it to her for you. We have enjoyed her visit here and we want her to remember all of us when she goes back home.

Now, then, Mrs. Naesmith, make them a speech.

Mrs. Naesmith: Mr. Green and delegates—It gives me great pleasure to accept this present this morning. I was not expecting anything from any of you. It has been a great pleasure for me this week to be amongst you. I came here a stranger, but I felt at home, and now I must thank you all.

President Green: I think that was a very fine speech.

Now I want to present a watch to Captain Haydon, our fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. It is just the same as the watches selected by the committee for the fraternal delegates from Great Britain.

Captain Haydon, I ask you to accept this gift from the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention as a token of their deep appreciation of your visit and of the wonderful address you delivered. Take back to your home a kindly remembrance of your visit here amongst us.

Fraternal Delegate Haydon: President Green and trade unionists—Words fail me to express my deep feelings in the presentation just made to me. I am one of those who has served in this international trade union movement for a great many years. I hope that God spares me and allows me good health to continue to serve the international trade union movement. In accepting this gift I shall always be reminded of the most wonderful hospitality extended to me by my good American friends. I accept it, not merely as a personal gift, but as a gift from you to the great membership of the trade unions in Canada.

Following the war I received a number of military decorations. With my dear old

mother and my good wife we were invested at Rideaux Hall by no less a personage than the Prince of Wales, and I say here publicly that the medal I wear on this watch represents service to the workers and it will be more valuable to me than all my military decorations. And so, my friends, I say au revoir and good health and good luck until we meet again.

President Green: Now we have a beautiful gift here for Mrs. Haydon. I wonder how the ladies would feel about that? A beautiful diamond ring! You are presenting it to Mrs. Haydon. I am merely the instrumentality through which you are presenting the ring to the Captain's charming wife.

I present this to you, Mrs. Haydon, with a deep appreciation of your visit with us. Carry it away with you as a lasting remembrance of your visit, and may it give you many moments of happiness and pleasure.

Mrs. Haydon: We had such a marvelous time here I really did not need a ring or anything else to make me remember the charming and delightful people we met while we were here. I am like Mrs. Naesmith, I really can't say very much, but when I look back to the American Federation of Labor I will feel that I am sort of married to it, with this diamond ring.

President Green: The delegates in attendance at the convention did not forget our distinguished visitor who came from Great Britain along with the fraternal delegates and who has been visiting at our convention. We are not presenting this gift to Miss Loughlin because she is serving in any official capacity, but because she came to us as a visitor and delivered to us a most magnificent and inspiring address; furthermore, because we have admired her charming personality, her evident and manifest devotion and loyalty to the great cause which the organized workers in Great Britain and Canada represent, and which we are endeavoring to represent in this country.

Miss Loughlin, I present to you this beautiful watch as an expression of the appreciation of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention for your visit.

Miss Anne Loughlin: President Green and fellow delegates: Sometimes I am at a loss as to what to say, because I had not the slightest idea that when I came to your convention that I would take back a token of appreciation from the delegates here as a result of my visit. I listened to your debates very, very carefully from the floor and from the reports of your committees, and I realized that in spite of the thousands of miles that divide us, fundamentally there is very little difference between the organized trade union movement in America and the organized trade union movement in England. We are all out with one common objective in view, and that is to make the world a little better than we found it.

I want to thank you, President Green, for the great courtesy that you showed to us while we were here, and I want to thank you, Secretary Morrison, for your courtesy. I want to thank every single delegate with whom I have come in contact and have had conversations with, because I have learned lots from your conversation—just as much as I have learned in listening to the debates on the floor. To those of you with whom I have not come in direct contact I want to say, thank you. I will take this back with me. I shall not only value the present because of its wonderful intrinsic value, I shall value it because of the thoughts behind the giving to me of the present. It will be an everlasting memory until the day I pass to the Great Beyond.

I thank everyone of you.

Delegate Adamski, Garment Workers: Mr. President, in behalf of the committee, I want to thank all those who participated in giving these presents. I thank you all again for your kindness.

President Green: May I just say one last word to our delegates for you. We have deeply appreciated their visits with us and we hope they will make their stay with us as long as possible. We trust that they will enjoy themselves to a full and complete measure while they are in our delightful country and we wish for them a safe and happy return to their homeland and to their loved ones.

I wish to thank the Committee on Good Will, Brother Adamski and Brother Frank

Weikel, for the service they rendered. They helped to make this realized occasion possible.

We will now resume the regular order of business and the Chair recognizes the secretary of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

SPEAKERS' BUREAU, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Selma M. Borchardt, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, There is a demand for speakers to discuss the problems confronting the workers of our country; and

WHEREAS, Often so-called intellectuals who are totally ignorant of or intentionally hostile to the policy of the bona-fide union movement present these subjects to college classes, on the public platform, in forums or through publications, assuming in so doing the role of "labor expert;" and

WHEREAS, Unorganized workers seeking authentic information on the American Federation of Labor are often misled by information supplied by those seeking the creation of Company Unions, and from those who seek to exploit the labor movement by seeking to build through it a creed which is antagonistic to the political, economic and social philosophy of the American Federation of Labor;

WHEREAS, Trade union officers and those who work closely with them should be used to interpret the American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Union Label, the Shop Card and the Button should have a far larger meaning in order that unorganized workers and the general public may appreciate better the value of such emblems, and of the labor movement itself; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, direct the Executive Council to establish and support a Speakers' Bureau, in the Union Label Trades Department, through which Bureau it will be possible to furnish qualified speakers to discuss the problems of the bona-fide American labor movement so that if any time a group wishes a speaker to present labor's interpretation of a given problem that the Speakers' Bureau of the Union Label Trades Department may, in cooperation with the local trade union organizations in the community from which such a call comes, furnish the speaker, as desired.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

PROPOSING INVESTIGATION OF ATTITUDE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES TOWARD LABOR ACTIVITIES

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Selma Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Through misunderstanding, lack of information, maladministration, and abuse of power there have at times come from the law enforcement agencies improper and unwarranted attacks upon the workers; and

WHEREAS, Industrial organizations have at times employed private detectives or private police who actually foment industrial strife and destroy the civil rights of the workers; and

WHEREAS, Reports from a number of states show that the state labor groups have opposed the tactics of state police and state constabularies; and

WHEREAS, The militia which by statute and in keeping with the American tradition should function solely for the protection of all the citizens of a state has, in many instances, been wrongly used to attack citizens ruthlessly and so has aided the industrial organizations in a community, control the lives of the people, and to deprive many of them of their civil rights; and

WHEREAS, Reports have been received that in many parts of the country self-appointed law enforcement agencies, vigilantes and similar illegal bodies have usurped the power of the proper law enforcement agencies; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is anxious to co-operate closely with properly constituted and properly administered law enforcement agencies of the nation, of the state, and of the local community, to protect the lives and the rights of all the citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled call upon the Executive Council to direct the research service of the American Federation of Labor to conduct a thorough investigation into the entire subject of relation of the municipal police, of private police and private detectives, of state police and constabularies and of the militia to trade union organizations during any labor dispute.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for their consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

URGING THE PREPARATION OF ALL DRAWING AND DESIGN CONSTRUCTION TO BE PREPARED BY THE GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL OF THE NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate C. L. Rosemunt, of the International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects', and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The 1930 convention of the American Federation of Labor and succeeding conventions have gone on record favoring the manufacture of war munitions and naval construction in the arsenals and naval establishments of the Government so as to overcome the baneful influence of private concerns who otherwise would profit by the disturbance of world peace; and

WHEREAS, Testimony before the Senate Munitions Investigating Committee has revealed actual evidence that some of these munitions manufacturers and private shipbuilders, through newspaper publicity and other methods, have sought to fan the flames of racial and national prejudice to secure large Congressional appropriations for their own personal profit; and

WHEREAS, It was further revealed at these same hearings that responsible naval officials were quoted as placing their complete dependence on the private constructors and designers for their contract and detail drawings; and

WHEREAS, The safety and welfare of the Nation is a Governmental function of such serious import that it is suicidal to continue placing reliance in such uncertain and unreliable sources for these vital plans and designs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge the President, the Secretary of the Navy and the appropriate Congressional committees, the necessary Executive and Legislative action having for its purpose the inauguration of the policy of having all designs and plans for naval construction performed directly by employees of the Federal Government.

Your committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH COMPANY

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate B. M. Egan, Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, A strike has been in progress among the Dress Workers of Dallas, Texas, and for many months various forces opposed to trade unionism have sought to bring all pressure possible to defeat this strike and break the forces of organized labor which are seeking to spread the doctrine of trade unionism into new fields and industries where a need for organization is evident; and

WHEREAS, In the course of the oppression practiced by the enemies of organized labor, these foes of unionism solicited and obtained the aid of the officials of the Postal Telegraph Company, in Dallas, Texas. That during the trial of Meyer Perlstein, Representative of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, for contempt of Court because of a Court injunction issued against the strikers, M. B. Hargraves, Superintendent of the Postal Telegraph Company's Dallas office, was subpoenaed to bring telegrams into court, and to appear against said Union official. That prior to presenting these telegrams in Court (which was lawful presentation in Court), the said M. B. Hargraves, secretly and in violation of the law, gave these telegrams to William Burrow, an attorney who was seeking to have Meyer Perlstein jailed for contempt of Court. That the law of our land, as set forth in a standard law book, is as follows:

"Duty not to Disclose. It is a part of the undertaking of the telegraph company with respect to the transmission and subsequent handling of a message, that the contents of the message shall not be disclosed to any person whomsoever without the consent, express or implied, of either the sender or the addressee; and for a violation of this duty, willful or negligent, the company will be liable."

That the said Superintendent of the Postal Telegraph Company's Dallas office gave these telegrams to William Burrow without any order from any Court, in direct violation of the law, and that he did so without notifying the Union attorneys, and he gave the anti-union forces a chance of examining about two hundred and fifty (250) telegrams in advance of the trial, to have them inspected for typewriting and handwriting experts, to pry into the Union's business without legal cause, and did align himself against the forces of organized labor by helping, aiding and assisting in the persecution and jailing of a Union official; and

WHEREAS, The Dallas Central Labor Council deplores the unfair conduct on the part of the official of the Postal Telegraph Company, and has, at its regular meeting duly assembled, passed this resolution condemning the Postal Telegraph Company for its improper action, and asks the American Federation of Labor also to condemn the

vicious practice which was followed by the Postal Telegraph Company in doing an act which materially hurt the defense of a Union official in a contempt of court trial growing out of a labor dispute, and asks that the American Federation of Labor investigate this unfair act on the part of the Postal Telegraph Company to determine if it has aligned itself permanently with the forces which are seeking to destroy trade unionism.

Delegate Frey: Since this resolution was referred to your committee a telegram was received by President Green. It is desired that the telegram be read in connection with the resolution before the committee submits its report. The telegram is dated October 14, 1935, and is from the Vice-President of the Postal Telegraph Company, New York. It reads as follows:

New York, N. Y.,
October 14, 1935.

William Green,
Ambassador Hotel,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Understand there is a resolution pending before convention regarding alleged activities of a Postal Telegraph employee in Dallas, Tex. Any such activity on his part would be against the policy and orders of this organization. We are investigating and if they are found to be true will take appropriate action. Believe that you must realize nothing in the history of Postal Telegraph would give ground for belief that any such action would be countenanced by the officers or management.

FRANK C. PAGE,

Vice President, Postal Telegraph.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the officials of the Postal Telegraph Company.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROPOSING A. F. OF L. DEPARTMENT OF FOOD INDUSTRY EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveliski and Chris Lane, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The food industry employees are largely unorganized, not because of a lack of effort on the part of the organizations holding that group within their jurisdiction, but due to a lack of coordination and their division into trade groups without a Department within the American Federation of Labor to guide their activity and unite their purpose; and

WHEREAS, The unorganized thousands of workers engaged in the production and distribution of food are a menace to the progress and advancement of the organized groups; and

WHEREAS, Due to lack of understanding and cooperation between organizations holding food workers within their jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That within ninety days following the adjournment of this convention, the President of the American Federation of Labor stands instructed to call together at his office in Washington, D. C., the representatives of all International and National Unions, Local Trade and Federal Unions, that in any way have to do with the production and distribution of food, for the purpose of establishing a Food Department within the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for their consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROTESTING AGAINST THE USE OF NATIONAL GUARD IN LABOR STRUGGLES

Resolution No. 190—By Delegates William Kies, United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18615, Cleveland, O., and Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union No. 19306, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, The heroic struggles of labor in the last year against the bitter attacks of the employers on their living standards and civil rights have been met by murderous onslaughts by private and professional armies, particularly the National Guard; and

WHEREAS, There has been increased use of martial law against strikers, most recently in Terre Haute and Minneapolis, which deprives the workers of their most elemental democratic rights, bringing in its wake beatings, shootings and mass arrests of the laboring population of the community; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor find it high time to go on record condemning the use of troops, military forces, either official or unofficial, against strikers and that the convention use all its resources to put an end to such strike-breaking measures, joining in this effort with other labor organizations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That any union official who sanctions by any means the use of force or

troops by the employers in strikes shall be deemed an agent of the employers and removed from office.

In lieu of the resolution your committee deems it advisable that the convention declare its convictions on the use of militia or Federal troops in connection with industrial disputes. The record of the militia in several states has justified the belief that their activities were more in the nature of strike-breaking than of preserving the public peace. Conventions of the American Federation of Labor have condemned in most vigorous language the activity of certain state militias in connection with strikes, and the massacres, the savage killing of women and children by militiamen, which have occurred. These justified condemnations of the strike-breaking activities of state militia have referred specifically to the militia of certain states.

If the citizens of our country are to retain confidence in the militia, and the Army of the United States, these military organizations when called for duty to a community where industrial disputes exist must maintain absolute neutrality in connection with the questions in dispute. They must be as much the protectors of the wage earners' rights as they are those of the employers. Their sole duty is to maintain law and order. The moment they become partisans of the employers, the moment their activities take on the function of strike-breaking, the moment they indicate that they are no longer the equal protectors of all citizens, they depart from their true function and bring not only themselves but their military associates into contempt. They destroy the confidence which should be reposed in them, and which is essential to confidence in government.

Your committee therefore recommends that this convention declare its condemnation of any act by the militia of any state which indicates that the militia and their officers are not equally the protectors of law and order, and of the equal rights of all citizens, and that we voice our emphatic condemnation of the officers and members of any militia who, through their activities, give comfort to employers during an industrial dispute by using their armed force to overawe citizens and strikers, and

in a manner to assist employers in breaking a strike.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to prepare legislation which will prevent any grants of money or Federal military supplies to state militias whose activities make it apparent that they are being used in a partisan manner in connection with an industrial dispute.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman, I am somewhat at sea as to just what position the report of the committee will put us in. I am fearful that it will be construed by those who are in favor of the use of militia in labor disputes as an approbation of such contracts, provided they are neutral, and then we will have a long debate during the strike as to whether the troops are neutral in the controversy or not. I think it is most unfortunate that we have such a report before the convention. If we want to be free from the interference of the units of state militia in labor disputes, let us say so, but if we are going to give approval to their use, provided they remain neutral, and that will be a matter of opinion, not of fact, then we ought to adopt this kind of a report. I can't conceive of the state troops being neutral under any condition in any labor dispute.

Delegate Fritz, Indiana State Federation of Labor: We have a very unpleasant situation back in Indiana with reference to the state troops. They were called into a strike controversy just recently, and the Governor of the State said that the troops were sent in there, not to interfere with the strike, but to be neutral on all questions that would come up. But since then, and through their neutral action, the troops have been used in this way: They called the military prisoners out and asked them if they were ready to go back to work in the plant, and if they said they were not, they were thrown back into prison. In other words, the troops are neutral until the striker says he is not ready to go back into the plant.

What struck me forcibly with this report is this: The committee just previously read a report with reference to state police, and

if I am correct I believe that resolution was referred to the Executive Council. I cannot see any consistency in adopting a resolution endorsing the calling out of troops as long as they remain neutral, and as Delegate Martel says, I don't believe there is a chance in the world to call the state militia out and have them remain neutral.

My position on the state militia is this, that any member of organized labor who belongs to the state militia should be expelled from his organization.

Delegate Ernst, California State Federation of Labor: Any one who has ever had the misfortune to be in a town where there is a strike and where the militia is called out, allegedly to remain neutral to protect the interests of the citizenry, must realize that there is no such thing as a neutral militia.

We of San Francisco had it very forcibly brought to us last year during our waterfront strike. We know very well what the calling out of the militia means. We know very well that the minute you have bayonets and gases and the workers are used as targets that there is no such thing as equality or neutrality. There is no use in my boring you any longer with that situation. Everyone who reads the paper knows about it.

I am heartily in sympathy with the sentiments expressed by Delegate Martel and Delegate Fritz, that we ought to go on record unqualifiedly and without any ifs or ands against the use of the state militia and wherever the militia is used or attempted to be used, there isn't time to take a referendum as to whether or not they are going to remain neutral. The militia does not take a referendum when they are shooting people down. They are just going to it, and we ought to retaliate in kind and go on record as being opposed to the use of all forms of the militia as being against the interests of organized labor.

Vice-President Woll: In speaking on the resolution and the report of the committee, the discussions have been entirely extraneous to the resolution introduced and upon which the committee's report is founded. Let us read the resolve of the resolution:

"RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor find it high time to go on record condemning the use of troops, military forces, either official or unofficial, against strikers and that the convention use all its resources to put an end to such strike breaking measures, joining in this effort with other labor organizations; and, be it further

"RESOLVED, That any union official who sanctions by any means, the use of force or troops by the employers in strikes shall be deemed an agent of the employers and removed from office."

The resolution itself, of course, is not to be disapproved. The report of the committee goes beyond the declaration contained in the resolve and it is only a question of how far the committee might have gone in condemning the militia.

Could there be anything stronger than the language of the committee? I quote:

"Your committee therefore recommends that this convention declare its condemnation of any act by the militia of any state which indicates that the militia and their officers are not equally the protectors of law and order and of the equal rights of all citizens, and that we voice our emphatic condemnation of the officers and members of any militia, who through their activities give comfort to employers during an industrial dispute by using their armed force to overawe citizens and strikers and in a manner to assist employers in breaking a strike."

Then we go further and say:

"Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to prepare legislation which will prevent any grants of money or Federal military supplies to state militias whose activities make it apparent that they are being used in a partisan manner in connection with an industrial dispute."

Your committee has taken the liberty of going far beyond even the purview of the resolution in making its report. Now, of course, we might go still further and that is a matter of judgment. The committee is reminded of this fact. The statement is that we should condemn militia entirely or abolish them. I am not prepared to say definitely, but my recollection is that we at times have called upon the militia to protect our strikers against the attitudes

and actions of employers. But I am not arguing that. I am simply pointing out that the report of the committee is more extensive and more inclusive and more embracing than the resolution itself.

Delegate Kuehnle, Federal Labor Union No. 19398: I disagree entirely with the report of the committee. In fact, the report does not include the resolve which states "that any union official who sanctions by any means the use of force or troops by the employers in strikes shall be deemed an agent of the employers and removed from office." This is not included in the report. The resolve itself, in my mind, is the most important part of the resolution.

I wish to call your attention to the fact that in the last national textile strike, in the ranks of the United Textile Workers of America, there were first selectmen who, under the law in the boroughs under which they acted, had power to sanction the calling out of the state militia, and they, as trade unionists and as selectmen of that town, sanctioned and approved the calling out of the state militia against their own brothers and sisters of the trade union movement.

I believe this committee's report is far removed from the facts of this resolution. I think the resolution was submitted to take care of just such a case as I have cited. I wish that the Resolutions Committee might have realized this fact, of these cases which are frequent throughout this nation. We have members in the various trade unions who are connected through various political parties with political office and they in turn have the power in their hands to call out the state militia, and they have acted that way.

This is a resolution in condemnation and to take care of the particular trade unionist who violates the principles of the American Federation of Labor in his office, political or otherwise.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the committee: Mr. Chairman, there is perhaps no necessity for a lengthy discussion of the subject, because the committee believed that it was probably a much stronger statement to provide for action by the Executive Council to prepare legislation which was not included in the resolution.

The delegate will recall the language of the last resolve, as the Secretary of the committee read it and to which he has just referred: "That any union official who sanctions by any means the use of force or troops by the employers in strikes shall be deemed an agent of the employers and removed from office."

There is a great difference between a trade union official making use of force and calling on the Federal troops. For the information of the convention and without mentioning the state or the Governor's name, may I remind you that only recently the Governor of a great state called out the militia for the purpose of preventing the employer from opening his plant and bringing in strikebreakers. Certainly we do not oppose the use of militia when it is for one purpose alone—to prevent rioting and lawlessness in a community by making it impossible for an employer to bring into that community the type of men that most strikebreakers are. Certainly if any trade union official gave his approval to the action of that governor in using the militia in preventing strike breakers from being imported into the community he deserves our thanks and not our condemnation.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I believe the delegates in this convention will realize if they read the last resolve of Resolution No. 190, that it goes far beyond the authority vested in a convention of the American Federation of Labor. I do not believe there was sufficient care in the use of language in the preparation of this resolve.

I am not advocating the use of force in connection with strikes, but this resolve plainly provides that any union official who by any means uses force in connection with strikes shall be deemed an agent of the employer. I don't believe the convention wants to go on record approving of a statement of that kind. I don't believe the convention wants to go on record upon a matter with which it has no authority to deal.

This convention and the American Federation of Labor has no authority to say to the National and International unions affiliated with it who shall be or who shall not be the officers of that organization and it has no authority to say that the officers of an or-

ganization are agents of the employers, simply because somebody else might not agree with the action of the officers of these national and international unions. I believe it is trespassing upon dangerous ground if this convention should adopt a resolution containing the language that is contained in the last resolve of Resolution No. 190.

For that reason I support the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union: I am rising in support of legislation in behalf of keeping the militia out of industrial disputes. There was before Congress last year a bill which would prohibit the use of troops in industrial disputes. It is important that we know the strategy and that we work in line of that strategy for our purpose.

First of all we must remember that the state militia are equipped by the Federal Government. Practically all of the arms and equipment in use by the state militia belong to the Federal Government. Therefore, if we prohibit the use of Federal arms and equipment in industrial disputes, we are taking away from the militia that very potent weapon, their arms, without which they cannot fight, and I hope that in the preparation of legislation we will take cognizance of that. Furthermore, we must remember this, that the Congress of the United States will probably not want this bill to come before it. I therefore urge that we use our best skill to have this tacked on as a rider to the War Department Bill. Let us say that there will be no appropriation for any arms if any part of it is to be used against our men in industrial disputes.

The report of the committee was adopted.

COMMUNISTIC OPPOSITION TO THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

President Green: The hour of adjournment has arrived, but the Chair desires to make this announcement, that the section of the report of the Executive Council entitled, "Communitistic Opposition to the American Labor Movement", up to and including the recommended amendment to the constitution is referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The last part of it dealing with the constitutional amendment is referred to the Committee on Law. I wish to make this announcement in order to make it clear as to the reference of this section of the report to the committees.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I would like to call to the attention of the delegates the action of the convention at an ear-

lier session, which gave notice that the report of the Committee on Resolutions, dealing with the question of industrial organization, will be made at three o'clock this afternoon. This is to afford an opportunity for all delegates who are interested in this subject to be in attendance at the convention at that time.

At 12:40 p. m. the convention was recessed to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

EIGHTH DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

ABSENTEES:

Katz, DeWitt, Rundie, Billet, Eardley, Slich, Rosqvist, Regan, Doane, Wade, David, Wise, Palmer, Hanoway, Osborne, Swetland, Dance, Sigman, Howat, Dallas, Singer, Bradley, Shave, Dahlager, Burke, M. J.; Slout, Myer, Hymes, Weinberg, Flynn, Al.; Nadelhoffer, Bender, Burns, T. F.; Serra, Malkovich, Dougherty, Iglesias, Sticht.

Secretary Morrison read communications from Dr. Paul L. Vogt, Public Relations Committee, Detroit Council of Churches; Chris Neilson, Secretary-Treasurer, Milk Drivers and Dairy Employes' Local No. 155; Frank Couzens, Mayor of Detroit; and Lloyd H. Jameson, Commander Detroit Districts Association of the American Legion; all extending cordial invitations to the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Detroit.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

The introducers of Resolutions No. 99 and No. 226 asked to have them withdrawn. I move that the request be complied with and the resolutions withdrawn.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: There were a number of resolutions in connection with industrial unionism referred to the committee. Some of these ask for the granting of a charter along industrial lines in some industries. Some of them dealt with changing the policy of the American Federation of Labor in connection with industrial unions. The committee decided that the resolutions which called for the issuing of charters along industrial lines would be held over until such time as those resolutions which called for a change in organization had been reported on. In attempting to reach accord in a report it was found that some members of the committee favored resolutions providing for a

change in form of organization. The majority of the committee were informed that a minority report would be prepared and introduced by those in favor of these resolutions. It was the understanding of the committee that the minority, after preparing their report, would follow the usual rule—as well as the courtesy included—and present their minority to the full committee so that the committee would be familiar with the report which the minority desired to present. Up to this moment the majority of the committee have no knowledge whether the minority intend to submit a report, and if they do, the majority of the committee is without any knowledge whatever of what the report may be.

MAJORITY REPORT

Your committee had referred to it 21 resolutions dealing with the subject of Industrial Unionism; nine of these resolutions—Nos. 24, 27, 31, 74, 79, 93, 107, 126 and 222—call for the issuing of a charter establishing an industrial union for a specific industry. One of these resolutions—No. 24—was withdrawn upon the request of the delegate introducing it. These resolutions will be reported upon individually.

The remaining resolutions call for the setting up of industrial unions to replace existing National and International Unions, these are Resolutions Nos. 30, 36, 40, 50, 51, 73, 105, 112, 120, 133, 163, 189 and 231. Two of these were introduced by International Unions—The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and the Textile Workers of America. Two were introduced by the delegates of State Federations of Labor of California and of Wisconsin. The others were introduced by Federal Labor Unions, in some instances by a single delegate, and in one instance by delegates representing some forty-two Federal Labor Unions.

Your committee finds, upon examining these resolutions, that the introducers either misunderstood the Declaration adopted last year by the San Francisco

Convention, or desire that the policy established in that Declaration should be set aside and existing International Unions merged into industrial organizations organized for the several industries.

The Declaration adopted by the convention last year was specific upon the question involved. It was recognized that in many industries large numbers of so-called mass production workers were employed. The skill they required being of an entirely different character from that of those who become craftsmen through years of apprenticeship. In many mass production industries, the newly employed workers within a few months become as competent to perform the specialized operation required to do the work, as they ever will be. This is in marked contrast to the skill required of craftsmen who, in addition to their years of apprenticeship, require additional time before they master all of the knowledge required to round out complete mastery of their craft.

The Declaration of the San Francisco Convention provided that the workers classified as "mass production employees" should be granted charters in the mass production industries which would include all of the mass production workers employed in such industries. So that there might be no misunderstanding, and for the purpose of differentiating between craftsmen and mass production workers, the Declaration adopted last year included the following language:

"The American Federation of Labor is desirous of meeting this demand. We consider it our duty to formulate policies which will fully protect the jurisdictional rights of all trade unions organized upon craft lines and afford them every opportunity for development and accession of those workers engaged upon work over which these organizations exercise jurisdiction. Experience has shown that craft organization is most effective in protecting the welfare and advancing the interests of workers where the nature of the industry is such that the lines of demarcation between crafts are distinguishable."

So that there might be no infringement upon the rights of the National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, provision was made in the Declaration to protect

these rights. The final paragraph of the Declaration reading

"That in order to protect and safeguard the members of such National and International Unions as are chartered, the American Federation of Labor shall for a provisional period direct the policies, administer the business, and designate the administrative and financial officers of the newly organized unions."

The convention could not have done otherwise than reaffirm the rights and the jurisdiction given to the National and International Unions which had been chartered by the American Federation of Labor, many of which had become International Unions before the Civil War and had maintained a continuous existence since that time.

It was principally these great International Unions which had brought the American Federation of Labor into existence. When the American Federation of Labor was organized, and these Unions accepted charters, and when National or International Unions have been organized since 1881, a contract was entered into between the American Federation of Labor and the National and International Unions.

This contract called for loyalty to the purposes and policies of the American Federation of Labor. In return the National and International Unions were guaranteed two specific things: first, jurisdiction over all workmen doing the work of the specific craft or occupation covered by the organization; secondly, guaranteeing to the National or International Unions complete autonomy over all of its internal affairs.

The American Federation of Labor could not have been organized upon any other basis of relationship between the National and International Unions and the Federation. It is recognized that where a contract is entered into between parties, it cannot be set aside or altered by one party without the consent and approval of the other.

For these valid and vital reasons, your committee recommends non-concurrence with Resolutions Nos. 30, 36, 40, 50, 51, 73, 105, 112, 120, 133, 163, 189 and 231, and reaffirmation of the Declaration of the San Francisco Convention upon this subject.

Delegate Howard, International Typographical Union: Mr. President and delegates to the fifty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor: It will not be surprising to some of the delegates in this convention that the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, who claims to have the hide of a rhinoceros, should indicate to the delegates that there had been some discourtesy on the part of some of the members of the Committee on Resolutions to present a minority report. It is considered, perhaps unethical and perhaps unusual, that delegates to the convention should submit minority reports, and, of course, when important questions are under discussion and there is a division of opinion upon these questions there may be some who believe that the minority should subordinate its opinion to the majority rather than to come before this convention and apply the purifying influence of discussion to that question which affects millions of workers in America. The majority report from the Committee on Resolutions comes to this convention by a vote of eight members of the committee. The minority report comes to this convention by a vote of seven members of the committee. We in times past have heard a great deal about five to four decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States, and I wonder if, when we are consuming so much of our energy in contending that there is a possibility that the four may be right, if we are not justified in applying the same logic in a situation of this kind.

The report of the minority of the committee is presented because the report of the majority of the committee was not acceptable, after hours of debate upon this question. The minority report says:

MINORITY REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION POLICIES

During the fifty-five years the American Federation of Labor has existed its declared purpose has been to organize the unorganized industrial workers of the nation. The contributions from its numerous affiliates have been made in the belief that organization would be advanced for the purpose of adding economic strength to the various

units and that the organization policies would at all times be molded to accomplish the main purpose of organizing the unorganized workers in the industrial field.

During the existence of the American Federation of Labor and since the date many of the charters were granted to National and International Unions upon craft lines, the changes in industrial methods have been such that the duties of millions of industrial workers are of a nature that did not exist at the time many National and International charters were issued. This makes it apparent that jurisdiction over these new classes of work could not have been anticipated and included in the jurisdictional outlines of charters issued to National and International Unions at a time when the work that is now performed by these millions of industrial workers did not exist.

We refuse to accept existing conditions as evidence that the organization policies of the American Federation of Labor have been successful. The fact that after fifty-five years of activity and effort we have enrolled under the banner of the American Federation of Labor approximately three and one-half millions of members of the thirty-nine millions of organizable workers is a condition that speaks for itself.

We declare the time has arrived when common sense demands the organization policies of the American Federation of Labor must be molded to meet present day needs. In the great mass production industries and those in which the workers are composite mechanics, specialized and engaged upon classes of work which do not fully qualify them for craft union membership, industrial organization is the only solution. Continuous employment, economic security and the ability to protect the individual worker depends upon organization upon industrial lines.

In those industries where the work performed by a majority of the workers is of such nature that it might fall within the jurisdictional claim of more than one craft union, or no established craft union, it is declared that industrial organization is the only form that will be acceptable to the workers or adequately meet their needs. Jurisdictional claims over small groups of workers in these industries prevent organization

by breeding a fear that when once organized the workers in these plants will be separated, unity of action and their economic power destroyed by requiring various groups to transfer to National and International Unions organized upon craft lines.

To successfully organize the workers in industrial establishments where conditions outlined herein obtain there must be a clear declaration by the American Federation of Labor. It must recognize the right of these workers to organize into industrial unions and be granted unrestricted charters which guarantee the right to accept into membership all workers employed in the industry or establishment without fear of being compelled to destroy unity of action through recognition of jurisdictional claims made by National or International Unions.

It is not the intention of this declaration of policy to permit the taking away from National or International craft unions any part of their present membership, or potential membership in establishments where the dominant factor is skilled craftsmen coming under a proper definition of the jurisdiction of such National or International Unions. However, it is the declared purpose to provide for the organization of workers in mass production and other industries upon industrial and plant lines, regardless of claims based upon the question of jurisdiction.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is expressly directed and instructed to issue unrestricted charters to organizations formed in accordance with the policy herein enunciated. The Executive Council is also instructed to enter upon an aggressive organization campaign in those industries in which the great mass of the workers are not now organized, issue unrestricted charters to workers organized into independent unions, company-dominated unions and those organizations now affiliated with associations not recognized by the American Federation of Labor as bona-fide labor organizations.

Submitted by:

CHARLES P. HOWARD,
DAVID DUBINSKY,
FRANK B. POWERS,
JOHN L. LEWIS,
A. A. MYRUP,
J. C. LEWIS.

Delegate Howard: I move you, Mr. Chairman, that the minority report be substituted for the majority report and adopted by this convention.

The motion was seconded by Delegate McHugh, Printing Pressmen.

Secretary Frey: So that the record may be accurate, I first made the statement that the minority members on the committee informed the majority that they were to prepare a report and submit it to the full committee for the information of the members of the majority. I want to indicate that that was not done. It must have been possible, because I noticed immediately after the minority of the committee began its report that mimeographed copies of the report were distributed to the press.

Delegate Howard: I had not relinquished the floor.

Secretary Frey: May I ask a question? I understand that seven members of the committee signed the minority report. Upon reading the minority report I find it is signed by but six members of the committee. I merely wanted to have the record perfectly straight so that there would be no misunderstanding afterwards.

Delegate Howard: For the information of the delegates, permit me to say that the question you are called upon to consider is of far too great importance to your welfare and the welfare of millions of workers in this country to resort to quibbling or sharp practice in attempting to deal with a question of this kind. There are those who believe that in a labor organization any policy should be adopted to have your own way and your own belief prevail. I am not one of those. I believe that if there is any group of people on God's green earth where you can expect fairness in debating questions that affect the workers of this country it should be in a labor union in a convention of this kind.

I stated to this convention that there were seven members of the committee that voted in the committee against the majority report, and I stated that there were eight members of the committee that voted in favor of the majority report, and I did not say that seven members of the committee signed the minority report, but I will say that six members signed it, and it is my opinion, it is my opinion—

I accept the personal responsibility for it—that the only reason the seventh member did not sign it is because of the pressure that was put upon him by well known methods in this convention.

This convention has been in session for more than a week. You have had an opportunity of hearing some interesting and informative addresses. You have also been called upon to consider and discuss a number of resolutions and proposals which were of more or less importance. I trust that now the time has arrived when there comes before the convention the most important question to be considered, that the delegates will not be impatient but that they will be prepared to permit the fullest discussion on this question.

The reason for submitting a minority report upon the question of organization policies is because a minority of the committee who joined with the other members last year at San Francisco in presenting a report to the convention upon this subject, which was adopted, do not believe that that action has been interpreted and applied as was intended by some of those who subscribed to that report. The minority is not recommending to this convention that any of the resolutions presented dealing with this subject should be adopted by the convention. The minority is submitting to you a program for organization which we believe will permit of the organization of the unorganized worker in those industries which are now completely or almost completely unorganized. And if there is an unworthy purpose, if that is not a subject that demands your attention and consideration, then I say to you that if the minority that presents this report is imposing upon the convention, it is a case of the head and not of the heart, because we are sincere in our efforts to make the organizational activities of the American Federation of Labor more effective.

Conditions as they exist at this time make it more necessary, in my opinion, for effective organization activity than at any time during the life of the American Federation of Labor. In response to the demands of labor there has been adopted by the Federal Congress what is known as the Wagner Act. Many of us understand that the Wagner Act does not give the

workers of this country any right or privilege that could not have been exercised under the Constitution of the United States. The one particular difference is that it makes it the duty of the Government to protect the rights of workers engaged in industries devoted to interstate commerce, to bargain collectively, choose their own representatives and form an organization of their own choice.

Now, let me say to you that the workers of this country are going to organize, and if they are not permitted to organize under the banners of the American Federation of Labor they are going to organize under some other leadership or they are going to organize without leadership. And if either of those conditions should eventually, I submit to you that it would be a far more serious problem for our Government, for the people of this country and for the American Federation of Labor itself than if our organization policies should be so molded that we can organize them and bring them under the leadership of this organization.

I contend that the success of an organization campaign depends upon molding the policies of the American Federation of Labor to meet the desires of those whom we decide to organize, rather than to attempt to mold the desires of the millions of workers who are unorganized to accept the policies that we would impose upon them.

That is one of the principal, fundamental reasons that I am presenting to this convention in a minority report an organization policy which I believe will accomplish that result. I represent in this convention what is usually referred to as strictly a craft union. I cannot be charged with having a personal or organizational interest in this matter other than the general welfare of the workers of my country. I understand, because of contact during the past three or four years, the reasons why we have failed to organize the workers in these mass production industries. First, there is involved the question of continuous employment. Any one who is familiar with the situation knows that under the system for the operation of these industries the workers are

required, perhaps within the limit of one day, to perform work that would come under the jurisdiction of more than one national or international craft union. Now these workers are sufficiently intelligent to know that immediately they are directed to step across jurisdictional lines by their supervisors that there is the possibility of a jurisdictional controversy which will affect their opportunity for continuous employment. I am told by some of those who are employed in the type of craft that we seek to organize that there are times when a worker will be engaged upon work that would come under the jurisdiction of three or four craft unions within a single day. I submit to you that it is not possible to induce those men, with their inexperience, to organize upon craft lines.

I am one of those who are willing, first to organize them, and to organize them with the assurance that their continuous employment is not going to be affected by jurisdictional controversies. And I am willing to believe that their experience in organization in the future will indicate the class of organization that will most effectively protect and advance their interests.

Now there is another condition that interferes with the organization of workers in these plants. And it is not a theoretical fear, it is one that has been experienced in many places and it is one that is real in the minds of these workers. They believe—and not without cause—that if they be organized in a Federal Union without the drawing of jurisdictional lines, that as soon as some national or international union makes a jurisdictional claim for a small block of these workers, that the unity of action will be destroyed and that this group will be forcibly removed from the Federal organization on industrial lines and set over into a craft organization that cannot protect them under the existing conditions.

I was told since I came into this hall where there is a plant that employs about 2000 workers. Those interested in organization work in that particular city set out upon an organization campaign for the purpose of organizing those employed by

this plant. They succeeded to a marked degree and they secured from the American Federation of Labor a charter. And after they secured that charter jurisdictional claims were made by national and international unions for some of those in the group who were organized, with the result that the charter was recalled and in that plant today there is no semblance of an organization. Now that story can be repeated as applying to numerous places in this country.

I ask you if it be the policy of the American Federation of Labor to organize the unorganized workers, where is there common sense in making requirements that **cannot be and will not be met?** And where is there common sense in continuing to make organizational lines which defeat the very purpose of this organization?

When we go into the practical application of our present organizational policies, what is the condition with which we are confronted? Here is a plant in which there may be 600 or 6,000 workers. Nobody outside of those who have access to the payroll are fully informed as to the nature of the duties the workers perform, but for some reason or other, because they have read in the public press that the workers have a right to organize, or because they have heard an inspirational address upon the subject of organization, or because they have read something that the President may have said, there is inspired in some of those workers a desire to organize.

Of course they are inexperienced, they know nothing about the process of forming an organization, and perhaps through inquiry they learn that the information could be secured from the American Federation of Labor and they endeavor to seek information as to whether or not a charter could be secured. I say to you that nobody this side of Heaven could answer that question under the present conditions. You have got to know the classification of work, you have got to know the duties these workers are performing, you have got to be able to judge how many of the national and international craft unions might claim jurisdiction, and after you have secured that information any one of the national or international craft unions that is inclined to

object to the issuance of a charter to that group can prevent the issuance of a charter. I submit to you that that is not a common sense policy if we desire or intend to organize the unorganized workers in this country.

I don't know, there is no one in this convention knows, and I don't know that there is a man in the United States who knows, how many workers have been organized into independent unions, company unions, unions and associations that may have some affiliation with subversive influences during the past few years. However, I am inclined to believe that the number of members in these classes of organization is far greater than any of us would grant. If that be true, I submit to you that there is a menace rapidly growing, a menace to the American Federation of Labor, because if some one or some agency interested in creating a movement that is dual to the American Federation of Labor, they have a fertile field and a very fine basis upon which to work, and I am sure that that is a condition that no delegate in this convention desires should arise or a condition with which the American Federation of Labor should be confronted at any time in the future.

In discussing the question of organizational policies I have been asked many times as to how they were to be applied. The minority report says it is not the purpose to take from any national or international union any part of their present membership, or any part of their potential membership employed in certain types and plants of industry. Certainly that should be accepted as protecting their craft and national or international unions. I do not believe there should be such a degree of selfishness or organizational interest that would inspire an objection to the issuance of a charter to a large number of workers in a plant simply because one or more organizations might have workers employed in there who would be eligible to membership in our craft unions.

I believe the organization of these workers is far too important to permit objections of that kind to prevent the issuance of charters to industrial and plant unions in the types of industries which we have referred to.

It has also been said to me by some of those in the building trades that the adoption of an organization policy such as is proposed would adversely affect the industry in which they are engaged. I say to you that my interpretation of this report is such that it would not adversely affect your interests. It is my opinion that it would assist you generally. Let us say that here is a plant that employs 6,000 workers, organized in an industrial union, and that the owners of that plant are going to do some construction work. Does it not occur to you that the organized building trades would receive greater consideration if the workers of that plant were organized rather than if they were not organized? Does not it occur to you that the owners of that plant would pay far more attention to having that construction work done by members of the building trades unions than if they had an entirely unorganized plant? It seems to me that the answer is logical, it is plain, and it would be of great assistance to the building trades unions rather than to take from them any of their present or potential membership.

I heard an address from this platform this morning upon the subject of industrial peace. I bow to no delegate in this convention in the matter of industrial peace. I do not believe that the workers in any line of industry profit as a result of industrial warfare. I submit to you that the only way we can have industrial peace in the industries of this nation is to organize the workers to a sufficient extent that those who manage and operate and own the industries and the tools of production of the country will not dare to invite a conflict of that kind. My interest in this matter is to provide an organization policy that will bring about that condition.

I think no truer words have been said than the statement of Mr. Rosenblatt this morning that it has been the policy of the industrial kings of this country to divide and conquer, and so long as they are permitted to continue that policy they will continue to divide and conquer, and it is my belief that the American Federation of Labor cannot stand still upon a question of this kind, that it should not be wedded to the policies that were made a half a cen-

tury ago, or even a year ago, but that we must go ahead and perform our full duty in organizing the unorganized workers of this country.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Woll of the committee.

Vice President Woll: Mr. Chairman, in my presentation of the views of the majority committee, it will be my purpose to refrain from any recriminations, but to deal entirely upon the merits of the proposal, because, as stated by the previous speaker, the issue involved is grave. It is of utmost importance that we reach conclusions, knowing at least within a reasonable time to what consequences such conclusions and decisions may lead us.

I am sure that we are all inspired with one thought, one hope, one desire, and that is to protect and to advance the interests of the wage earners of our land—yes, organized as well as those who are unorganized. We may differ as to policies, as to methods, but I am sure that there can be no difference as to the ultimate goal. Quite a little has been said about 8 to 7 and things of that kind. May I first say that that matter was considered by the committee while I was unfortunately delayed in attending its meetings, so my vote went unrecorded on that. I am, of course, with the majority report. That does not make any difference, though. If the minority were but one and its judgment would be wiser than the balance of the fifteen, then of course it should receive the support of this convention. Likewise, if the majority of the committee presents a better point, then regardless of what the views of the minority might be, the convention should be actuated in that way.

I have carefully listened to the reading of the report as submitted by these six delegates who are members of the committee. I wish that I might reconcile the presentation of Delegate Howard on the subject of organization, the need, the assurance of protection to the various national and international unions when compared with the document presented for adoption by the committee's report. At first it had been my belief until I heard the document read and very carefully viewed it—and frankly I

have not yet had the time to carefully analyze all phrases contained in there—that the difference of opinion between the majority and the minority today was not a question of the report adopted at the San Francisco convention upon the unanimous recommendation of all concerned, in a divided report, that it was purely a matter of interpretation of a matter of enforcement. The delegate in one part of his statement practically reaffirmed that point of view. It is difficult, however, to reconcile the report with that. I wish that that might be the clear cut issue, that other extraneous issues might not become involved, but I cannot help, in reading this report of the six delegates, referring to the fact that throughout the report it speaks of industry establishments, plants and industries.

I think a great menace and a great danger is involved in speaking of plant organization, in connection with industrial organization. I don't think the delegates had in mind endorsing plant organization, but certainly the document throughout gives that clear cut indication.

Then we read further that "It is not the intention of this declaration of policy to permit the taking away from national or international craft unions any part of their present membership or potential memberships in establishments where the dominant factor is skilled craftsmen coming under a proper definition of the jurisdiction of such national or international union. However, it is the declared purpose to provide for the organization of workers in mass production and other industries upon industrial and plant lines, regardless of claims based upon the question of jurisdiction."

Is that to be the policy of the American Federation of Labor, and are the advocates who believe that our members should be organized in a more broadly defined term of industry should be organized into one industry? Do we understand likewise that this committee intends that we shall go into a process of plant organization?

Reading further, the final recommendation of the committee:

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is expressly directed and instructed to issue unrestricted charters to organizations formed in accordance

with the policies here enunciated. The Executive Council is also instructed to enter upon an aggressive organization campaign in those industries in which the great mass of the workers are not now organized, issue unrestricted charters to workers organized into independent unions, company-dominated unions and those organizations now affiliated with associations not recognized by the American Federation of Labor as bona fide organizations."

What is the implication? What is the meaning? What is the interpretation to be placed upon these directions and instructions where no volition, no discretion, is given to your Executive Council? Is it that the American Federation of Labor, where there is a company union and their organization so decides, shall issue a charter to it? Or here is an independent or dual organization—shall we issue a charter to it? The instructions are clear. The language would imply that. And yet we are asked to adopt declarations of that kind and type and character.

I say I am sorry that the document itself raises other subsidiary and, I dare say, great and grave questions. I regret that the issue is not clear-cut on the form of organization that should be proposed to this convention.

Might I say this question of organization of labor is of the utmost importance to all of us. Delegate Howard has referred to the Industrial Labor Disputes Act. Bear in mind that we now have legislation on our books which does not make us the sole factor in determining the form and character of organization that shall hereafter prevail in the labor movement. That power, to a large degree, has now been lodged in a Federal government agency. Of course it is hoped that in its administration we may not find the full vigor and rigor of this law applied against our respective organizations, industrial or craft, whatever designation we might give to our own particular organization.

That that power has been vested and that it leaves out the question of industrial organization as we understand it is clearly indicated by merely a cursory review of the Act itself. On the question of organization it means that regardless of what our point of view is, regardless of what difficulties we may

have in our convention, it is one of the most important things we must consider. We must not be guided by sentiment but by cold logic and reasoning and by no political preferment or otherwise in reaching conclusions on this matter.

Section 7 of the Act, first of all, gives the employes the right of selecting their own representatives and we know, of course, interpreted rigidly it would mean entirely an employe or plant organization and not groups of organizations within an industry, trade or calling. We have sought to safeguard that by the exception in Section 3 by saying:

"Nothing in this act or in any other Federal statute shall preclude an employer from making an agreement with a labor organization (not established, maintained, or assisted by any action defined in this act as an unfair labor practice) to require as a condition of employment membership therein, if such labor organization is the representative of the employes as provided in Section 9."

While of course we seek to safeguard our collective agreements requiring every member in the industry or craft to belong to our respective organizations, the question of the validity of our organization finally in its right to represent employes rests with the Labor Board—to be determined how? Not as it may please, but as it is prescribed in the law itself.

When we get to Section 9 what does it say:

"Representatives designated or selected for the purposes of collective bargaining by the majority of the employes in a unit appropriate for such purposes, shall be the exclusive representatives of all the employes in such unit for the purposes of collective bargaining in respect to rates of pay, wages, hours of employment or other conditions of employment."

In addition this section provides that the individual employes or groups of employes shall have the right at any time to present grievances to their employers.

Realize that here is the enactment of law—that a majority in the plant may bind all within that plant as to right of representation.

Now Charlie Howard and I might differ as to philosophies of organizations. Better that we come to an understanding and forget our present difficulties and differences of opinion and look more to the greater danger that would seek to disrupt our entire movement.

But then how is the Board to make its decisions:

"The Board shall decide in each case whether in order to insure to employees the full benefit of their right to self-organization"—we may issue charters all we want, we are not the supreme body in this matter, self-organization is not to be determined in the councils of the American Federation of Labor. We may issue a charter, we may seek to grant the claims of jurisdiction and seek to safeguard those claims from the invasion of any other group of workers, but we are not the ultimate judges. This Board shall be the Judges.

Let me quote again:

"The Board shall decide in each case whether in order to insure to employees the full benefit of their right to self-organization and to collective bargaining and otherwise to effectuate the policies of this Act, the unit appropriate for the purposes of collective bargaining shall be the employer unit, craft unit, plant unit or subdivision thereof."

There is no industrial unit provided for in the law. Can there be any doubt about that? And it is not for us to interpret that, because it is to be interpreted by the Board. Unconsciously, I am sure, this report of the committee in emphasizing plant organization and charters to independent unions and company-dominated unions, regardless of claims of affiliated national and international unions, will be supporting the decisions and enactments of a Board that is confined in the nature and character of its decisions that it is delegated by the Government to render.

Then again I might call your attention on this question of organization and of representation in labor. We have different forms of legislation in Canada, and of course we are not purely a United States movement. Our membership in Canada is also involved. The province of Ontario has

a law, as many of you know, which provides that if the majority of the employees and employers in an industry or establishment agree on a certain condition, they may, with the approval of a certain designated authority, bind the whole industry to that. And again whether we represent a so-called industrial or craft organization, we will be powerless to act.

With all of this we are merely playing into the hands of those who would delegate the power of self-organization of wage earners, not into the hands of the councils of the American Federation of Labor or its Executive Council, which is no longer to be trusted in carrying out the interpretation of the convention, but to delegate it to Governmental bodies.

Now leaving aside this question, in 1933 the committee had dealt with this question, and you will recall that a minority and majority report were presented then and an agreement reached that a conference be called of national and international unions to discuss and determine this question of organization. The conference was held on the 24th and 25th of January, 1934. Over seventy national and international unions were represented at that conference. If you would read the report of the committee to that conference, which was unanimously adopted by all those national and international unions, you would find almost a duplication of that which was stated by the delegate who preceded me on the question of the necessity of organization, on the imperative requirement of not technically raising the question, but joining in the defined purpose of organizing the wage earners in all fields and in all endeavors and yet seeking by conference and otherwise to preserve the integrity of the respective national and international unions.

May I just read the last paragraph of the report before the recommendations—and this report, mind you, was signed by Matthew Woll, Victor A. Olander, Arthur O. Wharton, Daniel J. Tobin, Charles P. Howard, Andrew Myrup, George Lakey, David Dubinsky and Michael Collieran.

This report was adopted unanimously at the conference held on January 24 and 25, 1934. I quote from the report of the committee:

"First: That the work of organizing by and through National and International Unions, supplemented by that of the American Federation of Labor through federal and local trade unions, proceed with increased vigor and determination; that the fullest possible latitude be exercised by the Executive Council in the granting of federal charters and that where or whenever a temporary infraction of the rights of National and International Unions may be involved, that the Executive Council adjust such difficulties in the spirit of taking full advantage of the immediate situation and with the ultimate recognition of the rights of all concerned.

"It must be apparent that in this endeavor of organization, conflicts of jurisdiction and claims of invasion of organization rights are likely to occur. If we are to meet the requirements of the moment we must accept such conflicts in the spirit of tolerance and through proper procedure correct such errors as have or hereafter may occur. After all, we must look to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to serve in this capacity as never heretofore. In that spirit and in that thought we recommend:"

I say that report was unanimously adopted on January 25, 1934. A few months thereafter, when the convention met in October in San Francisco, this question was again raised. Mind you, not sufficient time had even been given to test out the validity of the procedure outlined. From January 25 to October 1 was all the time that had intervened, but the subject again came before the committee and again a unanimous decision was reached by your committee. I shall not burden you with the reading of the report of a year ago. It is no secret to say that Delegate Charles P. Howard wrote that report. It is no secret to state that the most serious conflict between the committee arose, and that he and I played the role of intermediaries of both groups in order to secure an understanding, and delightfully and happily we all joined in that report. That report is not the work of the speaker. I had no word in that report of my own volition, but I accepted it readily and gladly as being expressive of the full committee's opinion and that of the convention of a year ago.

Then the report was made to the convention. I shall not quote at length. One of the delegates who signed the minority report, and I must refer to him by name, immediately upon the presenting of the report made the following remark among others. I

just quote briefly this—Delegate Lewis speaking:

"I feel that the members of the committee and the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are to be congratulated upon the nature of the report which is spread before you this afternoon for your consideration. What does it mean? It means the outlining of a definite policy upon the part of the American Federation of Labor for the organization and the bringing into the fold of trade unionism in America of the teeming millions of workers here in America's base industries and its miscellaneous trades."

Another quotation:

"May I say that this document is not an attempt on the part of anyone, it is not the desire of the Committee on Resolutions to impair or to interfere in any manner in the legitimate work or the form and structure of any existing trade union of the craft form in the American Federation of Labor. It is rather a policy designed and intended, if adopted, to organize the unorganized in our mass production and miscellaneous industries. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is given specific instructions to issue national or international charters in three base industries. The Executive Council is given discretionary powers to be used in the future upon its own motion and upon its own authorization to issue additional charters of a national or international nature in industry where such action is necessary, in the judgment of the Executive Council, to effectuate the policies of the American Federation of Labor."

And so throughout, a laudatory commendation of the report adopted a year ago, and which your committee or the majority report, if you wish, asks that we should now reaffirm—a document that was so highly lauded a year ago.

Of course there necessarily arises the question of why we have changed in our laudatory comments, in our joint opinions and recommendations that this should be the guiding policy—a policy not to impair or retrench or infringe upon the jurisdiction rights of other organizations, but to organize the great field of the unorganized. What has been the cause, what is the reason, what is the underlying dissatisfaction with this report of a year ago. Frankly, my understanding—because I cannot speak the mind and opinion of others—but my observation leads me to believe that the only cause of dissension from that report—and that was also one of the statements made by the previous delegate, that the report of a year ago was interpreted entirely

different than the writer of it intended. Of course no one could say what was in the mind of Delegate Howard when he wrote that report. I know what is in my mind when I read the report and the language is clear, but I am not alone in that, for that project is again made very clear in that report, for discretionary power was vested in the Executive Council in order that it might meet any situation as the particular facts in that particular instance might warrant and so that it would not be placed in a straitjacket with direct instructions and with no opportunities or discretions to meet perhaps a most difficult situation.

This report would give direction to the Executive Council, without discretion, and so I am moved to feel that that is the whole difficulty that is involved in this instance at this particular time, in the dissatisfaction on the part of the committee with the report of a year ago.

But that I am not alone in that opinion that discretionary power was given to the Council, let me bring your attention to this subject. Quoting again from the proceedings of the San Francisco convention, Delegate Wharton, of the Machinists, asked this question:

"First, I want to ask a question of information. I would like to ask the committee or the President of the American Federation of Labor to define for me what is meant in the scope of the term 'automotive industry,' as referred to in the recommendation of the committee.

"President Green: The Chair will ask some member of the committee, Delegate Lewis, to make a reply to that question.

"Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: President Wharton and gentlemen—That question was asked in the sessions of the committee. There was no attempt upon the part of the members of the committee to give a definite answer to the question, because the members of the committee did not feel equal to the task of undertaking to define the proper jurisdiction of an international or a national union in the automotive industry."

Thus is Delegate Lewis placing an interpretation upon the report of the committee of a year ago, saying that the members of the committee did not feel themselves competent to undertake the task of defining jurisdiction, but that that was a delegation

of power and authority referred to the Executive Council.

Quoting further:

"We are aware that there is a line of cleavage as between the automobile industry and the so-called accessory or parts industry. We are unable to say as a committee where the line of demarcation upon jurisdiction should be, or if there should be a line of demarcation as between the several parts of the automotive industry.

"However, under the policy recommended by the committee, the Executive Council now, as heretofore, will be clothed with the authority to decide the question of jurisdiction. The Executive Council has had that authority prior to that time when questions of jurisdiction arose as between chartered organizations, and in the issuance of a charter to the automotive industry, the Executive Council, as usual, will exercise its judgment as to those lines of jurisdiction."

Delegate Howard was in the convention hall when Delegate Lewis placed that interpretation upon it. Later on a question was asked with reference to the constitutional provision in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Section 11, found on page 17 of the Constitution, which says:

"No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions."

Again Delegate Lewis says:

"As one member of the committee I see no conflict between the adoption of the report of the committee and the section of the constitution you have just read. No matter what jurisdiction may be claimed by a national or international union under the section of the constitution just quoted by you, it still remains that before that question is settled the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will have to exercise their judgment and render a finding. The same will be true as affecting an application for any new charter.

and so on.

For instance, replying further to Delegate Wharton he said: "In so far as my memory serves me I don't recall that the committee in any manner discussed the possible extension of an automobile organization into the garage industry. I don't think there is any likelihood of a charter of that kind being issued, although my knowledge of the automobile industry is comparatively limited. I am still compelled to rely upon the judgment and discretion of the Executive Council, of which

you are a member, and I am sure that the Executive Council would not undertake to issue a charter there without giving you every opportunity to present the claims of your organization".

So you see throughout this report it was clearly understood that it laid down a policy of organizing the unorganized, of issuing charters of broader jurisdiction in the three specific instances, and then a general delegation of power in miscellaneous trades, with the assurance and understanding had by the convention, regardless of the understanding Delegate Howard might have had as to the language used, that the Executive Council would ultimately be the determining factor in defining the jurisdictions of charters to be granted, so that every organization, craft, trade or industry might have the opportunity of laying its difficulties or its claims of infraction upon its rights before the Executive Council and thus have its day in court.

This report would now destroy that discretionary power, in addition to the enlargement and the changing of the fundamental character of the issuance of charters in the American Federation of Labor.

I have confidence in the Executive Council, no matter who may be its personnel, whether I am on that Council or not, for it is the only efficient method we have in dealing with problems arising from day to day, yes in the matter of form of organization, and we cannot wait from year to year and merely outline a strict course wherein no discretion is permitted.

Now the fact that that is true and that the report of a year ago was sound is best illustrated in several resolutions which have been presented to your committee and which the committee is not now reporting on, but as stated by the secretary of the committee, will be reported on later on. One of them is an appeal to the convention that the jurisdiction as defined by the Executive Council in the automobile industry shall be enlarged and that limitations placed upon that charter be removed. The question is a valid one in this way: That it does present the opportunity of the organizations and the workmen affected to differ

with the Executive Council and to come to a convention of the American Federation of Labor and to indicate to the delegates, if they can, that the Executive Council was in error in its judgment. That is as it should be.

We have likewise a resolution from the Rubber Workers who also dissent from the Executive Council in the jurisdiction defined for its grant of a national charter, in accordance with the instructions of the last convention and the policy outlined. They feel their charter should be broader in scope and character, and so they justly come to this convention and ask that their views might be considered as against the decision of the Executive Council and so that this convention in the light of all information, might be the final judge and the determining factor as to the broadness or the limits of the charter that shall be issued.

I might also say that the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers are seeking jurisdiction over the cement industry, although the instructions to the Council had been to issue a charter international in scope to that industry. They have that right, in fairness, to come here and it is only by that procedure that we can proceed in a way that everyone will feel that their rights, whatever they might be, have been considered and that they have had their day in court.

This policy as outlined now, which takes away all discretion from the Executive Council, which enlarges the character and form of organization, I think will spell ruination for the Labor movement. Please understand that that does not involve the question that the charter of the automobile or rubber industries should be enlarged, that a charter should not be granted to the oil field and refinery workers. Those are matters that the convention is to consider separately and upon their distinctive merits, and if we in our limited time cannot determine all factors involved, then we shall refer it to the Executive Council.

If we don't trust the Executive Council, if we have no confidence in their judgment, if we feel they are biased, then pray let us

change the Executive Council, but let us not adopt a policy of straitjacket judgment and decisions that permit of no flexibility. That, I dare repeat, will lead us into a channel that will strengthen the forces within industry and government that would force labor to submit to its judgment and deprive organized labor of America of its voluntary character, with all of its difficulties, with all of its conflicts, with all of its travail—a self-formed organization, founded upon the basis of volunteerism.

I hope the majority report will be substantiated and approved by this convention.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates of the convention—I rise to support the minority report as presented to this convention by Delegate Howard. I do not speak without some background and some knowledge on this subject acquired in the field of actual experience. I have not gained that knowledge through delving into academic treatises or in sitting in a swivel chair pondering upon the manner in which those upon the firing line should meet their daily problems. I have had perhaps as much experience in organizing workers in the various industries as any member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor or any officer thereof. I served an apprenticeship of five and one-half years as a general organizer for the American Federation of Labor before I became an officer of the United Mine Workers of America. During that period of time I worked in the steel industry, the rubber industry, the glass industry, the lumber industry, the copper industry and other industries in most of the states of this Union.

Then, as now, the American Federation of Labor offered to the workers in these industries a plan of organization into Federal labor unions or local trade unions with the understanding that when organized they would be segregated into the various organizations of their respective crafts. Then, as now, practically every attempt to organize those workers broke upon the same rock that it breaks upon today—the rock of utter futility, the lack of reasonableness in a policy that failed to take into consideration the dreams and requirements of the workers themselves, and failing to take

into consideration the recognized power of the adversaries of labor to destroy these feeble organizations in the great modern industries set up in the form of Federal labor unions or craft organizations functioning in a limited sphere.

For twenty-five years or more the American Federation of Labor has been following this precise policy, and surely in the absence of any other understanding of the question, a record of twenty-five years of constant, unbroken failure should be convincing to those who actually have a desire to increase the prestige of our great labor movement by expanding its membership to permit it to occupy its natural place in the sun.

What is the record? Delegate Howard expressed it when he said that we laid claim to a membership of approximately three and a half million, out of an organizable number of approximately thirty-nine million. There is the answer. If we know nothing else on the question we can at least read the results, and in reading the results we surely understand that our influence is less great, that our activities are more circumscribed, and that our power is more limited to achieve our natural and desirable and virtuous objective than it would be if we had those twenty-five million workers that President Green, in his public address in 1934, talked of organizing. Where are they? Where are those twenty-five million that in a moment of exuberance we were going to organize? Perhaps President Green's arithmetic was wrong and he meant twenty-five thousand, because the total results are nearer the twenty-five thousand than the twenty-five million.

What is our record during that period in organizing—the record of the American Federation of Labor? Quoting from page 95 of the report of the Executive Council, under the sub-heading, "Progress of Organization in Mass Production Industries," the following appears:

"One thousand, eight hundred and four Federal labor unions were organized during the past two years."

This report, although made for the year's period, does not state in that paragraph the number of Federal unions organized in the year preceding the report, but it adds

the preceding year and then says there were 1,804 Federal labor unions organized during that period.

On page 29 of the same report, however, it shows that during the past year there were seventy-three disbanded local trade unions and three hundred and eighty-four suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor; that of Federal labor unions thirty-seven were disbanded and one hundred and twenty-six were suspended; reinstated local trade unions, twenty-seven; reinstated Federal labor unions, seven, making a total of thirty-four Federal and local trade unions that 1,650 organizers of the American Federation of Labor succeeded in adding in one year—not an amazing number of reinstatements over those suspended or disbanded. Subtracting the thirty-four reinstatements from the six hundred and twenty suspended and disbanded, you have five hundred and eighty-six of those 1,804 that have permanently gone out of existence.

On page 28 of the Executive Council's report we find that 226 local trade unions were organized during the year and forty-six Federal labor unions were organized during the same period, making a total of 272—272 new unions against 586 that died gives you a mortality, net, of 314 Federal labor unions. So the 1,650 organizers of the American Federation of Labor in all classifications during that year lacked 314 unions of holding their own.

There is the organizing record of the American Federation of Labor on those classifications for that year, and those figures do not take into consideration those unions that were transferred or merged into national or international unions.

On that basis I submit it to be a reasonable statement that it will be a long time before the American Federation of Labor organizes those 25,000,000 workers that we are all so anxious to organize. There are others among us who believe that the record indicates a need for a change in policy. This convention floor is teeming with delegates from those industries where those local unions have been established and where they are now dying like the grass withering before the Autumn sun, who are ready to tell this convention of the need for that change in policy.

Those of us who have had experience in these mass production industries are ready to state our professional judgment for what it may be worth and say that it is an absolute fact that America's great modern industries cannot be successfully organized and those organizations maintained against the power of the adversaries of labor in this country under the policy which has been followed for the last quarter of a century in dealing with that subject.

There has been a change in industry, a constant daily change in its processes, a constant change in its employment conditions, a great concentration of opposition to the extension and the logical expansion of the trade union movement. Great combinations of capital have assembled great industrial plants, and they are strung across the borders of our several states from the north to the south and from the east to the west in such a manner that they have assembled to themselves tremendous power and influence, and they are almost 100 per cent effective in opposing organization of the workers under the policies of the American Federation of Labor.

What are we going to do about it? There are some of us who say, let us take council, one with the other, let us put into effect a policy in these certain specified mass production industries that will enable the workers to stand together as a unit against these great commercial units that are exploiting industry at the present time. And the great voice of the workers in those industries, as articulate as their own circumstances will permit, comes to the American Federation of Labor in the form of messages and communications and resolutions to this convention and articles in the press, and in the liberal press, encouraging attention to that subject. Why do we hesitate? We hesitate, perhaps, because there are men here representing great organizations that have rendered a splendid service to their membership formed, on craft lines, who fear that such a policy would jeopardize the interests of their members and jeopardize the interests of their own positions. Their unions are already jeopardized and their membership is already jeopardized because unless the American Federation of Labor may be successful in organizing these

unorganized workers, it is extremely doubtful whether many of these organizations now so perfect, now so efficient, will long be permitted to endure and to function in a manner that is conducive to the well-being of their membership.

There are great influences abroad in the land, and the minds of men in all walks of life are disturbed. We are all disturbed by reason of the changes and the hazards in our economic situation and as regards our own political security. There are forces at work in this country that would wipe out, if they could, the labor movement of America, just as it was wiped out in Germany or just as it was wiped out in Italy.

There are those of us who believe that the best security against that menace and against that trend and against that tendency is a more comprehensive and more powerful labor movement. We believe that the way should be paved so that those millions of workers who are clamoring for admission into our councils might be made welcome upon a basis that they understand and that they believe is suited to their requirements. And in consequence of that we are assembled in this convention with the eyes of these millions of workers upon the convention to decide this momentous question. We think that upon this decision of this convention may rest the future of the American Federation of Labor, because upon this decision will rest the question of whether the American Federation of Labor may be forged into an instrumentality that will render service to all of the workers or whether the American Federation of Labor and its leaders will rest content in that comfortable situation that has prevailed through the years, where they are only required to render service to a paltry three or four or five million of the forty odd million wage workers of this country who, after all, want to be union men.

The average worker, however circumscribed, does not need to be told that a trade union or labor organization is of advantage to him if he is given the privilege of being a member of it under circumstances that he can accept. The average man who does not belong to a union but who works for a corporation in this country understands the contribution that the American labor movement makes toward the improvement

of his standards and the well being of his dear ones, and down in the recesses of his heart, no matter how much he may be compelled by circumstances to conceal it, there burns the feeling of warm appreciation for those forward souls, for those daring spirits who comprise the membership of organized labor in this country and who stand upon their feet four square to the world, asking for their rights as men and asking for the rights of all men.

And so out of my small experience, be it what it may, there is a profound belief on my part that there is a great reservoir of workers here numbering millions and millions of men and women, and back of them stand great numbers of millions of dependents who want the American Federation of Labor to adopt a policy that will be sufficiently flexible and sufficiently modern that it will permit them to join with us in this great fight for the maintenance of the rights of workers and for the upholding of the standards of modern democracy.

I was one who came from the San Francisco convention last year under the presumption that the American Federation of Labor, in the councils of its leaders, had reached a practical compromise upon this question that would enable us to organize these workers without impairment of those organizations already established in certain industries on a craft basis and functioning with great efficiency. For six days and almost six nights the Committee on Resolutions at San Francisco wrestled with this problem, and earnest men, in equity and in good conscience, applied themselves to the proposition and the problem of compromising what had seemed before to be two extreme viewpoints. There came from that convention a committee report which has been read here, which provided for the issuance of charters in mass production industries and, as we understood, upon a basis that would permit men in those organizations to have jurisdiction over the workers in that industry. If that was not the understanding at that time, then it is inconceivable that the committee could have worked for six days on the question, because there would have been no question. The convention, adopting the committee's report, gave express direction to the Execu-

tive Council of the American Federation of Labor to issue those kind of charters in at least three named industries.

What happened? When those questions came before the enlarged Council at a meeting held, I think, three months after the convention adjourned, we found that there was a difference there in interpreting the resolution of the convention as to the type and character and scope of the charters and jurisdictions which should be granted those industries. There were those upon the Council who contended that under no circumstances should charters be issued that in any way deprived the right of certain organizations to come into those industries and to have those men in membership and to make contracts for them. After extended consideration and general debate, that idea prevailed on the Executive Council, and a charter was issued in the automobile industry that practically limited the membership of that organization to the men employed only in the assembling processes of the plant operations.

I was one of those on the Executive Council who thought the action was a breach of faith. I still believe that it was a breach of faith and a travesty upon good conscience. And in consequence of that action the automobile industry is filled with turmoil and caviling and confusion reigns, and these young men are in this convention asking for the granting of the kind of charter that they thought was going to be granted after the San Francisco convention had taken the above-named action.

So the question still haunts us as respects that industry, and we find that elements not friendly to the American Federation of Labor and its ideals and its objectives are exploiting that situation. We find also that the American Federation of Labor in this convention has adopted or will adopt a resolution criticizing a clergyman because he dares to organize an independent union, contrary to the procedure recommended by the American Federation of Labor in the form of organization that it recommends for that industry. Rather should the American Federation of Labor condemn itself for its own short-sighted policy and for creating gratuitously a situation that permits an enemy to come over

its walls and wage destruction in its internal affairs.

We find that the Executive Council took similar action as affecting the rubber industry. We find that the same situation will substantially prevail there, perhaps of lesser magnitude only because the industry itself is secondary in importance to the automobile industry.

I happen to know that in the rubber industry there are literally thousands of men employed who either were former members of the United Mine Workers of America or are the sons of former members of the United Mine Workers of America and who believe in the industrial form of organization because they were reared in that atmosphere. They know and understand that form of organization. They have tasted of its fruits and having tasted of its fruits they are not content in the rubber industry to be further exploited in these feeble attempts to establish collective bargaining in the haunts of the rubber barons in the same way we have been trying to establish it for twenty-five years.

I was in their rubber strike at Akron years and years and years ago—and the years pass faster than I should like them to pass—when this question was up, the same question of organization and the same question of collective bargaining that we have had out there during the past two years, and when President Green, who sits here upon my left, was the chairman of an investigating committee sent in to that rubber industry by the Senate of Ohio to investigate conditions and to make recommendations there that might allay the confusion, restore order in the community, and yield to citizens an equality of rights under the law.

And after the lapse of all these years we find that the American Federation of Labor is still tinkering with this job in the great rubber stronghold of Akron in the same inefficient manner as was the case some twenty or more years ago, with no more result and no more hope. The men employed in these rubber plants write me gratuitously and say that the kind of organization they want in the rubber industry is the kind of organization that the United Mine Workers of America have in the mining industry. That is what they want. Why not give it to

them? There is the problem of opposing those corporations so firmly entrenched in the rubber industry who have never yielded to the rights of collective bargaining. If they are going to fight voluntarily for their rights and are willing to do so and are willing to assimilate the punishment that may be inflicted upon them by these corporations in that industry, why not let the rest of us, who perhaps will not shed any blood personally, let them make their rules, so that they may have a chance to win?

Craft organization? you say, well, I will not yield my jurisdiction in that industry. They do not have it anyhow. They have got nothing there. A dues-paying member is almost an unknown quantity in the rubber industry as far as craft organizations are concerned. They may have one or more sometimes, but they are harried hither and yon and they are compelled to live a life of secrecy and exclusion, just the same as the men in the other mass production industries and in my own industry are harried from pillar to post and make eternal human sacrifices day after day and year after year, while the great American Federation of Labor ponders and ponders and wonders whether or not it really will be best to give these workers the kind of an organization that they want, that they hope for and that they pray for.

So we find that the San Francisco convention policy has not been administered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. We find that Chairman Woll, of this committee, mildly lectures Delegate Lewis and quotes at length from a speech made in San Francisco, asking the convention to accept the report of the committee on the ground that Delegate Lewis now, after the lapse of one year, is not satisfied with the San Francisco action.

Well, a year ago at San Francisco I was a year younger and naturally I had more faith in the Executive Council. I was beguiled into believing that an enlarged Executive Council would honestly interpret and administer this policy—the policy we talked about for six days in committee, the policy of issuing charters for industrial unions in the mass production industries. But surely Delegate Woll would not hold it against me that I was so trusting at that time. I know better now. At San

Francisco they seduced me with fair words. Now, of course, having learned that I was seduced, I am enraged and I am ready to rend my seducers limb from limb, including Delegate Woll. In that sense, of course, I speak figuratively. At San Francisco, as I say, I was younger and more gullible, and I did not realize how much influence the National Civic Federation had with the American Federation of Labor Executive Council—but I know now—perhaps not so much now, since the National Civic Federation is without a president, so I am informed.

I put in some time in the past year attending some meetings of the Executive Council. I am convinced that the Executive Council is not going to issue any charters for industrial unions in any industry. The majority members of that Council say that that is their understanding and interpretation of the resolution passed at San Francisco. They had the vote on the Council to make me believe it, and I believed it, and believing it, I am now against the policy of the San Francisco convention as interpreted and administered by the Executive Council. My assurances to the convention last year that I believed the Executive Council would fairly exercise its authority as between the lines of demarcation of these unions is now withdrawn. I do not believe it will.

Consequently, the members of the Resolutions Committee who present to you this minority report are presenting this report in the hope that there will be a clarification of this issue, so that all and sundry may know the answer to the burning question in industry in America—the question of whether or not the American Federation of Labor is going to organize industrial unions in the mass production industries. I want an answer from a convention of the American Federation of Labor. I represent a group that are not satisfied with an answer from the Executive Council. When I get the answer in the form of a decision from this convention, then I will know that the question is settled, that then this controversy and caviling on that question will cease and that the American Federation of Labor is not going to attempt to serve in any modern, practical way the needs and

the requirements of the men in the steel industry and other industries similarly situated.

The organization I represent has an interest in this question. Our people work in a great base industry, basic in its service to the American people and the economic and commercial processes of the nation. They struggle against great odds and against great influence, and the intensity of their struggle and the weight of their burden is greatly increased by reason of the fact that the American Federation of Labor has not organized the steel industry and a few industries similarly situated.

We are anxious to have collective bargaining established in the steel industry, and our interest in that is, to that degree, selfish because our people know that if the workers were organized in the steel industry and collective bargaining there was an actuality, it would remove the incentive of the great captains of the steel industry to destroy and punish and harass our people who work in the captive coal mines throughout this country, owned by the steel industry.

As I talk to you now, 21,000 of our members are on strike in the State of Alabama—not on strike, they are locked out, and the operators will not accept wage increases negotiated in the Appalachian Joint Wage Conference, which they are obligated to do. They are locked out because the Tennessee Coal & Iron Company, owned by the United States Steel Corporation, the Schloss-Sheffield Steel Company and others there are encouraging the poor, defenseless commercial coal operators of Alabama to fight the United Mine Workers of America and refuse to apply these wage agreements. And the Youngstown Sheet & Tube in Western Pennsylvania has our people locked out. The steel industry is anxious to eliminate the United Mine Workers of America from its captive mines, so that they will constantly have that buffer between the coal mining industry and collective bargaining in the steel industry.

I know that to be true, because I have conferred with the officers of the United States Steel Corporation in relation to our contracts at their captive properties, and they frankly admit that they oppose making

collective bargaining contracts in the coal mining industry because they do not want that power to follow them and annoy them in the iron and steel industry—and they have no more fear of the iron and steel workers annoying them than they have that the League of Nations will come over and impose a mandate or sanctions upon them.

The American Federation of Labor has not done anything with the problem. The Executive Council report says that it has done so because there has been turmoil in the Amalgamated Association, an organization of six or eight thousand men. Well, there are four or five hundred thousand outside of it clamoring to join an industrial form of union. We are assured the way is now open for an aggressive campaign of organization in the steel industry. What kind of a campaign—a campaign to organize them in fifty-seven varieties of organizations? You ought to know without my telling you how effective that kind of campaign will be, and with several hundred thousands of members of the United Mine Workers of America who understand the position of interests of that character and who also understand the practical problems of organization in these big industries, they know that the officers of the American Federation of Labor might as well sit down in their easy chairs and twiddle their thumbs and take a nap as to conclude that any results will come from that kind of organization in the iron and steel industry.

I am telling you facts and I am telling you what is in the hearts of my people, and my people down in Alabama tonight are hungry as I stand talking here, because the Tennessee Coal & Iron Co. is daring enough and bold enough to close their mines to them. And I might say to you that because of circumstances in Alabama prevailing in several counties there is no adequate system of public relief there or Government relief, and our people are suffering, and they are suffering, in its final essence, by the fact that the American Federation of Labor, for some reason or other, has failed after all these years of experimentation to organize the iron and steel workers and establish collective bargaining in that industry.

How long does any one think the United Mine Workers of America will be satisfied with that policy? In Pennsylvania now,

where the Youngstown Sheet and Tube is trying to starve my people to death, there is liable to be an extension of that conflict to take in other companies, and the United Mine Workers of America are calling now, and have been calling upon the American Federation of Labor, to put men and organizers and money into the iron and steel industry and to tell these arrogant steel barons to yield to the principles of collective bargaining in that industry.

If you go in there with your craft union they will mow you down like the Italian machine guns will mow down the Ethiopians in the war now going on in that country; they will mow you down and laugh while they are doing it and ridicule your lack of business acumen, ridicule your lack of ordinary business sagacity in running your own affairs, because of the cavilling in your own councils and the feebleness of your methods.

There is more in this proposition than a mere academic discussion of the modus operandi of organization; there is more to this proposition than revolves around the mere acceptance or rejection of the resolution. The economic well-being and the dream of the future of millions of Americans are involved in the question of whether the American Federation of Labor will be able to devise policies that will permit it to function in a manner that will achieve its own objectives, not the objectives of some one else, but the declared objectives of the American Federation of Labor since the first day it was organized—the objectives of organizing the unorganized.

Surely I don't need to portray to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, composed as it is of its great leaders, the advantages that will come to labor and to America through the organization of the unorganized.

President Green goes down to the White House sometimes to call upon the President of this Republic to discuss the affairs of labor, and the interests of labor and the common people of this country. And sometimes he goes over to the Congressional halls, and he appears there before great committees of the two Houses to make articulate in a public way the things for which labor stands. Now, when he goes down there he goes as the representative of

perhaps three and one-half million American working men. How much more powerful and influential would be the silver-tongued President Green if he were able to appear before the Congress of the United States or the President of this Republic speaking, not for three and one-half million specialized craftsmen organized in the American Federation of Labor, but speaking for five million, or ten million, or twenty million of workers in American industry who have joined the American Federation of Labor when you have given them a chance and made them welcome.

Our orators stand upon this platform and they say the American Federation of Labor will do this and will not do that, and will stand for this policy and oppose that policy, and we hope that these utterances are effective and we hope that those policies when initiated are effective; but we know that if we really embrace in our membership those workers who want to be members of these organizations of ours their words would take on added strength, our policies would be given more attention and the result in material consideration for the men back on the firing line and for the dependents and families behind them to a degree that the mind of man can scarcely encompass.

What of the future of our country? Who among us that does not know the hazards of the present moment? The teachings of false prophets falling upon the ears of a population that is frightened and disturbed and depressed and discouraged, the nocturnal and surreptitious attempts of interests to form a philosophy, the philosophy of the Communists on the one hand and the philosophy of the Nazis on the other hand, equally repugnant and distasteful to the men of labor. And yet it is constituting a serious, deadly menace for the future.

Not one man here but knows that American labor in its declared policies stands for a course that provides for the acceptance of neither the one philosophy nor the other, but a course that will protect our form of government and our established institutions, and a form of government that will take into consideration the needs and requirements of every-day Americans, the common people, if you please, and the common people of this country are the people who work for a living. The American Federation of

Labor stands for that. How much more security would we have in this country for the future for our form of government if we had a virile labor movement that represented, not merely a cross-section of skilled workers, but that represented the men who work with their hands in our great industries, regardless of their trade and calling.

You may say that we are willing to give them that right, we are willing to have them come in, if they will only accept our rules. That evades the question, because they have had that right all these years and they have not profited thereby, and they have found themselves unable to accept the invitation on that basis. I stand here and plead for a policy that I think will do more to perpetuate the American labor movement as an aggressive, fighting movement in our country, and a policy that will protect our form of government against the isms and the philosophies of foreign lands that now seem to be rampant in high and low places throughout the country.

I ask the consideration of the American Federation of Labor, and in so doing I protest to the convention that upon the part of those who presented this minority report there is no attempt or even thought to take advantage of or destroy any satisfactorily existing form of craft organization wherever they have been able to establish themselves in accordance with their policy. The building trades organizations—and I know this has been discussed in the Council—need have no fear of this policy, because there is no logical proponent of this philosophy or an opponent of it who would attempt to apply such a policy where the craft organizations have demonstrated their efficiency for decades of time.

Why not make a contribution toward the well being of those who are not fortunate enough to be members of your organization? The United Mine Workers of America want to make a contribution and want to do no man and no union ill. We are willing to make a contribution in men and in money to the success of a policy of organizing these industries upon an industrial basis. We are willing to take our young men and send them into these industries to organize them. We have demonstrated that before and we

are demonstrating it again. We want to work in co-operation with you, if you can be led to co-operate. If you hold aloof merely because you suspect the intentions of those who promote this policy to the convention, then I can only say that you do yourselves more of an injustice than you do those of whom you think ill.

What are we going to do about it? Admittedly, men and women of labor, we haven't been successful. Admittedly, our non-success has increased our burden, it has encouraged our adversaries, it has brought us into deep trouble. Then why not each make a contribution? The labor movement is organized upon a principle that the strong shall help the weak. That principle of the organizations of America is American, that the strong shall help the weak. The strong man in many industries perhaps can get along comfortably without a labor organization to protect him, but for every privilege he arrogates to himself because of his strength or stature he deprives some individual less strong than he of that privilege, and he profits only at the expense of some one more weak than he is.

Is it right, after all, that because some of us are capable of forging great and powerful organizations of skilled craftsmen in this country that we should lock ourselves up in our own domain and say, "I am merely working for those who pay me"? Isn't it right that we should contribute something of our own strength, our own virtues, our own knowledge, our own influence toward those less fortunately situated, in the knowledge that if we help them and they grow strong, in turn that we will be the beneficiary of their changed status and their strength? The strength of a strong man is a prideful thing, but the unfortunate thing in life is that strong men do not remain strong. And that is just as true of unions and labor organizations as it is true of men and individuals.

And, whereas, today the craft unions of this country may be able to stand upon their own feet and like mighty oaks stand before the gale, defy the lightning, yet the day may come when this changed scheme of things—and things are changing rapidly now—the day may come when those organizations will not be able to withstand the lightning and the gale. Now, prepare yourselves by making

a contribution to your less fortunate brethren, heed this cry from Macedonia that comes from the hearts of men. Organize the unorganized and in so doing you make the American Federation of Labor the greatest instrumentality that has ever been forged in the history of modern civilization to befriend the cause of humanity and champion human rights.

We meet here and we pass resolutions in convention after convention, we decide to do this and that and we charge our officers and our Council members with an obligation to go out and do this and that. We are just as efficient as our strength lets us be. How strong is that? I have had prepared for me an analysis of the actions of the San Francisco convention upon all matters upon which they took action. I have this analysis before me. I will not read it, but merely submit it for the record for such advantage as it may be to you. There were 102 propositions on which the convention took action. In those referring to legislation—and I will only read the summary on the first page—two were enacted largely through American Federation of Labor action; twelve had success due to the work of the international unions; no action was taken by the American Federation of Labor on legislative action submitted in 46 in number; studies ordered but not made, 24 studies on different subjects which the convention ordered. None of them were made. There is a perfect answer why none of these things was done. The answer is that an overburdened and limited legislative agency could not do all the work, that their abilities were taxed to the utmost and funds were not available to make the studies necessary, and therefore our efficiency was limited by our income and our income was limited by our membership.

Take in more members, build up the American Federation of Labor to make it an efficient instrumentality so that the officers of the Federation may carry out the mandates of the convention in making contributions to union welfare. I ask that this document may be incorporated in the proceedings of the convention. You will find it most striking in its implications. It betrays the weakness of this Federation of Labor, and of

course the fundamental weakness of the American Federation of Labor is the fact that it encompasses within its ranks only three and one-half million of the forty odd million of the workers of the country. How many times has that taunt been thrown in the faces of the legislative agencies of the American Federation of Labor and its officers and the officers of international unions? Constantly in the editorial columns of the hostile press we are taunted, taunted, taunted, with our own inadequacy and our weakness.

The proponents of this minority report are asking that the convention adopt a policy designed to meet modern requirements under modern conditions in this industrial nation of ours. If we fail to have this convention adopt this policy, then, of course, the responsibility falls upon the American Federation of Labor, and the world and the workers will believe now and for the future that the American Federation of Labor cannot and will not make a contribution toward the obvious need of our present economic condition in this country of ours.

For myself I will accept your judgment, if you make it, as an evidence of the fact that your minds are closed on this question and that my people whom I represent can expect no help or no assistance from the American Federation of Labor in the organization of the steel industry, and we will be compelled to carry on as best we can in the mining industry, knowing that our terrible adversary, the steel industry in this country, having tasted blood, may at any time open up and attempt to destroy the union which I have the honor to represent.

We will accept that decision sadly, and I cannot imagine any more discouraging contribution that the American Federation of Labor can make to the cause of labor or the cause of liberal thought in America than to take that action, for despair will prevail where hope now exists. The enemies of labor in this country will be encouraged and high wassail will prevail at the banquet tables of the mighty throughout the country if the American Federation of Labor refuses to grant the petition of these industries that are fighting for the objectives of labor and to defend the rights of mankind.

Following is the summary referred to by President Lewis:

An answer to the following Survey Summary will be found commencing on page 833 of these proceedings

SURVEY SUMMARY

I LEGISLATION:

- (a) Enacted, largely through A. F. of L. action—2.
- (b) A. F. of L. helpful also in Child Labor Amendment campaign.
- (c) Success due to the work of the Internationals—12.
- (d) NO action taken by the A. F. of L. on legislative questions to which the Convention action committed them—46.
- (e) Success due largely to governmental aid in getting the legislation—6.
- (f) A. F. of L. defeated—4.

II STUDIES ORDERED BUT NOT MADE—24.

III MISCELLANEOUS CONVENTION MANDATES NOT CARRIED THROUGH—8.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MANDATES OF THE 1934 A. F. OF L. CONVENTION
SHOWING WHAT THE CONVENTION VOTED SHOULD BE DONE AND
SHOWING WHAT THE A. F. OF L. ACTUALLY DID

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Page In Proceedings</i>	<i>Subject of Mandate of Convention</i>	<i>Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action</i>
1	603	To increase legislative activity.	NO increase in ANY way!
2	551	To secure liberalization of the rules of the House of Representatives so as to assure consideration of Labor's bills.	On first day of the present session the House adopted a gag rule to help defeat any bills which were not "orthodox."
3	710	Research and federal legislation asked to prevent further industrial poisoning.	Nothing done by A. F. of L. on industrial poisoning.
4	401	Fair working conditions on government contracts (prevailing wage rate).	A desperate fight made for this by A. F. of L. in connection with Relief Bill. The A. F. of L. was defeated on record vote in Congress.
5	544	A. F. of L. asked to secure a properly administered system of employment exchanges.	Not even a report on the faults of the present system has been submitted until the convention met; no action taken by A. F. of L. to improve the service in the interest of Labor by having modifying clauses attached to the Appropriation Bill.
6	637	To oppose the pauper's oath as a requisite to relief grants.	No attempt made to get this ruling altered.
7	630	A study is ordered of anti-syndicalist and labor sedition laws.	No such study was made.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Page In Proceedings</i>	<i>Subject of Mandate of Convention</i>	<i>Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action</i>
8	544	A. F. of L. asked to evolve a program for social planning in administering relief.	No action taken by A. F. of L.
9	632	To secure union wages for workers doing skilled work in the C. C. C.	No legislation on this obtained.
10	549	Asked for a fact-finding study to determine if crime legislation now proposed does not menace the legitimate functioning of trade unions.	No fact-finding study was made on this subject in spite of the urgent need of this study to Labor.
11	571	Advocating increase in maximum of relief per family.	No attempt made by A. F. of L. to secure a more social approach to the administration of relief legislation.
12	416	Anti-Lynching legislation demanded.	While the bill was before the Senate and the A. F. of L. was asked to live up to its convention commitments, not even a statement of support could be had from the A. F. of L.
13	631	A. F. of L. to assist in protecting constitutional rights by uncovering and exposing all those who under the mask of patriotic motives endeavor to destroy equality of rights and opportunities for all.	No such study was made.
14	623 625 626	To seek legislation to prohibit the use of the militia in strikes.	Bill prepared by Rep. Connery, of Mass., without any A. F. of L. help. The A. F. of L. was not even present at hearings.
15	572	"That the Executive Council prepare legislative measures which will prevent existing unfair practices of private employment agencies."	No such legislation was prepared by A. F. of L.
16	581	Industrial Unions. (14 resolutions.)	What has been done?
17	612	Executive Council instructed to petition the Federal Communications Commission that fifty per cent of all radio facilities will be allocated to organizations working on a non-profit basis—and if necessary to support adequate legislation for this purpose.	No such request was made by the American Federation of Labor. A. F. of L. did not even have a representative at these hearings.
18	617	Executive Council instructed to investigate charges placed against the National Civic Federation.	No such investigation was made.
19	620	A. F. of L. asked to take proper action to prevent states and cities from denying their employes the right to organize.	No report on what A. F. of L. did do—probably nothing.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

545

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Page In Proceedings</i>	<i>Subject of Mandate of Convention</i>	<i>Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action</i>
20	357	Workmen's Compensation to be adopted by Insular Legislature.	Representatives of the Panama Federation of Labor active. No A. F. of L. work.
21	357	Correct Mothers' Pension in Panama.	Panama Federation of Labor active. No A. F. of L. work.
22	365	Shorter work week.	Committee Report on bill; no action by Congress; no A. F. of L. reports available to show how committee members voted or how congressional leaders stood and stand.
23	367	All Internationals urged to study question of the national income, charges for debt service, etc., as the subjects affect the workers.	No survey made to determine what material had been gathered; no provision made for this study.
24	368	Recommend study by the workers "of his economic position under present-day industrial set-ups and production * * * to regain lost ground and avoid similar experiences in the future."	No provisions made for such a study.
25	372	That A. F. of L. aid in securing state funds for Workmen's Compensation.	No means provided even to keep A. F. of L. currently informed on what is being done.
26	382	Federal legislation to enforce shorter work day without pay reduction.	Committee reported the bill; no bill enacted. No record of attitude of committee members sent out by A. F. of L.; no frank report on attitude of congressional leaders.
27	384	Eight-hour day for fire fighters.	Work done by their International.
28	398	Air Mail Service; Protection for pilots.	Passed. Work done by their International.
29	399	Co-operation with farmers.	Except by Label Department, no plan is even suggested.
30	399	More appropriations for highway construction.	Voted without formal request from A. F. of L.
31	399	Prevent competition of goods manufactured by free labor with those of convict labor—National law needed. Urge state federations to secure state laws.	Federal law passed; no record compiled by A. F. of L. on state laws on this

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Page In Proceedings</i>	<i>Subject of Mandate of Convention</i>	<i>Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action</i>
32	401	Higher standards of government employment.	No general legislation on this enacted. Some betterment secured as a result of the work of the various civil service unions.
33	402	Thirty-year optional retirement for government employees.	Legislation on this not enacted.
34	403	Civil Service Court of Appeals.	Legislation on this not enacted.
35	404	Twenty-five year retirement of Panama Canal employees.	Legislation not enacted.
36	404	Panama Canal optional retirement.	Legislation not enacted.
37	405	Employment of American citizens at the Panama Canal.	?
38	406	Advocating appointed local agents for Canal Zone to enforce PWA wage regulations.	?
39	407	Protecting civil service status of all employees.	Legislation not enacted.
40	407	Right to vote in District of Columbia.	No steps taken to advance this.
41	408	A. F. of L. asked to get legislation to prohibit enlisted men doing building construction work.	No legislation sponsored by A. F. of L., but legislative representative of Machinists did effective work on this.
42	408	Prohibit employment enlisted personnel on battleship repair. (3 resolutions.)	No legislation on this enacted. Excellent work done on this by Machinists' representative, who obtained Executive Order; none done by A. F. of L.
43	409	Company unions.	An excellent study has been made by David Sapoos but its findings have not been sent to A. F. of L. Unions.
44	410	Company unions.	
45	412	Food and Drug Act.	Was not enacted.
46	412	Extension of the Pacific Highway asked by workers on the Pacific coast.	No work on this by A. F. of L.
47	414	Housing Program. Executive Council asked to initiate and support legislation to promote a housing program.	A. F. of L. did not initiate nor support legislation to promote an adequate housing program.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

547

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Page In Proceedings</i>	<i>Subject of Mandate of Convention</i>	<i>Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action</i>
48	414	A. F. of L. asked to help extend maximum age limit on civil service.	A. F. of L. did not even have legislation on this introduced.
49	414	A. F. of L. asked to get legislation requiring United States Government contract work to be executed within the United States.	No work done on this by A. F. of L. representatives.
50	415	A. F. of L. asked to secure decent labor standards for employes at Boulder Dam to be asked of the Secretary of the Interior.	No work done on this by A. F. of L. Internationals concerned secured some improvement for their respective unions.
51	416	A. F. of L. asked to secure the same protection for employes in non-competitive industries (gold recovery) as in other industries.	A. F. of L. did not even have legislation on this introduced.
52	416	Treaty on safety of life at sea. (Treaty at present inadequate for our seamen.)	No legislation.
53	418	Dies Bill for exclusion of alien seamen.	Enacted in answer to appeal from Andy Furuseth.
54	419	To restore provisions of Seamen's Act.	Furuseth did some fine work and his personal record gained him some support.
55	421	Anti-labor policy of Kohler Mfg. Co.—Locals asked to report on conditions and act in keeping with the facts.	Report available through W. E. B. but no A. F. of L. move made to distribute it.
56	425	Adequate school facilities.	A. F. of L. did not even appear at hearings on these bills.
57	425	Vocational Education. Request for amendment to Appropriations Bill denying the use of the money to any state if the state getting the money denies those it employs with these funds the right to organize.	No action by A. F. of L. representatives.
58	426 431	Non-curtailment of schools.	No action by A. F. of L.
59	431	Federal emergency aid for education.	Cutting Amendment to Relief Bill adopted by the Senate without any support by the A. F. of L. Teachers' Union won the fight.
60	431	Extension of free, higher education.	No A. F. of L. action.
61	432	Higher wage level for teachers.	No A. F. of L. action.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Page In Proceedings</i>	<i>Subject of Mandate of Convention</i>	<i>Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action</i>
62	432	To inform the public of the dangers of educational retrenchment.	No A. F. of L. action.
63	462	Loans to educational institutions.	Robinson Bill enacted, but no A. F. of L. action was taken. Teachers' Union active.
64	462	Teacher tenure.	No A. F. of L. action.
65	463	Emergency Federal aid to Education.	Cutting Amendment secured in Senate by Teachers' Union. No A. F. of L. action.
66	464	C. C. C.; further development of its educational projects.	A letter written but no further A. F. of L. action.
67	469	Urge state agencies to bring pressure on educational authorities to secure co-operation with the Workers' Education Bureau.	No attempt made even to get a report on this from the states.
68	470	Child Labor Amendment ratification.	A. F. of L. was active in this.
69	543	Adequate relief; to increase the amount which can be obtained for those on Federal relief.	Adams Amendment to Relief Bill cutting the amount of relief money in half was defeated, but the A. F. of L. had no part in its defeat; A. F. of L. refused to take any part in the fight.
70	543	Dependent children.	Proposed by President; tacitly accepted by A. F. of L.
71	543	Old age pensions.	Proposed by President Roosevelt; tacitly accepted by A. F. of L.
72	544	Study ordered of adequate medical care in the low income groups.	No study made.
73	546	Six-hour day for railroad men.	Obtained through the efficient legislative work of the railroad men.
74	546	Railroad Retirement Act.	Obtained through the efficient legislative work of the railroad men.
75	546	Economy Act.	* A. F. of L. was responsible for its repeal.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

549

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Page In Proceedings</i>	<i>Subject of Mandate of Convention</i>	<i>Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action</i>
76	548	Labor Disputes Act.	Drafted by Administration and put through by Wagner in Senate and Connery in House. Governmental pressure secured its enactment. A. F. of L. sent out a number of letters on this.
77	548	Railroad Pension Act.	Obtained by railroad men.
78	550	Immigration.	Kerr Act held up by A. F. of L. but no constructive suggestions made.
79	553	Wages for women workers to be equal to men's, if work is the same.	A. F. of L. in no way protested discrimination against women under codes or elsewhere.
80	572	Formation of a Department of Food Industry Workers in the A. F. of L. Establishment of a Needle Trades Department in the A. F. of L. Executive Council was instructed "To call conferences of the interested organizations for the purpose of giving consideration to the creation of such departments."	No
81	573		Such
82	573		Conference Was Called
83	598	Social Insurance. (11 resolutions.)	President Roosevelt initiated the program and the A. F. of L. offered no obstacles.
84	610	Protest against discrimination against older workers under some workmen's compensation laws. (Employers benefited by discharging older workers. A. F. of L. asked to investigate.)	No report available from A. F. of L.
85	610	Increased radio use for trade union purposes. Executive Council asked "to prepare dramatization of Labor History, statements of the principles and purposes of the American Federation of Labor, organization addresses dealing with the problems of Labor for electrical transcription so that these will be available to all broadcast stations." (3 resolutions.)	No such material prepared.
86	613	Boulder Dam (like No. 31, page 415). Introduced by John Frey.	No action by A. F. of L.
87	620	A. F. of L. asked to take proper action to prevent states and cities from denying their employees the right to organize.	No report on what A. F. of L. did do—probably nothing.
88	621	That the telephone and telegraph companies be compelled to comply with every phase of the law and further to insure better service and more reasonable rates.	No legislation prepared on this by the A. F. of L.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

<i>Item Number</i>	<i>Page In Proceedings</i>	<i>Subject of Mandate of Convention</i>	<i>Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action</i>
89	624	Call upon the President and Congress to enact and execute the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching Bill.	No A. F. of L. action.
90	643	Organization of workers in radio industry—Council instructed to take such action as may be required to accomplish the purpose of the resolution.	?
91	644	A measure to be introduced in the Congress of the United States which will provide that no further contracts be entered into by the Government for naval vessels until the present capacity of Government arsenals and Navy Yards have been fully utilized.	(Ask the Machinists.)
92	646	An investigation is ordered of the Employes' Profit Sharing Plan of Procter and Gamble, and an organization campaign is directed for all these workers.	No such study made.
93	647	Ask for legislation for a Civil Service Court of Appeals.	No legislation on this was enacted.
94	675	Investigation ordered of "Labor's Digest" and of its publisher, Norman Zollizi.	No study of report was made.
95	677	A study is asked to evolve a plan whereby social security may keep pace with the rapid technological changes.	No study made.
96	678	Closing the gaps on our tax laws.	Labor in no way participated in planning or supporting such legislation.
97	708	Request for the appointment of Negro organizer "be referred to Executive Council with the Convention's suggestion for favorable action."	Appointment was not made.
98	709	Petition President Roosevelt for the revival of the CWA.	Petition not sent to the President by the A. F. of L.
99	715	Urging affiliated local and state bodies to give full aid to cultural activities undertaken by the Federal, state and local authorities.	A. F. of L. has not even prepared a report on what some places did.
100	718	Executive Council asked to institute a study of health insurance.	No such study made.
101	720	Study followed by action, on the question of importance of newsprint papers.	No action taken by A. F. of L.

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY SUMMARY

At the meeting of the Executive Council, held on Monday, October 21, 1935, the Council gave consideration to the foregoing document submitted by Delegate John L. Lewis with the caption "Survey Summary," printed as a part of the morning session, eighth day's proceedings. Because of the lack of opportunity to study this document at the time it was submitted to the Convention, the Executive Council directed the President to make an analysis of the document, such analysis to be made a part of the permanent records of the Convention. This analysis is printed as an appendix to these proceedings, commencing on page 833.

Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors:
I move the previous question.

Delegate Martel: Inasmuch as the hour

of adjournment has arrived, I move that we adjourn.

Chairman Woll: I move to amend that when we do adjourn we adjourn to 8:00 o'clock tonight.

President Green: The Chair has recognized Delegate Bugniazet.

Delegate Bugniazet, Electrical Workers: I did not want to interrupt the speaker. I think we should continue the discussion and dispose of the question while it is fresh in our minds. I move you that we suspend the rules and return at 7:30 o'clock and continue in session to try to dispose of this question tonight.

The motion was seconded and carried.

At 5:45 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 7:30 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

EIGHTH DAY—Wednesday Evening Session

Atlantic City, N. J.
October 16, 1935.

The convention was called to order at 7:30 o'clock p. m. Wednesday, October 16.

ABSENTEES:

Katz, DeWitt, Rundle, Billet, Eardley, Slich, Rosqvist, Regan, Doane, Wade, David, Wise, Palmer, Hanoway, Osborne, Swetland, Dance, Sigman, Howat, Dallas, Singer, Bradley, Shave, Dahlager, Burke, M. J.; Slout, Myer, Hymes, Weinberg, Flynn, Al.; Nadelhoffer, Bender, Burns, T. F.; Serra, Malkovich, Dougherty, Iglesias, Sticht, Brooks, W. R.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, Secretary Frey.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, I want to approach the discussion of this question calmly and with deliberation. For over thirty-five years I have attended these conventions. In that time I have never known a question of as grave importance as this. The time that we can consume in discussing the question tonight is but a fraction of the time that has been devoted during the year to a discussion of the subject and expression of opinion, and the assumption that the action of this convention will mark a definite turning point in the history of the American Federation of Labor. I am of the opinion that this does mark a definite turning point, that from now on our Federation of Labor will never again be just what it was. I want to see the direction we are going to take is a practical and constructive one, something that will lay down a solid foundation and not one which is built on shifting sands.

Before presenting some of the thoughts which have occurred to me, I would like to make a reference or two. At the last convention two most important things were decided. Back in 1901 this question of industrial, so-called, and craft unionism was the prominent feature of the convention, and the delegates adopted what is known as the Scranton Declaration of Jurisdiction. President Gompers was a member of the

small committee that prepared that report. From 1901 to 1934 that declaration was the guide for the trade union movement of this country.

The other action which the convention took marked a turning point also. It was decided that we should increase the membership of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The large majority of the delegates favored that change. The Council was enlarged. I was one of those opposed to increasing the number and, listening to the discussion this afternoon, it seems to me that we have just discovered the first fruits of increasing the number of members upon the Executive Council. Previous to increasing the number we had had confidence in the Executive Council to carry out the instructions of conventions. Now we are told that confidence is no longer to be placed in the Executive Council, but that they must have positive instructions, leaving them no leeway to consider the circumstances of each case which comes before them.

The only difference I can see between the majority and the minority report hinges upon that one question. Up to this time in all matters referred to the Executive Council we have had sufficient confidence in our own intelligence in electing the men composing the Council to leave to them those questions which it seemed proper to place in their hands. Now for the first time in the history of the American Federation of Labor we are told that those we elected on the Executive Council, even though we increased their number, are no longer to be depended upon to carry out the instructions of this convention, and so the distinction, as I can see it, between the majority and minority reports is merely that the Executive Council is to have no discretion in any case that comes before it. I may be wrong.

As I told you, I had not had an opportunity of seeing the minority report before submitting the majority report. The press had copies of it before it was submitted to the majority committee. The only differ-

ence I can see is that the minority report takes all discretion out of the Executive Council's hands. The minority report makes no mention of approval or disapproval of the resolutions referred to the committee.

I listened as attentively as I could to the statements made by the proponents of the minority report and, to my surprise, there seems to be a distinct difference of opinion between two of them. I gathered from the remarks of one that the basis of the declaration in San Francisco was to remain the rule in the future, and that not only would the so-called craft organizations maintain their jurisdiction, but that they would not be interfered with in acquiring members not now organized, regardless of where they were employed; in other words, that the rights of the international unions were not to be interfered with.

From the remarks of the other I gathered that that was not the case, and with reference to the steel industry I gathered that every one in the steel industry must be a member of one union if there is any hope for those employes having a trade union organization.

I heard the statement that there seemed to be a difference or difficulty on the Executive Council for some of the members to secure approval on the part of the other members, and so certain things which should have been done were not accomplished. It reminds me of an experience I had not long ago in Washington. I was in the office of one of the national members. A question of certain legislation was under discussion, and a man who very fervently believed that that certain legislation enactment was essential to national welfare argued his point, and finally explained the difficulty he had in getting people to agree with him, and wound up by saying, "I'll be damned if there are more than six men in the country who understand the question!"

Sometimes when men find that people do not agree with them they think that they are the only ones with any virtue.

I will confess that in all of my years of experience I have never known exactly what was meant when any one used the words "craft union" or "industrial union." All I know about the term "industrial union" is

that it was not applied by trade unionists to any form of organization; it was an exotic importation from groups who do not believe in the American Federation of Labor, who for years endeavored to prevail upon us to change our policy, and they used the term which our trade union movement has taken up and used as its own.

There are a number of delegations in this convention who claim to represent industrial unions—at least their international unions are always called industrial unions. I don't intend to refer to any organization by name, but if you will think for a moment you will realize that some delegations seated in this convention, representing a large number of men in organizations that have been called industrial, are more narrowly craft unions in their policies, in their methods of conducting their organizations than a number of the so-called craft unions.

I am speaking particularly now of three organizations in one industry. The same material, or practically the same, is used in all three; the same type of machinery is used in all three to produce the finished article, and if these three international unions were to amalgamate tomorrow they would still be, in spite of that amalgamation, more narrowly craft unions than any of the international unions that compose the metal trades department. If we are to discuss this question we should go into it with our minds open and not be misled by terms.

There are in this country a few unions which are thoroughly industrial, or thoroughly vertical, if you want that term. There are some unions in Europe that are thoroughly industrial, that is, all the members employed in the industry are members of one union. The only thoroughly industrial unions I know of in this country are company unions, organized by the employers, who compel the office workers and the manual workers to belong to the organization they form. In Russia there were free trade unions. I knew their officers and corresponded with them. When the Bolsheviks gained control and formed the Soviet they destroyed these trade unions, they assassinated most of the officers, and in their place the government created twelve industrial unions—only twelve for every one employed in Russia. Those who joined those

unions had no choice but to be in an organization composed of laborers, skilled mechanics and technical experts.

When Mussolini gained control in Italy he destroyed all the free trade unions, and in their place organized three industrial unions to which every one must belong who worked for wages. And I submit to you that while this has no direct bearing upon the question we are considering, that the only thoroughly industrial unions in the world are the company unions or the type of organization forced upon the workmen in Russia, in Italy, and recently in Germany, by dictators brought into existence only after free institutions and free expression had been suppressed.

We have been organized as we are up to the present time for fifty-five years. During all of these years so-called industrial unions and so-called craft unions have co-operated as best they could. We have made some progress. I have heard our trade union movement condemned for ineffectiveness. Employers have done that, the press has done that, and I am not altogether disheartened after listening to some of the remarks that have been made here. I believe that the American Federation of Labor is going to carry on just as it has in the past.

Now, when men propose that an organization such as ours shall change its entire construction, shall alter all that it has been acquainted with and use a new method, so far as I am concerned, they must bring to me something much more effective and convincing than either eloquence or sarcasm. And, as a number of international unions support the change in our form of organization, it seems to me that we have a right to put some searching questions to them.

There are a number of delegates in this hall with whom I have had the privilege of associating for many years. The newer ones can easily learn the record. We have had for fifty-five years so-called industrial unions which never, by the wildest stretch of imagination, covered the entire industry; and we have had the so-called craft unions, many of which are more industrial than those so called. We have worked with them side by side, and I want to ask those who have had more of an industrial form of organization than others whether their form of organization has enabled them, during the years, to show a better record of accomplish-

ments than the so-called craft unions which now are accused of standing in the way of progress. Those who come in and accuse one type of union of standing in the way of progress must be prepared to answer those questions, and those of us who reply must be willing to ask certain questions that cut to the bone.

I want to ask some organizations which favor this complete change, and which for years have been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, whether they can show a better record of accomplishments than the craft unions? I want to ask them whether it is the craft unions that have come into these conventions year after year for all of the assistance which we were generously willing to give? Or which have been coming into these conventions with such a problem on their hands that they dumped it into our laps and we were called upon, not only to finance them, but to turn over our organizers to help them to organize.

Is it the craft unions that have done that? Is it some of the so-called industrial unions which now ask us to throw overboard the type of organization we have built up, without which they would have passed out of existence many years ago? If an organization wants to convince me that the form they have adopted is more effective than my own International Molders' Union they will have to show me that they made more progress.

I want to analyze for a moment the proposition which has been presented in the arguments of the two members who submitted a minority report that, to my mind, would throw the trade union movement or even the industrial movement into such confusion that no one would be able to straighten out the tangle. Let us look at facts and facts alone. I must mention the name of organizations. I regret to do it, because they may think I have them in mind, whereas, it is because they offer a peculiar illustration of what I want to indicate.

There is a very laudable desire on the part of those employed in portions of the radio industry to have an industrial union. And for what they have done to organize I have nothing but praise. With the enthusiasm these young men have, their willingness to work for organization, I have nothing but commendation; but they pre-

sent one of the problems that is involved in this whole question. They want to organize the radio industry. What is the radio industry? There are some manufacturers who manufacture all of the parts of the radio, who manufacture the cabinets, who assemble it, so that inside of that plant all of the material necessary is fabricated, assembled and the complete radio is put on the market.

However, it happens that some radio manufacturers do not do their own cabinet work and they buy their cabinets from those who manufacture woodwork, and so if this radio industry is to have complete control those who want an international charter feel that they must have jurisdiction over the woodworking plant which makes the cabinets. And even though but ten or twenty or twenty-five per cent of the work in that plant is manufacturing radio cabinets, nevertheless in order to have complete control of their industry they must have everybody in that plant.

If that is so—and I admit there is some logic about it—how about other organizations organized along industrial lines that use some of the material made in that woodworking plant? Should they be given to the radio workers or to some other organization?

There is in this country a large number of manufacturers of electrical refrigerators, and some of these manufacturers produce other articles, among which is the radio. Now where an industry is manufacturing electrical refrigerators and also manufacturing radios, who is to have jurisdiction over the plant? An industrial union of refrigerator workers? Or are all the refrigerators to be turned over to the radio industrial union because part of the work done in a refrigerator plant is the manufacturing of radios?

We heard something about the steel industry. I do not intend to spend any time going over these statistics, merely to indicate that there is a problem. I have in my hand a report of the composition of the labor force of a large steel plant by departments. The tabulations would indicate that those who would be called laborers in mass production are not as numerous as those which the report indicates are highly skilled mechanics. Let me read briefly from this Federal report.

"The semi-skilled among the production force consist for the most part of workmen who have been taught to perform relatively complete functions, such as the operation of cranes and other mechanical appliances, but who possess little or no general mechanical or metallurgical knowledge. These semi-skilled workmen to a great extent are recruited from among the unskilled, although in many cases boys and young men 18 to 20 years of age are being utilized to fill the positions. They are displacing both the skilled and unskilled workmen, though at present the displacement is largest among the unskilled, as the function of most of the machinery recently developed is to perform work formerly done by unskilled labor rather than to eliminate the necessity for skilled employees.

"In the plant shown in the preceding table the unskilled workmen constituted only 39.2 per cent of the production force, because of the complete mechanical equipment of the plant.

"Little need be said of the characteristics of the mechanical force, as they differ in no wise from workmen in the mechanical trades generally. The skilled workmen of the mechanical force are the machinists, millwrights, electricians, bricklayers and locomotive and stationary engineers, who are partly trained in the steel industry and partly recruited from other industries.

"The semi-skilled workmen are chiefly 'handy men' and machine operators, and here, as in the productive departments, this group is being recruited largely from among the unskilled workmen of foreign birth."

This report, which is a complete study, indicates that the majority of those employed in the steel industry, instead of being semi-skilled labor, instead of being mass production workers, are composed of the most highly skilled trades there are among the metal workers.

Last year there was the intention that a sincere effort would be made to organize the automobile and the steel industries. Let us look at the problem as it really is, which has nothing to do with anything except cold facts. What is the automobile industry? There are plants which do little more than assemble parts that are made in other manufacturing plants not owned by the

automobile company. There is a great automobile company in this country which manufactures all the parts. Not only do they manufacture the parts, but they make their own steel; they have their own blast furnaces, they make their own sheet iron, they have their rolling mills and their drawing mills and they do the same work which the men in the steel industry do for the other automobile plants.

Now, what kind of an industrial union shall be established in the automobile industry? Shall we place in the automobile industry all of the iron and steel workers who are employed by that industry? Or will we be compelled, in organizing the steel industry along industrial lines, to say to the automobile workers: "The logic of the situation makes it impossible to turn over the steel workers to the organization to which you belong because they belong to another organization which we have set up?"

In the steel industry there is an employer who owns and operates his own coal mines. He does that because he wants to have control of his own industry, and so we have a program to organize the automobile industry along industrial lines, which, up to the present time, doesn't include the coal miners. The same thing is true of steel. In the steel mills, or among some of them, they, too, operate and own their own coal mines. And so if we are to have an industrial union in the steel industry the question arises, is it or is it not to be an industrial union? Is everybody employed by these great steel corporations to be made members of an industrial union, or are we to draw the line at certain organizations and say, "We believe in industrial unionism, but you cannot have these men?"

Now I submit to you that I might look upon the question a little differently if, in the interest of thorough-going industrial unionism, the eloquent gentleman who preceded will say: "To prove my sincerity and my deep conviction in this matter, and my conviction is that the only way to organize industry is to organize along industrial lines, I am going to assert that the coal miners working for the automobile industry shall belong to the automobile industrial union and that the coal miners working for the steel industry, in order that they may have

an industrial union, shall also belong to the steel workers' industrial union."

There is nothing new about this question we are discussing, but it seems to me that every generation has to learn its own lesson over, and that the experience of the past is either meaningless or is forgotten. We have heard this form of organization advocated in the past, and not only that, but the very organizations which applied it, and there is only a tombstone now to mark the fact that they existed.

Now, I want to go into this for a moment, because if we are going to pass on this question we want to know what we are doing. I will make the history very brief. After the collapse of the National Labor Union, the fore-runner of this American Federation of Labor, in 1873, there was no national federation of unions; each international union was a union by itself with no official contact with any other. An organization that had its birth in the city of Brotherly Love finally blossomed into a national labor organization, known as the Knights of Labor. The international unions which had survived the breaking down of the National Labor Union believed there should be a federation, and so organization after organization, like the one I am proud to be a member of, became members of the Knights of Labor. They had been members of the Knights of Labor for some time when they began to listen to an argument that was new to their ears. They called it the mixed assembly. Everyone who worked in a plant were members of it. The international unions realized after they had affiliated that if they stayed and fostered the policy of the Knights of Labor in that respect it would not be very long before all their members would be members of this mixed assembly. The international members withdrew because they could not believe in the mixed assembly organization. Then the American Federation of Labor was born. It was those organizations that withdrew from the Knights of Labor that organized the organization represented here.

In 1893 one of the most eloquent and most energetic men that spoke for labor became dissatisfied with the type of organization he was officer of, one of the Railway Brotherhoods, and so Eugene Debs organized the American Railway Union. It

was to be an industrial union. Everyone who worked on the railroad from trackmen to conductors were to have this type of organization that you have presented to you this afternoon as the only ideal type that labor can adopt.

At one time, as the result of his ability and the faith he had in his presentation of his industrial unionism, Debs had about 150,000 members. Whether success had gone to his head, whether his heart influenced him when judgment should have been uppermost is immaterial, but he tried to carry his organization one step farther, applied the policy of his organization, involved himself in the Pullman strike and the American Railway Union is in the graveyard of organizations in this country which failed to accomplish the purpose they believed their organization would bring about.

In the same year, 1893, out in the West, where men are free and express themselves without restraint, where they dislike the conservatism of those in the East, another industrial organization was organized. It was known as the Western Federation of Miners. It was opposed to this American Federation of Labor. It announced that its purpose was, first, to organize everybody in the metalliferous mining camps into industrial unions; and, secondly, show by its success that this organization was what it seemed to be charged with being one time this afternoon.

Well, the Western Federation of Miners practically passed out of existence, not because the mining companies defeated it in strikes, but because the members for some reason or other lost their interest to a certain extent, they no longer paid dues and because of their experience under those that had advocated industrial unionism, when they got together again, they sought affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. In doing that they used what, in our judgment, was a sound policy, and even wanted to discard their name.

Another man with whom the older set here had to contend with, dissatisfied with Debs' program, dissatisfied with the Western Federation of Miners, organized what was known as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. That was Daniel DeLeon. And so these wicked trade unions were not

only opposed by the employers but were opposed by Debs, by the Western Federation of Miners and by Daniel DeLeon's Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Not having gotten anywhere, looking the field over and needing something new, Mr. Debs, Mr. Daniel DeLeon and the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners formed one big union, independent, dual, not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They met in the city of Indianapolis, and as a result of their profound cogitation, realizing that something was wrong in the form of organization they had advocated, and believing they were now prepared to become the Moses, they organized the Industrial Workers of the World. Let us not discuss that organization. It had its day. It is now in the graveyard of unsuccessful efforts. They said the only way for labor to organize was along industrial lines, and they preceded Lenin and Trotsky, who forced the Russian workmen into twelve organizations.

And those who think about these things, the self-contented, the parlor advocates of better conditions for workers, said the I. W. W. was wrong and they would divide labor up into seven different organizations in the United States, there would be only one union. And so the advocates of the One Big Union endeavored to show that the American Federation of Labor didn't know what it was doing, that its leaders were incompetent to provide the form of organization that would protect the workers' interests. They, too, are in the graveyard of those labor movements launched in this country which had high ideals, which desired to serve the workers, as we know, but who lacked the capacity to build up a practical organization that would stand the test of good times and bad times alike.

I realize that the delegates would not care to listen to one speaker too long. I don't want to impose upon you too long. I want to mention one or two things. In the first place the organization I have the honor to belong to, the Molders' International Union, was an international union in 1859. It helped organize this Federation of Labor. It did not need at that time any help. It came to be of assistance. It desired a charter from this Federation. It was given that charter, given jurisdiction

over those who had been in it since 1859. That is true of all international unions.

Now, when we receive a charter something definite has taken place. A contract has been entered into between that international and the rest of us, calling ourselves the American Federation of Labor. It is a contract the same as a contract with an employer, something mutually agreed to. We do not permit an employer, after we have entered into a contract with him, to call us into the office and say, "I have changed my mind, the terms of this contract are going to be altered." When we do that we are resisted. When any contract is entered into, neither party can have a moral right or a legal right to change the terms of that contract without the consent of the other. I want to remind you that these contracts, these charters we have, are something the terms of which cannot be altered by a mere vote. Something much more fundamental than that is required.

Now as to the difficulty we have had to contend with. Corporation attorneys in the state legislatures and in Congress, corporation attorneys sitting on the judge's bench, corporation attorneys securing injunctions from those on the bench who a short time before have been corporation attorneys. I need not refer to the powerful structures that have been built up in this country.

I merely want to say that no trade union movement in any country at any time except when it encountered armed forces has had to contend with the problems we have had to face, and going through the battle, the so-called craft unions were at least able to hold their own.

I pay some attention to what is going on in men's minds. The members of our union are giving much thought to what this convention will decide. Their minds have been disturbed during the year because they did not know whether they would remain members of their union or transfer to some other union after this convention had adjourned. The non-union man has been looking to this convention because he has had it dinned into his ears that this convention is going to change craft unions and he is waiting to see if he will join the union of his craft chartered by his international organization or join some new type of union that this convention is going to demand.

One reason that we have not made more progress during the year in organizing has been this indecision, some of it due to Associated Press dispatches going out of Washington that certainly did not emanate from the Metal Trades Department. These dispatches said that an issue was coming up in this convention, that at this convention it was going to be decided, and while I do not take much stock in hotel lobby conversations and gossip or what I read in the newspapers, there are times when I am compelled to give attention to statements appearing in the press.

Many non-union men are of the opinion that unless this convention adopts a program such as has been advocated that there is to be another Federation of Labor organized which will include nothing but the industrial unions. I feel deeply on the question. The Metal Trades Department has been interested in organizing the men in the shipyards. Less than two years ago an independent organization was organized in the shipbuilding industry, a dual organization having the same standing in the trade union movement as a secession group. Our efforts to organize the unorganized workmen in the shipyards, who are composed altogether of highly skilled mechanics—and shipbuilding as being remote from a mass production industry as anything could be—have been encouraged, have been heartened by officers in the trade union movement, and one reason why, in my opinion, the Metal Trades Department cannot report to you that the shipyards along the Atlantic seaboard have not been organized is because two members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have been encouraging those dual unions to stand out. Instead of telling the officers and members of this union that their proper place is in the organization chartered by the American Federation of Labor, they have done the other thing.

One more word and I am through. For one, I want the question settled. Never before have I been called upon in this convention to discuss a question which was accompanied by a threat, where the public statement has been made that unless we do what somebody wants us to do, there might be secession and the organization of another Federation of Labor. I am not accustomed to giving any consideration to the man who

strives to secure his end by making threats. I am generally inclined to believe he is bluffing, in the hope that the bluff will be sufficient to compel some of us to give what is wanted.

On July 28, which was Sunday, the New York Times in its magazine section published an article which was written by a gentleman who has been at this press table since the convention opened. The article was a proper tribute to some of the outstanding qualities of Mr. John L. Lewis. Everyone of us knows that in some respects he is one of the ablest men our movement has produced. But I want to quote from the very last words of this interview:

"Where the struggle between the industrial and the craft unions will lead is unpredictable. If it eventually leads Mr. Lewis and his union out of the American Federation of Labor by voluntary choice or through defeat at some future convention the miners will be prepared for that step, even if it means the setting up of another and rival federation, comprising the industrial unions."

I want to know whether those are the words that Mr. Lewis used in giving his interview to Mr. Louis Stark. I want to say to you in all sincerity that if we should for a moment yield to those who come into our convention with the threat of secession, if they fail to secure their purpose, if we yield, we surrender every drop of independent blood that ever flowed through our veins.

Delegate Murray, United Mine Workers of America: Mr. President and fellow delegates: I am taking advantage of this opportunity to speak in support of the minority report, and in doing so I shall attempt to refrain from indulging in any billingsgate, but I shall content myself with an attempt at least to place a factual situation before this convention.

I have listened with a great deal of interest to the statements made by Delegates Woll and Frey. Delegate Woll's statement was confined largely to the reading of a record made at the San Francisco convention. No real attempt was made by Delegate Woll to justify the action of the majority members of the committee, other than to state that the action of the committee today reflected substantially what the San Francisco convention did one year ago.

Delegate Frey, in summing up the case for the majority members of the committee, endeavored to explore more deeply the ramifications of this situation than did Delegate Woll. He attempted to justify the action of the majority members of the committee by challenging this convention, or at least the supporters of the minority report, to show wherein the advocates of industrial unionism have shown a better record in the American labor movement than have the craft unions of this country.

Now no one who has attempted to discuss the merits of this situation has gone into that phase of this proposition, because the advocates of industrial unionism believe that the questions propounded by Delegate Frey have no particular relation to the issues before the convention at this time.

Delegate Lewis, very eloquently, very sincerely, placed a factual situation before this convention that the proponents of the majority report have up to this time not attempted to deny. Delegate Lewis, during the course of his address to the convention this afternoon, stated that out of 39,500,000 industrial workers in the United States of America, 8,500,000 were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. That statement was not denied. It was not denied by Delegate Frey and I doubt that it will be denied by any delegate who takes this platform in support of the majority members on this committee.

Is there anything wrong with the prosecution of a plan that comprehends a greater membership for the American Federation of Labor than three and a half million members? Has the policy which has been enunciated in previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the report of the majority members of this committee to this convention here today led this great mass of workers throughout this country out of this proverbial wilderness of disorganization? Is this convention of the American Federation of Labor prepared to meet these responsibilities and go forth, organizing these unorganized workers in these mass production industries upon a newer and more modern basis, or is it not? That, my friends, after all is said and done, is the question that is now before this convention.

The record of the American Federation of Labor with respect to increase in mem-

bership and dues paying membership particularly has been a failure. Why not admit it? Why not admit it? There is not a single, solitary representative from a single union seated in this convention tonight but that will admit that something must be radically wrong with our organization processes when we are unable to increase our membership beyond the three and a half million mark in a country that is giving employment to 39,500,000 industrial workers, men and women. Why not stare the cold facts in the face? Why not come to a realization of our duty? It is incumbent upon us, as representatives of the organized workers of this country, to see to it that the standards of living, wages and working conditions of the unorganized workers of this nation are elevated, or the standards of the organized workers of the nation will meet with inevitable disaster.

Is this convention constantly to be met with the argument that the preachment of newer and more sane philosophies is wholly illogical? Is the movement toward industrial unionism to be compared to the scapegoat movement referred to by Delegate Frey in his address to the convention here this evening? The movement for industrial unionism in this convention is being led by responsible leaders of labor and the heads of great international organizations that recognize their responsibility, not only to their membership, but to their Government as citizens of the United States of America. We are not propagating the ideas of the Western Federation of Miners, the Industrial Workers of the World, or any other such kindred movements. We are advocating the adoption of a sane, sound, substantial and constructive program that has for its ultimate goal the organization of all unorganized men and women in this great country of ours.

Let us look over the record of the American Federation of Labor and see what has happened to the development of newer thought with respect to other phases of our economic life when proposals were introduced in former conventions having to do with the social and economic betterment of our people. I can refer this convention to a rather interesting, educational and illuminating record made by our distinguished friend, Mr. Frey, in a recent

convention of the American Federation of Labor. In 1929, when some of the delegates representing the organized workers of this country, fearing a national depression of disastrous consequences, suggested that the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring unemployment and health insurance, Delegate Frey opposed it with his usual vigor. It required the hide of a rhinoceros, of course, to stand before a convention of the organized workers of this country during the year 1929 and oppose unemployment insurance — and yet Delegate Frey opposed it.

I have the record here in my hand. It is not necessary that I should read it, but I can readily leave it to the record so that all the delegates can read it some time during the course of the convention. But let me read just one sentence out of that record. Referring to Delegate Frey, with reference to unemployment and health insurance, he said:

"By the same reasoning it might go much further, it might even ask for unemployment insurance, and, yes, even for health insurance."

Can you imagine the ghastly picture of a convention of the American Federation of Labor so insulting the intelligence of our distinguished friend, Mr. Frey, as to ask the organized labor movement of America to favor a plan which comprehended unemployment insurance and health insurance, and yet in 1929 Mr. Frey was opposed to that because he stated that for a period of forty-nine years, during the traditional history of the American Federation of Labor, no convention of the American Federation of Labor had ever gone so far. Tonight the picture is changed with respect to the question of industrial unionism, and Mr. Frey, with poetry on his lips and tears coursing down his cheeks, tells this convention that for a period of fifty-five years we have respected the sacred traditions of this grand old institution and we have never gone on record in favor of industrial unionism. What a blot it would be upon the history of the trade union movement if this convention at this late date and hour should do to Mr. Frey in the year 1935, upon the question of industrial unionism, what it did to him in the year 1932 or 1933 upon the question of unemployment insurance.

Now it would be rather illuminating to pursue this record just a little bit further—I mean the record with reference to the question of industrial unionism. Mr. Frey has talked about the sacredness of his own institution, the Molders' International Union. I have no criticism to make of his organization. I suppose it is a grand and a glorious union with a splendid record, but I happen to come from a part of the country where approximately 100,000 men are engaged in the production of steel, within a radius of 60 miles in and around the city of Pittsburgh. Those men are employed by the United States Steel Corporation, the Republic Iron & Steel, the Youngstown Sheet & Tube, the Wheeling Steel, the Weirton Steel, the National Steel, and other great steel corporations, and I am prepared to venture the assertion upon the floor of the convention this evening that out of those 100,000 workers employed in and around the steel mills in and around that area, Mr. Frey does not have a single, solitary molder in his union at any of those plants. I know he has no molders at a great many of those plants. Now if he has no molders in his organization in those plants and he has no hope of getting them under our present scheme of organization, what particular harm would it do to Mr. Frey if the steel workers of that great territory were permitted to organize into an industrial union? Their record with respect to organization of those workers could be at least as good as the record of the Molders' international organization in that particular community, because they have none, and if the new industrial plan of organization did not succeed in organizing a single, solitary man, its record would still be just as good as that of Mr. Frey's organization.

Now as to the other organizations involved in this dispute which might be opposed to the scheme of industrial organization, it could not possibly do them any more harm than it would do Mr. Frey's organization for exactly the same reason—there are none of them organized. The reason they have not been organized is because no comprehensive, intelligent, modern scheme has been adopted with respect to their organization.

The minority report submitted to this convention today contemplates a modern plan of attack and at least furnishes an

opportunity to those industrial workers to come into an organization such as they want. There cannot be anything particularly wrong with that.

I am told, Mr. Chairman, that the officers of this convention have been deluged with resolutions and petitions from these various mass production industries asking that they be given an opportunity to organize along industrial lines. If the people who work in those plants want that kind of an organization and they believe in it, why should the American Federation of Labor stand in its way?

I have heard from the floor of this convention and I have read in newspapers all over this great country of ours statements about the development and the growth of Communism in the United States of America. I have heard responsible labor leaders attribute the growth of Communism to the tyranny of the great captains of industry and finance, charging that the refusal of these great captains of industry and finance to recognize legitimate unions and collective bargaining with legitimate unions is wholly responsible for the development and growth of the Communistic philosophy of the United States of America. And whilst we are making those charges, which may be largely true, have we ever taken just a little time out to examine our own consciences and look ourselves squarely in the face and find out if we have not played at least some part in contributing toward this great misunderstanding and this great unrest that seems to be so prevalent among the unorganized workers of the country? Have we not contributed, perhaps unwittingly, but nevertheless contributed in some way, because of our adamant attitude towards the right of self-organization, the right to organize along those lines, toward the development of this unhealthy Communistic philosophy ourselves? Think it over. It is worth thinking about. If we condemn the other fellow and blame him for his tyranny, his refusal to grant the right to organize, and we at the same time maintain that old-fashioned, fossilized attitude of not permitting those workers to organize into industrial unions of their own choice, will not we contribute in some way toward the development of this unrest and toward the spread of this Communistic philosophy?

Mr. President, I was invited to a meet-

ing in the town of Aliquippa eighteen months ago, at the great plant of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Company, where some 8,000 men are employed. The workers employed in that plant, of their own volition, of their own motion, without an organizer attending the meeting in its initial stages, called meetings. Many of them were unemployed. Many of them were working for 25 cents an hour, 19 cents an hour, twelve and fourteen hours a day, and they were suffering the pangs of hunger and distress and poverty and want. They were clamoring for protection, howling for protection, pleading to the God above them to guide them so that their women and children would be given the protection of workers that might enjoy a better standard. And those workers operating under their own motion, without any assistance from any international union, without any assistance from the American Federation of Labor, at that time organized 6,500 of the 8,000 workers at the Aliquippa plant into an independent union. They petitioned, pleaded, begged that they be given an industrial charter.

In the meantime some of the agents of the craft organizations stepped into the cities of Ambridge and Aliquippa, held meetings and claimed jurisdiction over certain of the men who had joined the industrial union. They created confusion and disorganized the movement and broke it up, and the men went back, back, back, and they are still back. They have no organization, they have no charter, they have no independent union, they have no craft union, they have nothing. They are today where they were before they started their campaign of organization eighteen months ago.

The minority report submitted to this convention is asking the American Federation of Labor to cure that evil—to cure it. Can it be cured? Is it going to be the never-ending position of certain organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that that sort of a situation cannot be cured? Are the members of the minority committee who prepared this report and submitted it to this convention to be condemned because they ask the American Federation of Labor to change its policy with respect to a situation of that description?

The great Westinghouse plants contiguous to the city of Pittsburgh, with some 22,000 workers employed in and around that great electrical plant, have no organization. The United States Steel Company has no organization around its plant except a company union. The same is true of the other great steel companies in that territory. Yet the only contribution made toward any sort of discussion that might be related to this minority report by Mr. Woll was one with reference to the last paragraph of the report dealing with the question of independent unions, company unions, etc., asking that they be organized along industrial lines and that charters be issued to them and that they be brought into the American Federation of Labor.

Is there anything wrong with a report that asks that those company unions be taken over by the trade union movement of the United States of America, or these independent unions, and that they be given a legitimate charter operating under the rules and regulations governing the American Federation of Labor, the same kind of rules and the same kind of regulations that govern every organization affiliated with this great trade union movement?

Lest I forget, during Mr. Woll's discourse upon this question he took occasion to make an attack upon the Wagner Labor Disputes Act. I am prepared to admit that the Wagner Labor Disputes Act is not the perfect instrument that it ought to be, but it is at least a great deal better than anything that the workers of this nation ever had before. I am not astonished at Mr. Woll's attack on the Wagner Labor Disputes Act. Whilst the Act was under consideration in our Federal Congress, it was attacked by many enemies. It was attacked by the United States Chamber of Commerce; it was attacked by the National Manufacturers' Association; it was attacked by the great utility organizations, the great railroads and the great banks of the nation, and last, but not least, only a few weeks ago in the city of Washington the Wagner Labor Disputes Act was submitted to a constitutional attack by the Little Supreme Court of fifty-eight lawyers. So that organized labor can expect, during the course of its life, to have these new social security measures attacked by their enemies.

both from within and without the labor movement of the United States of America.

I am not astonished at any attack that may come upon these measures, because the enemies of industrial unionism—and I talk now about industrial unionism in the spirit to which it was referred by Delegate Howard and Delegate Lewis—I have read the minority report of this committee and I do not find a single sentence in that report that would deprive a single craft organization of a member of their unions anywhere in the United States of America. No attempt is being made by the proponents of the minority report to destroy craft unionism as such. But the proponents of the minority report are asking the leaders of the craft organizations in this country of ours to support a legitimate and constructive enterprise that has for its purpose the organization of the unorganized workers in mass production modern industry into the newer form of industrial organization.

My friends, I do not know of any constructive criticism that can be made of a program of that kind. Opposition has made itself manifest, that is true, but as yet no constructive suggestion has been offered by the opponents of this report that might be adopted by this convention in lieu of the report of the committee.

It reminds me of the philosophy of some statesmen and some politicians who, in their criticism of the New Deal and New Deal legislation, condemn it vigorously, condemn it viciously, but they offer no constructive proposal to take its place. The same thing is true of the proponents of the majority report. The only thing that they offer this convention is, let well enough alone, we are happy, we ought to be satisfied, we ought to continue as we have been doing in the days gone by. If I am not mistaken I think that is what our good friend Hoover advocated a few years ago, too—let well enough alone, let us resort to no new schemes, no new methods, no new panaceas, no new solutions. What we have done in the days gone by is good enough for us now and will be good enough for us in the future.

That is a quaint, old-fashioned philosophy that does not seem to have any particular place in our modern day civilization. The philosophy is not new. It is being

preached at every street corner in the United States of America today. You can read it in almost every reactionary newspaper throughout the United States of America today. Whatever you do that tends to solve problems, whatever you may do that proposes to extend relief or meet the needs of a particularly perplexing situation has to be met with the age old argument—"Let well enough alone."

The San Francisco convention adopted a resolution which, according to the members signatory to the majority report, is eminently satisfactory. They admit it has not increased our membership. They contend that the reason it has not increased our membership is because there is developing within the nation a certain amount of uneasiness among the organized workers about what the American Federation of Labor is going to do, a certain amount of uneasiness about what this convention is going to do. Great God, have we reached the day in our history when this great trade union movement is unwilling to accept its full measure of responsibility and move forward with a progressive government toward the accomplishment of higher ideals and better days for our people? Can't we even keep pace with the Government of the United States of America itself? The minority report suggests that this convention do so. Why cannot we meet those obligations? Why can't something be done by this convention to meet the crying needs of 25,000,000 unorganized industrial workers and some 50,000,000 dependents? Seventy-five million people in this great nation of ours have their eyes cast upon this great convention of the American Federation of Labor tonight, asking each one of you—they may not know you, but they are thinking about you in the sense of being a great organization, and they are asking you what you propose to do in this convention to alleviate their misery, to alleviate their suffering and give them an opportunity to enjoy just a little more of God's good sunlight. That is all that they are asking you for. That is all that these delegates representing these new modern mass production industries are asking you for in this convention, representing those people.

Give them an opportunity, grant them a charter, give them a chance to develop along

industrial lines. Send them home with God's blessing and lend them your moral support, your financial aid, and the problem of the unorganized within a comparatively few years will be solved to the complete satisfaction of every unorganized and organized worker in this great nation of ours.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Leonard, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Delegate Leonard, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I assure you I do not under-estimate the responsibility I take by trying to substitute for that venerable old-time trade unionist, Michael F. Tighe, President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. To make myself better understood I am going to give you just briefly a little of my background, so there will not be any misunderstanding as to whether or not I know what I am speaking about. I worked in the coal mines when I was eleven years old for 30 cents a day, and I never drew down any cash. I entered the mine at five o'clock in the morning and came up when the last car was loaded in the evening. They tried to organize the mine I was working in, and I attended a meeting where there were no lights in the hall. We stood in a blind robin. That was some time ago. I later became employed in the steel mills and spent twenty-two years of my life there. During that entire period of time I was an active member of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, an organization that does not have to apologize to anyone for its efforts in trying to better the conditions of the steel workers.

No other organization represented on this floor, in my opinion, has the same opposition to contend with as the Amalgamated Association has. The Amalgamated Association has to combat America's giant financial institution, the greatest in existence, an organization that has a spy system second to none, an organization that established old age pensions, an organization that keeps 100 per cent tab on its employees, an organization which elects Presidents of this great country of ours. That is the kind of an institution that the Amalgamated Association is forced to combat in trying to bring about organization of the steel workers.

Our organization has another great handicap. We have in the steel mills a differential in pay that will run as high as 60 per cent from one man to another, working alongside each other. The high man is the man that is pretty hard to convince that he needs organization. His influence over the low paid man is quite great, because the lower paid man is anticipating taking the place of the higher paid man. That condition, my friends, is one that is very hard to combat.

According to the charter granted to the organization I represent, the charter granted by the American Federation of Labor, full jurisdiction is given to that organization over every man in and around the steel plants of our country. Our organization has not up to now, or at least during the period of my knowledge, wasted as much as one minute discussing jurisdictional disputes with any other organization. The thing that the Amalgamated Association is interested in is to organize the steel workers. We can appreciate the good it would do all of the trade unions of our country. I believe with the experience that the present official representatives of our organization have had in the steel mills and the labor movement, they are qualified to know just exactly what has to be done if we are going to organize the steel workers. So I take the opportunity, my friends, to try to place before you in my humble way the conditions I have referred to as they affect our organization.

Prior to the adoption of the NRA in June, 1933, it was foolish for a representative of the Amalgamated Association to go into the midst of the steel towns, especially those controlled by the United States Steel, the Bethlehem Steel, and the Republic Steel, to attempt to start organization. I myself had the experience only nine months prior to the adoption of the NRA of being forcibly taken out of a modern, up-to-date hotel, being there at the request of the men organizing—and, by the way, it was not the company bulls who put me out, it was my fellow worker, the man who sent for me, the man who wanted organization. But that man's mind was changed when the higher paid man that I spoke about a while ago got in his work and changed the minds of the fellows who wanted to organize and were responsible for me being removed out of

town. I have been taken out of the company of members of big fraternal organizations by the steel company bulls, and my fraternal brothers permitted me to be put in jail. I had been notified by the hotel management that the Chamber of Commerce had met that afternoon at 2:30 o'clock and had decided by unanimous vote that I should be ridden out of town that night on a rail.

Those are just some of the experiences that representatives of our organizations have had in trying to bring about the organization of the steel workers. No one knows better than we know the benefits that the steel workers would get if they were organized. Would you believe it if I were to tell you that a man working in a non-union plant just prior to the NRA had eleven days coming as a roller on a big mill and he personally contacted me for the purpose of finding out whether or not the thousand-pound figures per gauge as they appeared in our official journal were correct, and I told him most absolutely they were correct, that they had to be correct. He said, "Well, if those figures are correct, the company owes me \$124." Does that sound surprising to anybody here? He was short \$124 for eleven days' work, and we went to him on our bended knees, begging him to come into the organization that would only charge him \$1.50 or \$2 a month dues instead of \$124 for eleven days. He said, "I would be glad to belong, but if I belong to that organization I would lose all that I have." That is pretty general in the steel industry.

After the NRA was adopted we went into all of these towns and opened up headquarters in some places for as high as four organizers. We presented the steel locals with charters free of charge, all of the printing that was necessary, everything known through all of our years of experience was done to organize the steel workers and organize them industrially. There was one place where we had a little skirmish about jurisdiction, but it did not interfere with the campaign to organize. We just told the man that if he wanted to belong to his particular organization, he could go ahead and belong to it, that we did not have time to talk it over, that we were interested in organizing the steel workers.

But in western Pennsylvania and Ohio

there was no such interference, and what is the result? I say without fear of contradiction, regardless of how effective a campaign in organization may be, the Amalgamated Association went to the limit, to the end that during the latter part of August and September and the first part of October of 1933, 106 men were scattered throughout the steel industry of our country carrying the message of organization, begging the men to join the Amalgamated Association as an American Federation of Labor affiliate.

By the way, I want to give due recognition to the organization. The organization that I am representing was one of the first organizations to assist in perfecting this present body, and if my memory serves me right, the President of the Amalgamated Association was the first chairman who presided over the meeting that brought about the organization.

What we want, my friends, is not a lot of talk, not a lot of fault finding. We would like to have the steel workers organized, and as I said before, every possible effort was made to bring about organization of the steel workers. Nothing was left undone to organize them, and when the campaign began to appear as though it was going to be successful in the latter part of August, 1933, the steel corporations got on the job and passed out their lying propaganda. One of the most effective pieces of propaganda they put out was that Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, was receiving a salary of \$100,000 a year, and that Michael Tighe was receiving \$50,000 a year. Don't laugh, my friends, I have been in meeting after meeting and have had men come up to me conscientiously, insofar as I am able to judge humanity, and ask me if that was so, thus showing conclusively they believed that that was the case. They passed out further propaganda to the effect that I, as Secretary-Treasurer of our organization, did not make any financial reports to our membership. That would not have been so bad. Naturally, that was expected, but just about that time the campaign was making good headway, and everything looked good, along came our slimy friend, along came that fellow who calls himself a Communist, and he finished the job for the United States Steel Corporation by making a cam-

paign that was on the way to success a failure.

To sort of hide what they had done they picked on five or six of the supposed leaders of the new steel lodges who would not talk to the representatives of the Amalgamated Association before the NRA and set them up as the progressive leaders of the new steel union and proceeded immediately to hold secret sessions, being advised by men who did not deny, in fact admitted, their connections with the Communist Party of America. When these lodges failed to obey the laws of this organization, failed to have respect for the obligation they took before God and man and practiced insubordination, there was nothing else for the duly elected officers of the Amalgamated Association to do but to enforce the law. But before that was done two official notices were sent to all of these local unions. The officers of the international union attended meetings and notified them just exactly what was going to happen if they did not discontinue their practices. They did not discontinue them, they went ahead and held their rump convention and attempted to supersede the officers that governed our organization.

I want to say now that I believe I represent the most liberal organization on this floor. The laws that govern our organization are made by our membership, regardless of where the members might be. Down on the coast or out in Seattle, Washington, the members have the right to cast their votes for or against any of the proposed measures that emanate from the convention. These people knew how liberal our organization was and they had spread propaganda that we would not take any action against them for fear of losing them. Losing what? I want to try to keep myself in line with the things that have been said here by some of the previous speakers concerning the Amalgamated Association.

I am afraid, or else I did not hear right, that I would not be qualified to give him an answer if it were not for the experience that I have had in the matter. As soon as the international officers proceeded in accordance with our laws, these people at the instigation of the Communist Party took this organization into court. The court ruled that the international executive board of our organization did not have the right,

in accord with the constitution and general laws that governed our organization, to expel a lodge without giving the lodge a trial. They as much as said, "Bring them on back and give them a trial and kick them out." The consequences of that trial brought about a practical dissolution of these supposed new unions or Progressives. We held two meetings with them. Advised and guided by their attorney from New York, who knows nothing about the labor movement and cares less, who knows nothing about the steel industry or the steel workers and cares less, but who apparently was very much interested in bringing about the destruction of the Amalgamated Association, but as it has gone through sixty years fighting such opposition as the United States Steel Corporation, it took a little more than a few Communists to wreck us.

They sent us back, and I guess they are satisfied, and if we can get the co-operation of the affiliates to the American Federation of Labor, I believe we can make good progress in bringing about the organization of the steel workers. At least we can call the bluff of the steel workers, and that is just what I mean—call their bluff. The first thing they said was, "We will not pay anything into the Amalgamated Association until we see what the Amalgamated Association is going to do for us." The next thing was that the NRA was ruled unconstitutional, therefore we had better keep our mouths shut. Next came the enactment of the Wagner Bill and the steel workers told us they could not do anything until they saw what the United States Supreme court was going to do as to the constitutionality of the Wagner Bill. The most recent thing they tell us is this: Get the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor and we will join hands with you.

I am asking the convention to call their bluff by forgetting about all other differences that might exist and helping us to organize the steel workers, because speaker after speaker has made reference to the fact that if the steel worker was organized the entire trade union movement would benefit by it.

Now I am somewhat at a loss to know just what I am going to do on the question before us, for this reason: I have not had a copy of the minority report.

All I know is what I heard read, but some of the speakers made reference to the fact in their remarks that if the minority report is adopted the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will have the right to issue charters to any group that wants a charter. That of course would apply in the situation that I described to you a while ago, the situation that existed in our organization of this so-called progressive group.

Does the minority report intend to give charters to groups who are not in accord or who have a dislike for the present set-up of the organization that has jurisdiction over the plant in which they are employed? If that is not the case, then of course in accord with the action of our 59th annual convention, I am duty bound to support the report that calls for industrial organization. That is the mandate of our convention. References have already been made, according to reports we got in the press, to the effect that some members of the Executive Council were giving comfort to these outlaws, and if that is true, where are we going to lead? If it is not true, we ought to know. This is an important question, a question that will affect all of the organizations represented here, and we ought to appreciate the responsibility we carry with us as representatives of those who saw fit to send us here.

I close my remarks, my friends, by telling you that the Amalgamated Association is going right along, doing everything within its power to organize the steel workers. We believe by getting the co-operation of the organized workers as a whole that considerable success could be met in bringing about a semblance of organization in the steel industry.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: Mr. President and delegates: While I have not any personal history to relate, I must confess that I am confronted with some difficulties in this situation that oblige me to come before you and ask for your help. I am a member of the Committee on Resolutions without information except through very casual reading of what their report contains.

I have listened with a great deal of care to all of the speakers, trying to acquaint myself with the contents of these

documents. Incidentally, the reason for my ignorance is that I did not arrive at the convention until very late, having been detained by business of my organization. Therefore, I had no opportunity to sit with the committee members when they were discussing this question, and I am signatory to neither of the reports.

The speeches have been most interesting. In all seriousness, let me say this: I do not recall ever having before sat in a convention of the American Federation of Labor listening with greater intentness to the statements of men on the platform discussing an issue than I have during the past several hours. I have the highest regard for every speaker. I am convinced that all talked in the utmost good faith. It is natural, of course, that in a heated debate of almost any character, men sometimes go to extremes in their statements. At times that is not of any consequence, and on other occasions it serves to mislead the thought. Let me say also, as a preliminary, that I do not intend to talk very long. There is nothing that has been said so far that in any way interferes with or so far as I can see affects the organization that I represent. We have existed a long time under the laws of the American Federation of Labor under a form that many call industrial, so that I have not any particular axe to grind in that respect.

I am confused by some of the figures here. As an exhibition or as a reminder, if you will, of the tremendous weakness of the American Federation of Labor in the opinion of some of the speakers and as stated in the minority report, we are told that we have only succeeded in organizing three and a half million workers out of a potential thirty-nine or forty millions. Now that latter figure troubles me somewhat. If it is true and if it presents a fact, then this movement is aspiring to have in it one out of every four men, women and children, rich and poor, farm and urban, throughout the United States. I think that is something of an exaggeration and I doubt the wisdom of utilizing arguments of that sort in an effort to influence a convention on a question so momentous as this. I feel confident, however, that those who gave you those figures believed them to be true.

Is it not true that one of our difficul-

ties in this field of mass production is in the development of great corporations set up by law with powers almost equalling those of government? And is it not true, too, that no matter what form of organization we use, so long as that system of corporate control continues, we shall need the aid of the Government in meeting it, because there is no form of workers' organization that can overcome a handicap of that sort?

Now, then, I want to remind you that we are not to vote upon the speeches presented to us. Candidly, as far as those speeches are concerned, I would like to vote for all of them. Every speaker has said something thoroughly worth while, and I am in hearty sympathy with those who have supported the minority report, because they have brought what I believe to be a very important issue before the convention—and I say that in face of the fact that I intend to vote for the majority report.

The terms "industrial unionism" and "craft unionism" have little meaning for me. After all, they are simply terms. All of us have our point of view and I have mine, and it is because of that that I rise to speak to you. I have had this point of view—that the problem with which we are confronted is largely one of administration and management in its solution. It cannot be solved by the adoption of declarations. It cannot be solved by changing forms and shapes. The living spirit must be breathed into it—from below, it is true, yes, among the workers and also on the part of those who administer the affairs of the Federation.

I come to the point in what I have to say. It is the duty of the executives and the administrators who work for the Federation to interpret and to apply every declaration and resolution and motion of whatsoever character in the light of the law of the Federation. All must be interpreted in accordance with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. Read Article II, Section 2 of the constitution with its flat declaration for complete autonomy in every trade. Read again Section 2 of Article IX, dealing with the same subject, and then ask yourselves how your executive and administrative officials can carry out a declaration of this convention of the sort offered by

the minority, which, by the way, uses the term "unrestricted charters." How can they do that honestly or legally—and I use the term legally in its broadest sense? There are legal rights involved in our constitution enforceable not only by the Executive Council, but in the courts of the land. And here, as the convention is drawing to a close, we are dealing with a matter of policy governed by the constitution, and so far as I have been able to learn, without any purpose of changing the constitution. Can you do that and do it effectively? What sort of a position are you going to place the officers of the Federation in when a convention of this sort with as much earnestness as has been displayed here, talks of changing a policy, with no move, so far as I am able to see, to really make any change, because, I repeat, it is governed by law, by the basic law of the Federation.

Now, then, if there is some way at this late hour of changing that law in event of the declaration being adopted, then those who are for it should be frank enough to tell us what sort of change they propose to write into the constitution, so we may know exactly the road we are traveling and what, insofar as we can determine the meaning of language, the ultimate purpose really is. I have not raised this question for the purpose of interfering with the discussion, nor do I want anyone to assume that because I have done so I am out of sympathy with the movement to make the charter arrangements within the Federation more flexible than at present and to give the fullest consideration especially to the needs in that respect as concerning the mass production industry. I think there is much that has been said by those who take a position opposite to mine as to favoritism between the two reports that must be given earnest consideration by every thoughtful trade unionist. It is a subject that cannot be ignored, and what puzzles me is, in the light of the law of the Federation, what can we do about that now? I am sure there isn't anybody playing politics and just talking for the purpose of making wonderful speeches—and they have been wonderful speeches—I am positive they are earnest in their desire to get somewhere with this question.

I would like to handle it a little differently than they propose in the majority re-

port. I make the selection between the two now because there isn't anything else to do. I feel we are at a point so far as this convention is concerned, and the proposals appearing here, that there is little left for us to do except to pass the problem over into the hands of our executive and administrative officials in the hope that during the coming year they will apply more vigorously some of the declarations already made, and with the further hope, Mr. President, that when that is done, we will quit quibbling about it and putting stones in their way and we will offer to cooperate, though it may mean something that we might call a sacrifice here and there of our jurisdictional rights.

It may be that the officers are entitled to some criticisms. I hold no brief for them. We can hardly say that we, all of us outside of the official family, have done our full duty in this respect.

Now I close as I opened, by saying that I come before you with a personal difficulty, that at this late hour, with the law of the Federation as it is, I find great difficulty in determining upon some real worthwhile suggestion that I might offer to you as to doing something that would really solve this question, the basis of which is the law of the Federation itself.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Wharton.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I find myself in about the same position in this convention that I was in when I went to the San Francisco convention. You will recall that when we were discussing this problem there, there was an effort to ascertain just what was meant by the proponents of the so-called industrial form of organization. I have listened this evening to these proponents and I have failed to have my mind cleared as to just what they mean.

I wonder if there are those among us who have really given careful thought to the extension of industry as it has developed in our country? I happen to represent an organization that in years past and almost all through its existence has been rather charged with being progressive, to the extent of desiring to become an industrial organization, and I believe that as far as I am able to understand that question there

are few if any organizations represented in the American Federation of Labor which have eligible to their membership a greater number of men employed in all industries.

One of the declarations of our organization adopted a good many years ago, without interfering with the rights of other recognized organizations of labor, was that all men working in a machine shop were eligible to our organization. Now there are some hundreds of machine shops in this country that perhaps ninety per cent of the people employed therein would properly come under the jurisdiction of our organization without interfering with the jurisdiction of any other organization. Some years ago I conceived the idea that we ought to have closer co-operation between the organizations, and I think as one individual I was possibly more responsible than any other in writing a constitution that fitted the needs of a large number of the people employed in one of the largest industries in this country. I refer to the railroad industry, and we did work out a plan of co-operation and at the same time recognized the rights of the various organizations in that industry.

I know nothing about the industrial form of organization as it has been discussed here this evening, because of the lack of definiteness on the part of its proponents, but I point to the railroad industry as an industry that is scattered throughout the country, with hundreds of thousands of people employed in it, being represented most substantially by 21 recognized railroad labor organizations. So far as I am aware it is the only industry that has gone through the six years of this industrial depression with its membership practically intact, maintaining all of its conditions of employment, maintaining its standards of wages and retaining its membership, in addition to which, through the active co-operation of these 21 organizations, we have eliminated in certain groups 76 company unions affecting some 200,000 workers in that industry, which came into existence as the result of a strike in 1922.

I heard considerable said here tonight about our failure to make progress and the failure of the Executive Council to carry out the instructions of the last convention. One of the speakers is a member of the Executive Council, and if my recollection

serves me rightly, he attended very few of the meetings of the Executive Council since he was elected. I found him a most excellent critic then, as he was today.

I have heard expressions made as to how easy it is to organize the workers in the mass production industries and elsewhere. I don't know what the rest of the organizations are doing or what their experience has been, but my organization, just as rapidly as it was able and just as soon as we got enough money to do it, placed in the field representatives, and we have at the present time about fifty-five organizers in the field. We have organized quite a few thousand men into our craft. We have assisted other organizations in organizing. We have made progress under most difficult circumstances.

It is not our fault that people do not come into these organizations. We have knocked at their doors, we have sent representatives to their homes, we have canvassed industrial communities and got the names and addresses of these workers from directories and in many cases have paid for the information where it was not otherwise available. We have talked to the wives of these workers and had our friends talk to these people and we offered every possible opportunity for them to come into our organization. I know that other organizations with whom we have co-operated have done the same thing.

Just what is this wonderful panacea that after forty or fifty years of trial did not always bring the desired result and will now bring the desired result? I wonder why we think it is going to be easy to organize the automobile industry. We have heard a good deal about the automobile industry and some have said that there has been interference by the craft organizations. Just what constitutes interference? Is it interference to attempt to assist people in organizing an industry? Is it wrong for us to say that it would be more desirable from our viewpoint that in organizing an industry we would place people in an organization where they properly belong? Just what is wrong with that? I heard today for the first time in my life in a trade union assembly that our movement was a failure. If I am any judge of what has been done for the workers in this country, I would like to

have some of the gentlemen who made that statement tell me who else has accomplished anything for the workers of this country. All the laws that benefit the workers of our land have been placed upon the statute books of our state and Federal Governments through the efforts of organizations represented in this convention. Tell me who else did it? Who are these people on the outside who want to come in? Haven't they had the same opportunity to join a labor organization that we had? Don't you think we went through difficulties? Don't you think we had to risk our lives at times in organizing men and in conducting strikes? Just what is the different situation in the old days and now, with all the protective laws that we have placed around them, surrounding them with every reasonable protection against the inquisitions which were imposed upon us when we started to organize?

If you ask me what I think about the situation I will say it is a lack of a will to organize, a willingness to accept the galas of the organized workers without fairly contributing their share in this struggle.

I don't know whether I was seduced in San Francisco or not. I did not think I was of the sex that would be subject to that kind of attack. I have not been rended apart, figuratively speaking or otherwise. I think I am the president of a very splendid organization. I think we are able and willing, notwithstanding the efforts to disrupt us within or without this movement, to continue to grow. All we want is co-operation and not disruption. We are ready and willing to co-operate with any organization to the fullest extent of our ability.

I don't think I ever heard as much criticism directed in the manner in which it was to the splendid officers of this organization, whether it be the President, the Secretary or Executive Council, in any other place to the same extent, I repeat, that I have heard here today and tonight.

Just why this attack? What is the reason back of it? What is the motive? The doors of this organization are open. We are begging and working, endeavoring to bring men and women into the movement. Why don't they come? What is wrong with us? I have propounded that question to these so-called independent organizations when-

ever and wherever the opportunity presented itself. I have asked them to point out in what manner our organization has failed. In what are we lacking? Well, I may sum it up very briefly. You know this organization that I represent is very democratic. All the laws in the constitution have been proposed by the membership. They have been voted upon and adopted by the membership. The duty of the officers is to carry out those laws.

We started out as a fifty cents a month dues paying organization, with twenty-five cents per capita tax and we had nothing but volunteer organizers. We paid our International President eighty-five dollars a month when we had it. Most of the time he was living from hand to mouth and being fed by the members along the line of the road where he was traveling. We found we could not make progress that way, so these members decided about thirty-five years ago to increase the dues to seventy-five cents, and from seventy-five cents to a dollar, from a dollar to a dollar and a quarter, and from a dollar and a quarter to a dollar and a half, and from a dollar and a half to a dollar and seventy-five cents a month, for the journeyman mechanics; fifty per cent of that for women workers, fifty per cent for apprentices, and two-thirds of that amount for helpers and other classes of semi-skilled workers. With those dues we are able to do what I told you a few moments ago—put men in the field to get out and try to organize. And right in this room there are men who are representing so-called Federal Labor Unions who were members of our organization. I have asked them why they did not use their influence to build up an existing organization with approximately 110,000 members and over a million dollars in its treasury, with a well trained field staff elected by the members of the organization, with the recall and the initiative, and they could have my job as soon as they could beat me out of it. What more do they want?

Come in and help us make this an organization, and we will show you what we can do. I know as well as any other man what the workers of this country can do if they are organized. Whose fault is it if they are not organized? Surely not ours. You have seen these struggles, these

differences of opinion, this quibbling, but it is like the old story of Lincoln and the Democratic convention when it was reported to him that they were tearing themselves to pieces, that they would destroy themselves. He said, "Oh, no, they may be fighting, but they are making more Democrats." That is what we want, come in here and settle your troubles inside the movement. Don't go out every day and every hour of the day and tell people we are not trying to do anything. That is the wrong principle and the wrong philosophy.

How many men in this room will recall the spasmodic organization that sprung up during the war? My organization increased its membership from about 100,000 to 335,000. We had several million dollars in the treasury when the war was settled. What went with it? What went with the members? Was there any fault with the organization, when we were trying to do the very best we could to protect the interests of those people? We paid out every dollar we had to protect them when wages were being reduced and hours were lengthened. We assessed ourselves. We spent all the money we had and we borrowed money to protect the interests of those workers, and they left the organization. Why? I will let you answer that.

But I think it is the same thing we run up against all the time, the same thing we have run up against in the last two years. We have organized some of those mass production plants. We have increased their wages in some cases from five to twenty cents an hour and they never paid one month's dues afterward. Answer that, some of you people who think the mere expression of an opinion, the passing of a resolution will organize the workers of this land.

A Delegate (name not given): Name the organization you did that for.

Delegate Wharton: I can take you into my office, my friend, and name you over fifty plants where we did it. There are fifty thousand men and women we initiated into our organization since July 1, 1933, who are not now members of our organization, and I challenge you or any other delegate in this room to show one single instance where we did not come to the assistance of every strike or every effort that was put forth by the members of our organiza-

tion where these members observed the laws of the organization.

A Delegate: May I ask Mr. Wharton a question?

President Green: The speaker cannot be interrupted.

Delegate Wharton (continuing): We have organized approximately 100,000 workers in the last two years. We have held on to about 56,000 of them. We think those that are in the organization are going to stay and we are increasing our membership now at the rate of about 1,000 to 1,500 a month. There is no reason why we can't continue to do it and we certainly can make more progress by working together than by going out on so-called new highways and byways and picking up people that have not the will nor the desire to become affiliated with an existing institution that has proven its ability to withstand all attacks of organized employers, such as the National Metal Trades Association and others. Within and without the organization we have withstood these attacks, and God knows we have had plenty of them on the inside, trying to break up this organization.

My organization was selected by the A. F. of L. in 1901 to go into the battle for the nine-hour day, and from that day on we had the enmity of the National Metal Trades Association as no other organization had. We found, at one time, 235 officers in 235 local unions on the payroll of that organization, placed there for the purpose of embroiling us in all kinds of difficulties. We survived all those things and we will survive the present effort to start all over with these new theories and experiments.

There is plenty of room for all the organizations, for all of the workers in this country to get into the right organization, and where there is no existing organization to accept them we will gladly help to create other organizations. We went a step further than that in San Francisco and relinquished the jurisdiction which we had a right to retain insofar as the production workers in the automotive industry were concerned. The automotive industry has a very substantial number of that type of worker. If those representatives from that group now in this convention will say to you as they have said to us that there are approximately ten per cent of the men in that industry that are so-called skilled workers, is ten per cent

a sufficient number to prevent an organization of a production industry? If it is, I would like to know why. If 90 per cent of the people employed in any one industry cannot maintain an organization, then take your hat off to the ten per cent who can.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate McMahon, of the United Textile Workers of America.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers of America: Possibly no organization within the American Federation of Labor speaking for and in behalf of the minority report is placed in a more peculiar position than is the United Textile Workers of America. Throughout this great convention there are men who have contributed largely to assisting in organizing the men and women of this country in our industry, and we appreciate it. We believe we were right when our convention decided that the industrial form of organization was the proper form of organization for workers within an industry such as ours, which is a mass production industry. There are several others.

By industrial organization, I mean to convey the impression that it is not those who pick the cotton in the cotton fields that become part of the textile workers any more than it is the coal diggers who supply coal to the great Ford Automobile Company. We are talking about workers who process and deliver a certain article or product and all those workers engaged in the production of that product should be in the one organization, part of that organization, and in that way I believe we will satisfy the demand of men and women throughout our country who are demanding organization.

Most of us are touching shoulders today with the men and women who are unorganized, and we ask you why? Surely no one can find fault with those people asking you what organization they shall come into. I represent an organization that, according to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, entitles us to the government of textile workers, and textile workers in mills are 95 per cent of the employes in those mills. Today we are making progress and yet I fear, because of the many questions of jurisdiction now arising in my organization relative to the five per cent, that some of the organizations large in number will be

out of us if we allow them to continue to operate as industrial organizations, taking into their organization electricians, firemen, machinists and every other part of the American labor movement comprised within that five per cent.

Sitting on this convention floor are men who are in receipt of communications from me saying to them that I will do everything in my power to have these people belong to the proper organization. Have they done so? No, they tell me, and they tell me quite candidly, that they will drop the organization, they will become independent unless they are part of our organization. That is what we are up against. Those are facts. You are asked what to do, you are asked what is the best course to pursue.

I, too, am a trade unionist, not of yesterday. I, too, belonged to the Knights of Labor. I joined this labor movement here in 1887. I am no chicken in the movement. I have traveled this country quite extensively in organizing our textile workers and have assisted many, many others. I have done the best I could and so have my colleagues. One year ago today, 38,000 men were taken into the American Federation of Labor. You heard in Washington that this organization of the United Textile Workers represents but a few within the industry of the mill employees therein. Today we are paying tax into the American Federation of Labor on 100,000. Because of the small number one year ago and the difference that makes in computation according to the twelve months we have representation here for something over 79,000 members.

Our progress is going to be delayed, our progress is going to be hindered. There is no question in my mind about that. I have friends here in this gathering tonight, real trade unionists, who realize full well in their hearts that the small minority within my organization should be part and parcel of the organization, that is, the industrial organization. What have we to offer those if we are to proceed in the manner in which I am besieged now? What must we expect of workers when asked to join the American Federation of Labor and when they say, "To what organization must I belong?" You get a charter from the American Federation of Labor, a Federal charter. Your numbers grow by leaps and bounds and then comes

the point where the workers are taken here and the workers are taken there, and eventually the organization is destroyed. There is no denying that fact, we must meet it.

I regret that so much has been said in a way that would lead outsiders to believe that this great movement of ours is about to be disrupted. Nothing of that kind is going to take place. Men are expressing themselves as men give their opinions in their own way, and those of us who feel that this labor movement must be perpetuated feel and feel honestly that the industrial form of organization, as I have described industrial organization, is the best form of organization, the real kind of organization to satisfy the workers today who cannot be compared with the workers in industry a short five or ten years ago. The thing is changing all around us. Let us meet it, each and every one of us, and I believe the way to meet it is to give the workers what they want, and not allow them to be told in any manner, shape or form that the organization does not develop from the bottom but from the top. We want it to develop from the bottom and that is why I am here speaking for the report of the minority.

A number of delegates called for the question and insisted that the question be put.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Tracy.

Delegate Tracy: I am quite sure, Mr. President, that everybody here is quite familiar with this case. The hour is getting late and I move the previous question.

The motion was seconded.

A Delegate: A point of information.

President Green: The convention will please be in order. We are going to transact this business in an orderly way. The previous question has been moved. Do thirty delegates support the motion for the previous question? Evidently there are many more than thirty. It requires a two-thirds vote to put the previous question. All those who favor the previous question being now put will say aye and those opposed will say no.

(The motion appeared to be carried on the yea and nay vote.)

President Green: Those of you who favor the previous question will hold up your

right hand and keep your hands up until they are counted, and may the Chair suggest that only those who are delegates participate in the vote.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the vote as follows: 246 in favor of putting the previous question; 113 opposed.

Secretary Morrison: It requires 238 votes to adopt a motion for the previous question.

President Green: The previous question has now been ordered by a vote of the convention. Two-thirds of the delegates have ordered the previous question.

Delegate Peterson, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: A point of information—Is it the intention of this democratic body to outlaw from speaking on this question every Federal union and every representative of an international organization who has introduced a resolution on this question?

President Green: You are making an argument, my friend. The question has now been called for.

Delegate Martel: Inasmuch as the hour is pretty late wouldn't it be better if we postponed the roll call?

President Green: Delegate Martel, the Chair has no choice except to submit the question. The convention has ordered that.

Is there a sufficient number demanding a roll call. The rules require that fifty delegates can demand a roll call. Those who favor a roll call will raise their hands.

It is the opinion of the Chair that more than fifty delegates have held up their hands. The roll call is in order and nothing else is in order.

The question now is upon the minority report. The motion is that the minority report be substituted for the majority report. Those in favor of the minority report will vote aye, those opposed will vote no.

Secretary Morrison called the roll with the following result:

ROLL CALL ON MINORITY REPORT

YES — Hamilton, Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Koch, Obergfell, Kugler, Zusi, Hillman, Schlossberg, Chatman, Miller (A.), Catalanotti, Rissman, Feeney, Milton, Taylor (M.), Lucchi, Dubinsky, Margolles, Snyder (A.), Zuckerman, Nagler, Hochman,

Desti, McCabe (G. W.), Kennedy (J. H.), Greene (M. F.), Lewis (Max), Goldberg (I. H.), Finkelstein, Beardsley, Williams (L.), Meat Cutters' Delegation (149 votes), Peterson (P. M.), Robinson (R.), Cashin, Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Kennedy (Thos.), Green (Wm.), Bittner, Brennan, Fagan, Kmetz, Fremming, Coulter (J. L.), Schafer (B. J.), Long (J. C.), Burns (M. J.), Barry (F. P.), McHugh (W. H.), McGrady, Armstrong, Wilson (Wm.), Sigmond, Burke (J. P.), Bayha, Sullivan (H. W.), Lawson (J. C.), Lowry, Hanson (F. C.), Davis (Geo.), Powers (F. B.), McMahon (T. F.), Gorman (F. J.), Smith (Wm.), Kelly (W. F.), Rieve, Schweitzer, Typographical Delegation (611 votes), Ernst, Noxon, Tiller, Fritz (A. J.), Lewis (J. C.), Morgan (Ed. J.), Brandt (W. M.), Hughes (F.), Nord, Patterson (D. E.), Crose, Crawford (C. V.), Easton, Ross (J.), Burr (R. M.), Nance (A. S.), Owens (J.), Bamford, Morgan (J.), McCormick (J. R.), Sautter, Komaroff, Townshend, Tourishin, Dahl (H.), O'Leary (J.), Friedrich (J.), Nevil, Harvey (A. P.), Heimbach, Bower (A. P.), Day (P.), Edmundson (R.), Brach, Hymes, Buckingham, Merrill (R. J.), Shipley, Addes, Solits, Killeen, Mortimer (W.), Kics, North (J.), Davis (E.), Gormley, Goff, Baron, Templeman (H.), Martocchio, Lawrence (H.), Strunk, Tucker (J. R.), Merritt (W.), Lee (A. P.), Caraway, Clark (W. H.), Rand, Dahl (L.), Burks (J. A.), Bellowe, Marek, Costello (E.), Masucci, White (F.), Heymanns, Sanders (H. L.), Finnegan, Hanlon (E. F.), O'Gorman (M. A.), Taylor (C. S.), Kibbel, Nelson (J.), Lilly, Hannah (P.), Krauss, Gerhart, Fine, Henderson (H.), Ratkin, Randolph (A. P.), Webster (M. P.), Barr, Schillinger, McCloskey, Nicholson (A. B.), Carey (J. B.), Eagle (N. H.), Thompson (W. W.), Dalrymple, Shacklette, Matlin, Garrison (O. L.), Dodge (A.), Rasmussen, Makman, Braun, Joblon, Jenkins (S.), Harper (L. O.), representing 10,933 votes.

NO—Dullzell, Mullaney, Shanessy, Birthright, Robinson (J. B.), Reagan (P. H.), Merlino, McCarthy (Wm.), Horn, Powlesland, Franklin (J. A.), Davis (J. N.), Walter (W. E.), Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Mara, Lawson (G. W.), Spahr, Bates (H. C.), Gray (E. J.), Price (W. V.), Stretch, Moran (W. J.), Morrin, Brice, Dempsey (J. J.), Ryan (Edw.), Knight (F.), Holmgren, Macrorie, Fitzgerald (J. J.), Hutcheson, Duffy (E.), Williams (J. W.), Flynn (T.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Hanson (C.), Mulcahy, Van Vaerenyck, George (L. E.), Hyatt (G. E.), Hewitt, Collins (W. A.), Smith (H. W.), Harrison (G. M.), Jackson (J. O.), Ulrich, Desepete, Coulter (C. C.), Deckard, Doyle (J. J.), Rosemund, Tracy (D. W.), Bugnizet, Paulsen, Bleretz, McDonagh (J. S.), Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay (J. S.), Gramling, Walsh (W. P.), Imhahn, Vols, Woll, Schmal, Baer, Kane, McNamara (J. F.), Clinton, Conway (J.), Kelley (J. L.), Rickert, Adamski, Gordon (A.), Hashkins, Houck, Maloney (J.), Warren, Gillooly, Babcock, Glass (D. R.), Daniels

(J.), Moreschi, Marshall (J.), Rivers, Etchison, D'Andrea, Flore, Heskeith, Koveski, Lane (C.), McSorley, Moore (G. T.), Case (C. J.), Brooks (W. C.), Bryan (W. E.), Gaihor (E. J.), Finnan, Gorman (W. J.), Swartz, Duffy (C. D.), Kennedy (A. J.), Brick, Ryan (J. P.), Sampson (J. J.), Wharton, Robinson (W. F.), Fry (C.), Alifas, Henning, Haggerty (D.), Fljozdal, Milliman, Carroll (T. C.), Vogland, McCarthy (W.), McInerney (J. A.), Meat Cutters' Delegation (49 votes), Hynes (J. J.), Ryan (James J.), Moriarty (J. T.), Close, O'Keefe, Towers, Barnett, Weber (J. N.), Canavan (E.), Weaver (C. A.), Bagley, Kapl, Field (F. B.), Lindelof, Swick, Madsen, Meehan (P.), Kaufman (H.), Kelley (J. F.), Lynch (G. Q.), Hannah (E. I.), Collieran, Rooney, Donlin, McDonough (M. J.), Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Anderson (C.), Fallon (W.), Britton, Duffy (J. M.), McGillivray, Grafton (J. H.), Windsor, Mahon (W. D.), Kehoe, McLellan, McLaughlin (M. J.), Broderick, Sterling, Jones (Geo. W.), Gavlak, Furuseth, Olander, Browne (G. E.), Dempsey, Green (T. V.), McCaffery, DeVese, Sumner (C. A.), Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen (P. J.), Cashen (T. C.), Connors (J. B.), Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Goudie, McLaughlin (John), Beck, Manion, Leighty, Typographical Delegation (123 votes), Frey (J. P.), Jewell, Egan (J. J.), Soderstrom, McCurdy, Watt, Cunningham, Meany, Arthur (C. C.), Egan (B. M.), Taylor (J. A.), Mitchell (A.), Campfield, Keenan (J. D.), Brooks (W. C.), Downie (T. R.), Doll (M.), Le Bow, Egan (Jos. V.), Toppling, Quinn (J. C.), Campbell (W. W.), King (C.), Heber, Duncan (J. A.), Sweeney (S. A.), Doyle (F. E.), Musgrave, Borchardt, McMahon (B. R.), Myles (J. T.), Fitzgerald (I. J.), Flynn (M. J.), Groner, Lufano, Nick, Ralsie, Marzocca, representing 18,024 votes.

NOT VOTING—Horan (J. J.), Nelson

(Oscar F.), Scalise, Bambrick, Dannenberg, Leonard, Scully (John J.), Morningstar, Evans (A. A.), Kaiser (Edw. W.), Resnick, Evans (E. Lewis), Lentie, Hatch (James H.), Graves, Bilet, Ornburn, Mitch, Rosqvist, Wade, Graham (James D.), Holoopeter, Lawrence (R. R.), Donnelly (Thos. J.), Palmer, Osborne, Iglesias, Shave, Handley (J. J.), McAloon, Biel, Slout, Mayer, Smith (Darrell), Flynn (Al), Reinhart, Lenehan, Nadelhoffer, Jeffries, Weizenecker, Breidenbach, Matchley, Cushing, Passage, Mitchell, Katz, De Witt, Eardley, Riley (W. H.), Crother, Slich, Regan, David (Paul T.), Hanoway, Maney, Swetland, Michelson, Rivin, Pickler, Campbell (Jos. C.), Draper (F. M.), Lyding, Hirschberg, McCarty (M. L.), Cahir, Howat, Sager, Woodmansee, Russell (Harry A.), Wood (Ruben T.), Dahlager, Walsh (Michael), Saylor (John C.), Sandefur, Saltus, Bender, Johnson (Tom S.), Long (J. A.), McGurk, Pavona, Rundle, Ravi'ch, Doane (Lester B.), Wise, Ross (Alexander John), Dance, Sigman, Dallas, Sticht, Bradley (H. A.), Burke (M. J.), Weinberg (Abraham N.), Lovell, Beedle, Burns (Thos. F.), Serra, Dougherty (John), Malkovich, Turner (Geo. L.), Zander, Taylor (John C.), Ocker, Fearn, Mack (Jennie), Ryan (Jas. A.), Conley (Andrew), Naesmith, Haydon (J. A. P.), representing 788 votes.

President Green: The motion to adopt the minority report is lost. The question now recurs on the adoption of the majority report.

An aye and nay vote was taken.

President Green: The motion is carried and it is so ordered.

At 11:45 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday, October 17, 1935.

NINTH DAY—Thursday Morning Session

Atlantic City, New Jersey.

October 17, 1935.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

ABSENTEES

Albano, Alter, Beedie, Bender, Billet, Bradley, Breidenbach, Brooks, W. C.; Brooks, W. R.; Burke, J.; Burks, J. A.; Braginsky, Biel, Burch, Cashen, Chatman, Creed, Crother, Campbell, J. C.; Campbell, W. W.; Dahlager, Dallas, Dance, David, Davis, O. E.; Dellums, DeWitt, Doane, Dougherty, Draper, Eardley, Edmundson, Evans, A. A.; Evans, E. L.; Fearn, Flynn, Al.; Fulford, Goldberg, Gorman, P. E.; Grois, Haley, Hanoway, Howat, Hynes, W. J.; Hein, Iglesias, Jeffries, Kaiser, Katz, Kelly, M.; Kuehnelt, LaBelle, Lenehan, Lentie, Lovell, Lumley, Lyding, McAloon, McCarty, M. L.; McGillivray, McGurk, Mack, Malkovich, Marzocca, Matchley, Maxwell, Mayer, Michelson, Miller, Mitch, Mitchell, H.; Morgan, E. J.; Morgan, J.; Morningstar, Morrin, Masucci, Mortimer, Nadelhoffer, Nafe, Osborne, Owen, O'Leary, Palmer, Passage, Pavona, Pickler, Poe, Regan, Reinhart, Richardson, Riley, Rosqvist, Ross, Rundle, Ryan, E.; Ryan, J. A.; Ryan, J. P.; Russell, Sager, Saltis, Sampson, Sandefur, Schillinger, Schneiderman, Scully, Serra, Shave, Sigman, Slich, Slout, Smith, D.; Stein, Sticht, Swetland, Tighe, Towers, Turner, Wade, Walsh, M.; Weinberg, Weizenecker, Williams, L.; Wise, Wood, Woodmansee, Zaritsky.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

We have examined the credential of James G. Kennedy, representing the Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council, and recommend that the delegate be seated with one vote.

The Credential Committee is desirous of making correction of error appearing on roll call. Delegate W. C. Brooks first presented credentials to represent the Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council. At the same time protest was registered by Miss Brown, who signed herself as General Secretary of the Laundry Workers' Union, but whose term of office expired on October 1st, against the seating of W. C. Brooks, or any other delegate who presented credentials from the Laundry Workers, claiming that they were illegally elected.

Hearing was held on this case and the evidence presented, and after careful considera-

tion of same, your Credential Committee recommended the seating of W. C. Brooks to represent the Laundry Workers' organization, but omitted recommending that his name be stricken from the list as a delegate to represent the Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council. We recommend that this be done at this session.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

The committee prepared to report on the protest of the officers of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers on the Executive Council's report. There seems to be some interest in the Council's report. It might be well that the reading of the committee's report be set for a specific time. We will report on the Executive Council's report on this protest at three o'clock this afternoon.

AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate John J. Scully, Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States and our people always have been committed to a policy of an adequate merchant marine as a necessity for national defense purposes and for the growth of domestic and foreign commerce; and

WHEREAS, Because of the high standards of living in this country more money is required to build ships in American shipyards and to operate them by American seamen and the cost of fuel, provisions and repairs is greater in the operation of American ships than those flying other flags; and

WHEREAS, Under present business conditions most American ships are being operated at a loss; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled that we urge the continuance of Federal aid to our American merchant marine and shipping in order that this most necessary adjunct to the National defense may be available at all times; provided

THAT ships receiving any Federal assistance be required to employ only American-born seamen or seamen who are completely naturalized citizens of the United States; and provided further

THAT the officers and crews of all commercial ships flying the American flag be thoroughly trained and disciplined aboard American merchant ships.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—This resolution introduced by the Masters, Mates and Pilots for subsidies needs some further explanation, I think, before you vote upon it. I don't know to what extent you are acquainted with this subsidy racket. The Black Committee of the Senate sat for months and examined into the payment of subsidies and it proved that the Government was paying out somewhere around \$30,000,000 a year in operating subsidies, and that by organization of some corporations, controlled by the ship owners' corporation, the money that the Government paid was paid to those corporations for services and supplies, and then returned to the shipping corporations, leaving the vessels still operating in the red.

The Postmaster General took up the investigation of the shipping question after the Black Committee had gone into the air mail subsidies and asked the ship owners to report to him on all of the costs as they had it on operating. They furnished him with just the kind of report that they felt like giving, and you will not, I think, have any doubt that they put in everything they possibly could.

The Postmaster General reports to the President that the Post Office Department paid out, as a result of the mail subsidies contracts, about one million more than the total cost of operating the vessels. In other words, all the passengers and the freight that they carried was pure velvet—and it wasn't only velvet but there was a million more besides.

In the meantime, how do the ships run? By breaking every single law that has been

passed by the Government of the United States, every improvement on the statute with regard to inspection service, ignoring every safety measure to such an extent that I, who have been for many years a sort of father confessor to seamen, have been told over and over again that vessels were sailing, sometimes with a lockout and sometimes not, no man at the wheel and only one officer on the deck. D. N. Hoover, Inspector of the Marine Inspection Service, in his report on the Vestris disaster, said the human element had failed.

You cannot operate vessels without more disasters of the kind we have had unless there is better safety legislation. I want to see citizens of the United States employed on vessels, I have always wanted it, I always worked for it. I have been trying to get American citizens for American vessels. We have done everything we could, and we find that everything that has been adopted as a law and all the improvements in the law and regulations generally binding upon vessels were absolutely disregarded.

Now what does the United States want in the matter of ships? They want men. They may build as many ships as they wish, but never in the world's history has there been an instance where ships and guns won a battle, from the battle of Salamis to the battle of Schusshima Straits. There is no break in that record for two thousand years. If the United States doesn't want sea power, why spend all that money? If they want sea power, why not do the things that are necessary to get it?

If the United States wants sea power, and it is possible that there could be a question about it because of the tremendous amount of money spent yearly on it—if they want it, then let the United States go on and get it like it always has been done in the world. Yes, build ships. I have no objection to the building of ships and nobody else has. Ships properly manned are seldom either sunk or crippled, they are very much in the position of people who want to organize into the trade union. They want such things, but they don't want the things we give them.

I hope that something will come out of Geneva where they are going to meet seamen's questions of safety at sea and sea

power. I hope that something will come out of Congress that will assist in building up sea power. I am not quarrelling with the cost of it if they really want to do the things that are necessary to do. I don't think the resolution should be adopted, but of course you are going to adopt it because the committee concurs in it. Since the sinking of the Morro Castle only two bills have been adopted, and nothing has been honestly and fairly proposed so far to cure the evils that were reported on by the Government officials in the investigation of the Morro Castle disaster. They said the Morro Castle was built under the latest specifications; that she was equipped with all the means to prevent accident and that she failed so utterly in the personnel that the report of Mr. Hoover shows that from the master down to the last man on board the ship there was inefficiency, incapacity and utter carelessness.

When a vessel on fire is running up against a 20-mile gale, running 20 miles, you have a 40-mile gale. If the captain had known what every seaman ought to know, and if he had such seamen as he should have had, if the actual officer's examination had been given the captain in England, I don't believe that captain would ever have been a captain at all.

It seems that it is due for me to make a statement and for that reason I make it.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROPOSING FEDERAL LAW FOR BONDING OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present Bonding Law in post offices makes employees secure bond from private bonding company which charges excessive premiums and seldom makes restitution to the government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that Congress should pass a law for Federal Government to bond its own employees.

Your committee is not in a position to know whether the purpose of the resolution could be put into effect, and therefore recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Wm. M. Brandt, Missouri State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Some twenty-four (24) states have now passed the National Child Labor Law as enacted by the House of Representatives and the Senate of the Federal Government in 1924; and

WHEREAS, A number of misguided organizations in our country are doing all within their power to prevent the necessary number of states ratifying this amendment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make this one of their major issues in sending out a request to the central bodies and state federations of labor in those states that have not as yet ratified this amendment, calling upon them to bend all energy at their command in endeavoring to get the members of the several state legislatures to vote favorably on this proposition.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 75, introduced by the delegation representing the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, was introduced by mistake. We, therefore, request that it be withdrawn.

The request was complied with.

LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH AND ENFORCE CODES PROTECTING LABOR CONDITIONS

Resolution No. 204—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Francis J. Gorman, Emil Rieve and Frank Schweitzer, United Textile Workers of America; David Dubinsky, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Charles P. Howard, International Typographical Union; Sidney Hillman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Marx Lewis, Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, For the purpose of combating the existing widespread unemployment and disorganization of industry which has been undermining the standards of living of American workers, the National Industrial Act was enacted into law in an endeavor to increase the purchasing power of the people of this nation, to reduce and relieve unemployment, to improve standards of labor and to rehabilitate industry; and

WHEREAS, The National Recovery Administration established under the Act, through codes adopted for various industries, helped to bring about an improvement in the standards of living of American workers by the abolition of child labor, a decrease of the number of hours of the work week and an increase in wages, resulting in a reduction in the number of unemployed and in a rehabilitation of industry; and

WHEREAS, The codes have helped to establish a more fair and equitable basis of competition in industry relating to labor costs and labor standards; and

WHEREAS, The promulgation and administration of the various codes, with few exceptions, were placed exclusively in the hands of industry without any, or adequate, representation of labor; and

WHEREAS, A large number of major industries either failed to voluntarily submit any codes or submitted codes whose low labor provisions were unacceptable to the Administration and could not be approved, leaving large masses of workers without protection of any minimum wage and maximum hour provisions; and

WHEREAS, The codes established under the National Industrial Recovery Act have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Since the decision of the Supreme Court numerous employers have been continuously lengthening the hours of labor and lowering wages, resulting in increased unemployment and in lowering the standards of living of the American workers; and

WHEREAS, The ranks of the unemployed have again reached the staggering number of over eleven million workers, who remain destitute and are compelled to seek public relief; and

WHEREAS, Feeble attempts have been made by a few industries to submit trade agreements which are ostensibly designed to take the place of the codes under the National Recovery Administration but which in reality are mere sham and without any social significance since they do not include any or adequate labor provisions, do not include labor representation, are introduced without labor participation and relate only to trade practices; and

WHEREAS, The present modern industrial system demands the enactment of social legislation to protect the interests of workers in maintaining decent standards of living and fair conditions of employment, and to enable organized labor to resist any attempts by unscrupulous employers to undermine the labor standards; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention, assembled in Atlantic City, representing the organized workers of the United

States, declares itself vigorously in favor of legislation which will enable the Government of the United States to protect labor standards and extend protection to the American workers against unscrupulous employers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That it declares itself in favor of legislation which shall provide for the adoption of codes for each industry containing provisions relating to maximum hours of work, and minimum wage rates; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the legislation for protection of labor standards shall provide that the promulgation and the administration of the codes shall be entrusted to Boards consisting of equal representation of labor and industry, under the supervision of the Government, and that said Boards shall be provided with power to impose codes on any industry which fails to present a code with labor provisions acceptable to such Board, and with power to enforce all codes approved or imposed by said Boards; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, declares itself in favor of legislation which will declare any and all manufacturing of products, which are intended to be and/or are transported from one state to another, as interstate commerce; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed and authorized to initiate an immediate campaign for the introduction and passage of the necessary legislation to carry the resolution into effect.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION FOR CONTINUANCE OF PRINCIPLES OF NRA

Resolution No. 166—Introduced by Delegates John B. Haggarty, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; James Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association; M. J. Gillooly, Flint Glass Workers' Union; Harvey C. Fremming, Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America; J. H. Windsor, International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America; Philip Murray, Thomas Kennedy, United Mine Workers of America; George E. Browne, Fred Dempsey, Thomas V. Green, Manus McCaffery, Int. All. of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the U. S. and Canada; Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The NIRA, which was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court, has focused the eyes of the nation upon the evils of our productive and distributive facilities; and

WHEREAS, There still exists a tremendous unemployment problem which must be faced immediately and courageously; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. had in the past supported the NIRA, in spite of its many deficiencies and now recognizes the necessity of its permanent continuation in some form or other; and

WHEREAS, Statistics gathered by the A. F. of L. since the collapse of the NRA show clearly that code labor standards, inadequate as they were in many cases, are now being broken down by short-sighted members of industry, which, if continued, can have only the inevitable result of indefinitely postponing recovery; and

WHEREAS, It appears that the President of the United States is now causing a study to be made which will determine the necessity of such continuance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, reaffirms its belief in the principle of the NIRA legislation and calls for the widest study to determine the extent to which former code labor provisions have been and are being destroyed, and for which purpose it extends its complete co-operation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. pledge its assistance to the permanent continuation by Federal legislation of the principles of NIRA, with adequate labor participation in code making, code administration and code reformation.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolutions 204 and 166.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGISLATORS SPONSORING LAWS FAVORABLE TO LABOR

Resolution No. 235—By Delegates M. J. Collieran, M. J. McDonough, John H. Donlin, John E. Rooney, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada; John Coefield, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada; Jos. A. Franklin, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association; P. J. Morrin, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Frank Feeney, International Union of Elevator

Constructors; Jos. Gaviak, United State, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association; J. A. Mullaney, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers; W. J. McSorley, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; M. W. Mitchell, Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America; L. P. Lindelof, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, We wish to call to the attention of the delegates representing our affiliated International Unions in the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, the important bills pertaining to labor enacted during the 74th Congress and approved by President Roosevelt; and

WHEREAS, An act known as the Wagner-Connelly Bill (Public No. 198—74th Congress) to diminish the cause of labor disputes burdening or obstructing interstate and foreign commerce; to create a National Labor Relations Board and for other purposes and establishing the rights of collective bargaining between employers and employees in industry was approved July 5, 1935, by President Roosevelt; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Senator Robert F. Wagner sponsored Public No. 271 which provides for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal old age benefits, and by enabling the several states to make more adequate provision for aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment compensation laws; to establish a social security board; to raise revenue, and for other purposes; and

WHEREAS, The Honorable Edward R. Burke, Senator from Nebraska, sponsored Public No. 321 (74th Congress) which requires contracts for the construction, alteration and repair of any public building or public works of the United States to be accompanied by a performance bond protecting the United States and by an additional bond for the protection of persons furnishing material and labor for the construction, alteration or repair of said public building or public work; and

WHEREAS, Public No. 403 (74th Congress), to amend the Act approved March 1, 1933, relating to the rate of wages for laborers and mechanics employed by contractors and sub-contractors on public buildings, was sponsored by Sen. David I. Walsh, of Massachusetts. This bill, known as the Kick-Back Bill, was one of the outstanding legislative enactments of the past Congress. It guarantees that labor employed on public works must receive pre-

valling rates of wages; it predetermines a minimum rate of wages on all construction contracts; and provides that contractors who violate the agreement as to wages be blacklisted from further Government contracts. The "kick-back" was an indefensible violation of the rights of labor and mechanics and other workers by unscrupulous contractors. The brazen operation of this kick-back racket forced the employes to pay back a portion of his wages to his employer for the right to obtain compensatory work. It violated every element of decency in common relationship between employers and their helpless employes. Previous to the Walsh bill, no Congress had ever made provision for criminal prosecution of contractors when they were found guilty of vicious kick-back operations; and

WHEREAS, In Joint Resolution No. 117 providing four billion dollars for work relief and unemployment, Congress had made no provision for the prevailing rate of wages for projects under this Joint Resolution, and Honorable Patrick McCarran, of Nevada, proved that he was the champion of labor in submitting an amendment providing for the prevailing rate of wages to be paid on all projects under the resolution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we express our most sincere appreciation of the untiring efforts put forth in behalf of labor by the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, Senator from New York; the Honorable William F. Connery, Jr., Congressman from Massachusetts, in securing the enactment of Public No. 198 and Public No. 271; to the Honorable Edward R. Burke, of Nebraska, in securing the enactment of Public No. 321; to the Honorable David I. Walsh, of Massachusetts, and the Honorable Patrick McCarran, of Nevada, and all of the members of the Senate and the House supporting this legislation which is favorable to labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to send copies of this resolution to all affiliated International Unions and Central Labor Organizations.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions 234 and 127 were considered together, as follows:

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OFFICE WORKERS

Resolution No. 234—By Delegates Sam Baron, B. S. & A. U. No. 12646, and Paul

A. Rasmussen, Office Workers' Union No. 16456, Milwaukee, Wis.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement must progress to succeed in its avowed purpose, to advance the interest of its membership; and

WHEREAS, While the Federal Labor Unions, otherwise known under different names as Bookkeepers, Stenographers, Accountants, Assistants, etc., by numbers are individually engaged in organizing in their own locality, naturally using their only limited means to succeed; and

WHEREAS, It is apparent that these Federal Labor Unions as now chartered by the American Federation of Labor could extend their agitation, influence and power by combining into an International Union of Office Workers, organizing all workers employed in any clerical work throughout the United States; we are sure that being thus chartered by the American Federation of Labor our profession will be strengthened, and through co-operative method by these Federal Labor Unions as one, will be able to inaugurate a country-wide organizing campaign which will bring into the American Labor movement thousands of office workers who under present conditions cannot be aroused; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to instruct the incoming Executive Council to consider the granting of an International charter to the Office Workers as at present organized in Federal Labor Unions.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OFFICE WORKERS

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 200048, Baltimore, Md.

WHEREAS, There are a number of Federal local unions throughout the country of Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers, Accountants and general office workers; and

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to establish International Unions in the industries, professions or trades wherever possible and advantageous; and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the formation of an International Union in our profession would strengthen our power immensely and serve as an added stimulus to the organization of thousands of office workers, which is a forward step in obtaining higher wages and decent conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the incoming Executive Council to

consider the establishment of an International Union of Office Workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention authorize the several Federal locals to set up committees to work for this end.

Your committee recommends that both Resolutions 234 and 127 be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OVERTIME PAY FOR GAS INDUSTRY EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 237—By Delegate Thomas B. Lilly, Gas Distribution Workers' Union No. 15268, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, There is a tendency in the gas industry to pay employes a bonus for overtime worked; and

WHEREAS, The working of overtime for a bonus deprives workers of time and one-half; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That anyone working more than eight hours per day or forty hours per week shall be paid time and one-half; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That anyone working more than eight hours per day or forty hours per week shall not take time off, but shall be paid time and one-half for all hours worked over eight per day or forty per week.

Your committee recommends that the subject of payment for overtime be recommended to the consideration of the Gas Distribution Workers' Union which has jurisdiction.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CASE OF INDICTED MEMBERS OF MINE AND MILL WORKERS' UNION NO. 203, JUNEAU, ALASKA

Resolution No. 229—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin, Paul M. Peterson, International Union Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, The Juneau Mine and Mill Workers' Union, Local 203, struck on May 22nd, 1935, for union recognition, higher wages, better working conditions and adequate protection against the needless destruction of miners' lives and limbs; and

WHEREAS, The owners of the Alaska Juneau Gold Mining Company, in an attempt to smash the strike and destroy all organized labor in Alaska, are trying to

frame sixteen innocent workers on trumped-up charges and railroad these men to prison for a long period of years; and

WHEREAS, At this time these sixteen innocent workers are bound over to the Grand Jury under exorbitant bail; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we do hereby urge the Delegates assembled at this convention of the American Federation of Labor to take up this matter immediately with the proper authorities to have these cases dismissed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to Attorney General Cummings, Madame Perkins, and President Roosevelt.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SUPPRESSION OF TRADE UNIONS IN CUBA

Resolution No. 228—By Delegate Paul M. Peterson, International Union, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, All bona fide trade unions in Cuba have been suppressed by the Batista-Mendieta Military dictatorship, their funds confiscated, and their headquarters demolished, the right to strike outlawed, and the Cuban workers deprived of their means of achieving better conditions;

WHEREAS, Trade union leaders are suffering untold persecution at the hands of the Cuban government, having been driven into hiding and exile, many thousands imprisoned for exercising their right to organize and strike, and some, such as Arturo Isert, being sentenced to thirty years in jail for leading the Cuban workers on just strikes;

WHEREAS, The Cuban workers have been deprived of all civil liberties, freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly;

WHEREAS, The Batista-Mendieta government has, through a campaign of terrorism and military force, robbed the Cuban workers of the gains they had won through collective bargaining and strikes, outlawing the genuine trade unions organizing company unions under military supervision;

WHEREAS, The Cuban government has maintained the eight-hour day law and minimum wage law on the books; in practice both of these laws are continually broken by the employers without the workers having any recourse since their bona fide trade unions have been outlawed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the anti-trade union actions of the Batista-Mendieta military dictatorship of Cuba and demand that it cease its military supervision and terrorism of the Cuban working class, and particularly of organized Cuban labor, that it restore all civil liberties and the right to organize and strike; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we support the demand of the Cuban people, whom we helped with our blood in their War of Independence in 1898, for a general amnesty of trade unionists and political prisoners except the gangster followers of Machado; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention approve the naming of a Committee of the American Federation of Labor to keep close contact with the labor movement in Cuba, to inform the American working class of developments in Cuba particularly in relation to labor, and in every way possible establish the closest and deepest solidarity between American and Cuban workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to Colonel Fulgencio Batista, Camp Columbia, Havana, Cuba; to President Mendieta, Presidential Palace, Havana, Cuba; and to Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, Washington, D. C.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and for such action as the circumstances warrant.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONDEMNING TACTICS OF NATIONAL LIBERTY LEAGUE

Resolution No. 219—By Delegates Marx Lewis and I. H. Goldberg, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, A Lawyers' Committee appointed by the National Liberty League professing to give a disinterested legal opinion concerning the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act recently enacted by Congress, has issued an opinion that such Act is unconstitutional and legal nullity, and that it may therefore be violated by employers with impunity; and

WHEREAS, The said Lawyers' Committee consists of corporation lawyers who have repeatedly sought to nullify measures which do not meet with the approval of their clients and their opinion is therefore the expression of their clients' opposition to the measure and not the unbiased opinion of lawyers interested in a consideration of

the actual constitutional validity of the said Act; and

WHEREAS, The rendering of such opinion under a cloak which sought to conceal the real basis for the views which it contains has been universally condemned as unethical and an attempt to prejudice the action of the Supreme Court of the United States against whose judgment it sets up the judgment of special pleaders working for corporations interested in invalidating the Act; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor condemns as unethical the tactics and methods to which the Lawyers' Committee and the League have resorted to defeat an Act of Congress.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. OF L. LEGAL DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. 220—By Delegate Marx Lewis and I. H. Goldberg, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The preservation of rights acquired through the enactment of legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor requires adequate legal machinery which is frequently beyond the means of smaller trade unions to provide, with the result that rights won by legislative enactment are lost through inadequate and ineffective representation in the courts and before commissions charged with the enforcement of such rights, and decisions and rulings are made which become precedents difficult to combat in subsequent cases; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention, that the Executive Council be, and it hereby is, authorized and directed to call a conference of representatives of affiliated international and national unions with the view of providing ways and means for the establishment and maintenance of a Legal Defense Department as part of the American Federation of Labor financed, if necessary, to the successful conduct of such Department, by a per capita tax, or by such other means as will insure adequate legal facilities to trade unions requiring such facilities and unable to provide for them themselves.

Your committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to give consideration to the functioning of a legal information bureau.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Hochman: Does that mean there is going to be a legal defense department?

Secretary Frey: No.

Delegate Hochman: That means there will be no defense department?

Secretary Frey: No, the committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to give consideration to the functioning of a legal information bureau.

Delegate Hochman: The resolution asks for a legal defense department, does it not?

Secretary Frey: The committee asks that the Executive Council be requested to give this matter consideration.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: Isn't that a resolution that some consideration ought to be given to? Don't you think it is time the American Federation of Labor established a legal department to take up legal questions that concern the organization?

Secretary Frey: The committee in making its report was compelled to give consideration to the financial expenditure required. The committee has no way of knowing how the funds for such a department would be obtained. The committee feels the American Federation of Labor should have a legal department, but we leave the matter in their hands because they are the ones who have to find the money, and a legal department is rather an expensive thing. It is not a matter of whether we favor it, but as in the old days, when we established sick and death benefits, it is a question of whether the members would pay for such purposes. We favor a legal department, but not having the money we do not care to recommend that something be done that is expensive unless there is money to pay for it.

Delegate Hochman: I think there is a great need for a legal defense department on the part of the American Federation of Labor. There is probably not a single union whose organizers are not unjustly arrested, are not framed from time to time whenever they start an organization campaign in any vicinity. Some of the unions can take care of their troubles, some other unions cannot; but there is more to it than

merely taking care of such cases. A legal defense department functioning directly under the American Federation of Labor, having the prestige of the American Federation of Labor, could accomplish a great deal more than the usual lawyer who attends to such matters.

If it is a question of finances, I think the matter could be recommended for adoption by this convention, referred to the American Federation of Labor, and the President of the American Federation of Labor instructed to call a gathering of international presidents to investigate forming such a department and to raise funds.

Delegate Ernst, California State Federation of Labor: We had occasion in the State of California within the last few months to find out the necessity of a legal department. The loggers and lumber workers in Eureka, California, went out on strike. The police were called in and there was shooting out of a police car and two strikers were killed. One hundred and eighty were arrested, charged with riot. The International Labor Defense sent in Mr. Leo Gallagher, their attorney, and a girl by the name of Black. They took charge of the whole proceedings and started to spread Communistic propaganda.

The Northern California District of the Civil Liberties Union sent their attorney in, and after finding out that he was not connected with any Communistic organization, the Central Labor Council of Eureka had him defend these people. He got the cases against all but fourteen of them dismissed. Out of these fourteen three were subsequently acquitted and three of them defended by Leo Gallagher got a hung jury. That was the best they could get.

If the American Federation of Labor had a legal bureau to which workers in distress could come immediately trouble starts it would eliminate the possibility of people on strike being converted to Communism, because the Communists are always on the ground baiting out people and furnishing legal defense.

It has been recommended that we should continue our advisors. Well, when you are in jail you don't need much advice; when you are in jail you need a lawyer to help get you out. I am opposed to the report of the committee, and I sincerely hope the

convention will vote the report down and give us a chance to take away the probability of the International Labor Defense interfering.

Chairman Woll: The committee in referring this matter to the Executive Council certainly does not intend to limit the Executive Council in its final judgment as to what it deems to be best to be done in the matter, but they are merely calling it to the attention of the convention.

As the resolution has been interpreted by the previous speakers on this floor, you can readily see the importance of great care and caution being exercised before we venture into the establishment of a branch such as has been indicated. It has been made clear in this instance that what is intended by this defense department would not only be the requirement of furnishing legal defense, but of furnishing bail in every labor case that might be presented, where members in the labor movement are charged with crime, not in industrial affairs but in the internal affairs of their organizations, and where there might be a divided opinion in the ranks of labor. We have had cases of this kind before us, and of course care and caution are exercised. If care is not exercised the American Federation of Labor would be drawn into every possible prosecution of a labor official because a tinge of labor is involved.

"We must be careful not to get into a position where we would act without legal advice. You go and ask a lawyer, 'Can you do this in our industrial dispute?' And he will advise you, 'I don't think you can, that is contrary to law,' and so if you follow the advice of lawyers in our industrial conflicts you won't get anywhere. And we place the movement in this sort of position. I think the Council ought to do what is possible in this matter to help those who are being prosecuted or persecuted, and the organizations may not have the finance to defend the members as the larger organizations have. I think the report of the committee is the only safe course to follow.

Delegate Baron: When Brother Frey got through I thought I knew what the committee was reporting. Now that Brother Woll has taken the floor I am confused. Brother Frey told us he is agreed with the

principle and referred it to the Executive Council. I think for the sake of clarification we should have the report of the committee read again. We hold that there is a great need for a legal defense department in the American Federation of Labor. If the Resolutions Committee is against such a department, let them say so, not have one member of the committee say "we are for it in principle and we refer it to the Executive Council," and have another member of the committee point out the dangers of such a department. I ask Brother Frey to read the report again.

Secretary Frey complied with the request and read the report of the committee.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: If I understand correctly the reply made by Secretary Frey, it is an evasion of the question. The resolve provides that the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention, instruct, authorize and direct the Executive Council to call a conference of representatives of affiliated national and international unions, with a view of providing ways and means for the establishment and maintenance of a legal defense department as a part of the American Federation of Labor. That is the resolution and that is the thing that should have been acted upon—that a conference be called of the national and international unions, so that they could provide the funds and outline the program.

The time has come in this Federation when we need such a department. There is nothing to the idea that men who commit all other kinds of crime will go to that department. Every day we have cases coming up that call for legal advice. Where do we get it? It comes, as Brother Ernst says, from the outside. In my opinion the time has come when this American Federation of Labor ought to establish a legal department that will look after the interests and welfare of the trade union movement of America. This resolution provides that such a conference of national and international officers be called and that they outline a program for taking care of this department. The committee has evaded the question and has come in with a recommendation that does not affect the resolution.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, it is quite apparent that the report of the committee has not been thoroughly understood and that the intention which the committee had in mind may not have been placed in language that was clear. The committee believed that, first of all, the Executive Council should have absolute freedom to study the intent of the resolution, to study the question of whether a national conference should be called, and because of the financial sums that would be involved, the Executive Council should have the opportunity, in no hurried way, of studying it and then in its wisdom doing what is the best thing to do under the circumstances.

If the delegates believe in having the Executive Council take up the matter and the committee's report is not clear and definite enough, the committee has no objection to an amendment to its report which would give some other instructions to the Council. We are not endeavoring to prevent or sidetrack in any way the setting up of necessary legal work by the American Federation of Labor, but we do believe that before anything of that kind is done a careful study should be made of all that is involved.

Delegate Mahon: The resolution provides for it.

President Green: May the Chair help to clear up the situation a bit. There seems to be considerable confusion. I think the point taken by Delegate Mahon is well taken and perhaps it ought to be referred back to the committee for further consideration and further report. Would there be objections to that course?

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I rise to make that motion.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Martel: On the motion to refer back to the committee I want to call attention to one thing that has not been mentioned here today, and I hope the committee will take it into consideration. The International Labor Defense, whenever there is an occasion arises where an assault is made upon some trade unionist and an effort made to put him in jail, inject themselves into it, and it would appear that they were handling the defense, but what is very

evident is that immediately they start, then they begin panhandling the labor movement for money to pay the costs, and I presume as usual when these people take up a collection, no matter what the purpose of it is, a portion of it is diverted to the regular propaganda fund of the Communist Party.

We pay the costs anyhow, when the International Labor Defense comes to the rescue of these people. It ought to be handled by the American Federation of Labor.

Another thing—we find in many cities throughout the country that we have lawyers who handle labor cases and many will take a case against a trade union as quickly as they will take one for it.

The motion to refer the subject matter back to the committee for further consideration was carried.

TO PROMOTE DEVELOPMENT OF MANGANESE DEPOSITS OF UNITED STATES

Resolution No. 211—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has been ascertained by the Mineral Research Department of the State of Washington that the State of Washington contains some of the world's largest deposits of manganese ore; and

WHEREAS, It has been shown by actual survey that the manganese tonnage in sight of the deposits of the United States is ample to supply all the domestic needs of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The demands of the United States Steel industry for manganese are now supplied by foreign countries where impossible labor conditions exist and where, in some instances, convict labor is employed; and

WHEREAS, If the need of the American steel industry could be supplied from the United States area, a minimum of seven thousand miners could be employed in securing the necessary manganese ore; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Washington State Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, hereby urges the adoption of such laws or regulations by the authorities of the United States of America as will tend to promote the development of manganese deposits in the State of Washington and elsewhere in the United States and the employment of United States citizens in such development, and tend to discourage the

use of foreign manganese produced by pauper and convict labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the members of Congress from the State of Washington and to William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

Amended to read as follows:

Committee recommends that as a substitute for this resolution and in keeping with its action for the Government acquisition of natural resources the convention go on record as favoring Government acquisition and development of the manganese deposits of the State of Washington and the United States of America.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR RADIO STATION, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Resolution No. 176—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Los Angeles has entered into a contract with the Metro Broadcasting Company for the purpose of securing a radio station in East Los Angeles, which station will be known as the "Voice of Organized Labor" and will be operated in the interests of Organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, President Green, of the American Federation of Labor, has given his approval and offered his co-operation in this matter; and

WHEREAS, Application has been made to the Federal Communications Commission in Washington, D. C., for a permit to operate this radio station; and

WHEREAS, Charlton Ogburn, attorney for the A. F. of L., is counsel for the Metro Broadcasting Company and as such has just advised by wire from Washington that the examiners have denied permit for above named radio station; and

WHEREAS, An appeal will be taken from this decision of the examiners to the Communications Commission in Washington, D. C.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in support of this radio station and the Secretary be instructed to mail the endorsement to Anning Prall, chairman, Federal Communications Commission; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. be hereby instructed to ap-

point a committee of three to call upon the President of the Federal Communications Commission as soon as is possible in support of the Los Angeles application for a broadcasting station as the denial of this application would be the most serious blow dealt to organized labor in California.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Ernst, California State Federation of Labor: I should like to ask how soon the Executive Council would act on the resolution. The Radio Commission will meet very soon, and the referee has already denied the application of the Los Angeles labor movement.

The purpose of requesting the appointment of a committee, Mr. President, is to expedite this matter and see that the commission is appealed to immediately before they act on the recommendation of the referee, which is unfavorable to the labor movement. If the President intends to appoint such a committee before this convention leaves Atlantic City, I would offer no objection to the recommendation of the committee. If, however, the matter is to be delayed, I would be forced to object to it, because it means life or death, so to speak, for the labor movement. The State Federation of Labor at its meeting held in San Diego instructed me to bring this matter to the attention of the convention, and I think three or four telegrams have been received since then, urging that immediate action be taken on this matter.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, the President of the American Federation of Labor has actively interested himself in behalf of this radio station. Personally he has taken up the matter not only with the representative, Mr. Corenson when he was in Washington, but with Senators and members of the commission. It happens that the secretary of this committee has done the same thing, and so has its chairman.

There is no question about what has been done, and the committee recommends that this be referred to the Executive Council, because it would appear to us that after the President of the American Fed-

eration of Labor, the Chairman of this committee, the secretary of this committee and others have actively worked and contacted the authorities in Washington, if this convention sees fit now to appoint a committee of three it would appear that those of us who have been going to the front have not done our jobs satisfactorily and somebody else was wanted. So it seems advisable to the committee to recommend that this go to the Executive Council, which is already committed in favor of what you want.

Delegate Ernst: That is not at all the case, Brother Frey. The resolution does not instruct or even advise the President who this committee shall be, and I suppose in view of the fact that Brother Frey has acted on the committee—and I know Brother Frey also received a telegram from Brother Buzzell—the supposition is that Brother Frey and Brother Woll and others who have acted will be on this committee. The committee ought to act this week when the commission meets in Washington. I am perfectly satisfied with the work these gentlemen have performed, and I hope they will be placed on the committee. But we must have a committee to go before this Commission immediately, and I hope that will be done so that we can report back to San Francisco that this radio question is in good hands.

President Green: We have Attorney Ogburn in Washington now appearing before the Commission in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, asking that the Commission do the very thing that you have asked for in this resolution. He has been delegated by me and also by the Los Angeles Central Trades Council to appeal to the Commission for a reversal of the recommendation of the inspector who reported adversely upon the application. Everything has been done and is now being done at this moment. Mr. Ogburn is in Washington attending to that particular matter at this time. I assure you it is our purpose to do everything that lies within our power to be helpful.

Delegate Ernst: That is satisfactory, Mr. President.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

TENANT FARMERS

Resolution No. 197—By Delegates Marx Lewis, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, and A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters' No. 18068, New York.

WHEREAS, Recent disclosures of conditions prevailing on the cotton plantations in the Southern States have brought to light the inhuman levels to which the workers employed on them have been reduced, revealing the existence of standards which resemble more closely those of coolie laborers than the standards to which American workers are entitled; and

WHEREAS, These workers, whether they be share croppers, receiving as their wages a certain portion of their crops, or casual day laborers, are working people entitled to the benefits and protection which organization can give them, and require the co-operation and support of the American labor movement in obtaining an improvement in their condition; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, representing 15,000 agricultural workers and tenant farmers in the States of Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, they have succeeded by such organization in obtaining some improvement, which, however, is woefully inadequate as yet; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, at its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention, that the Executive Council be instructed to give sympathetic consideration to any request for assistance that may come to it for the organization of these workers; that this Convention requests all affiliated bodies to extend similar assistance and encouragement whenever and wherever possible; that the Council take steps to bring about a Federal investigation of conditions of workers in these areas; and that legislation designed to remedy existing conditions and to establish decent labor standards among such workers receive the support of the Federation.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CITIZENSHIP FOR MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS

Resolution No. 179—By Delegate Joseph Keenan, Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Since its inception, leaders of the Labor Movement in America have sought consistently to perpetuate and pre-

serve for posterity the patriotic ideals of Washington and his co-signers of that immortal document, the Constitution of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Because of the idealism and the burning love of country with which the authors of our national being were endowed, the first successful attempt of a people anywhere upon the face of the earth to govern themselves under a democratic form of government was launched; and

WHEREAS, The Labor Movement, throughout its existence in America, has dedicated itself and diligently devoted its energies to the end that—in so far as lay in its power—that form of government should be preserved; and

WHEREAS, It is becoming daily more apparent that insidious and subversive forces are at work throughout the nation spreading the false and poisonous doctrines of communism and bolshevism in an effort to undermine and, if possible, destroy the American form of government; and

WHEREAS, Leaders of the American Federation of Labor are firmly of opinion that no compromise should be made with "Un-Americanism"—or any of the factors in our national life which remotely resemble "Un-Americanism"; and

WHEREAS, Holding such belief, the Labor Movement is not satisfied merely to verbally express its disapproval of the demagogues who traitorously preach to Americans the doctrines of Stalin and other dictators, but desires to participate actively in the national fight for the eradication—for all time—from American life of such dangerous and subversive parasites; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends that the Constitution and By-Laws of the American Federation of Labor, and the Constitution and By-Laws of its various locals throughout the United States, be amended so as to provide that all workers within the American Federation of Labor be qualified American citizens, or shall have duly applied for such citizenship.

Your committee approves the policy of encouraging alien trade unionists in Canada and the United States to secure citizenship, but directs attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor is without authority to provide such requirement. In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that all affiliated organizations be requested to assist all alien members to secure citizenship papers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RACKETEERING

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate Sam Baron, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants, New York City.

WHEREAS, the spread of racketeering, corruption and gangsterism in any section of the labor movement seriously affects the whole movement and every part of it; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the incoming executive council to initiate a determined campaign to eradicate every sign of racketeering, corruption and gangsterism in the labor movement, taking all necessary measures to overcome the resistance of those elements in the trade unions who are today tolerating and protecting these evils.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Rand, Federal Labor Union No. 20039: I believe from reading the newspapers that there was a committee established, and I believe one of the committee was Mr. Matthew Woll. This committee was to investigate the question of racketeering, especially in New York City. Can we receive the report on the question of racketeering in the labor movement now made?

President Green: The Executive Council appointed a committee of three to confer with the Special Prosecuting Attorney, Mr. Dewey, in New York City, for the purpose of securing information as to the scope of the investigation being made in New York City. The committee filed a report of its conference with Mr. Dewey with the Executive Council. That report is in the hands of the Executive Council.

Delegate Rand: Will the convention hear that report? I think the convention is more interested in the report on racketeering in the labor movement being heard here than to give it to Mr. Dewey who might use the report against the labor movement. I think it is up to us to clean up our own ranks and not give it to any politician who might use it in their own interests. I believe the report should be made to this convention.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 215 and 224, which are as follows:

ANGELO HERNDON

Resolution No. 215—By Delegate Irving Matlin, Russian Turkish Bath Rubbers and Workers' Union No. 18702, Newark, New Jersey.

WHEREAS, Angelo Herndon, a young Negro labor leader, is now facing a twenty-year sentence on the chain gang in the State of Georgia; and

WHEREAS, He was convicted and sentenced for the violation of the old Slave Insurrection Law, which had been legislated in the pre-Civil War days, by the slave owners, as a means of perpetuating the institution of chattel slavery which the American people had to crush by armed revolutionary action against it, and it is indisputable that the "crime" for which Angelo Herndon was convicted was the crime of organizing labor and advocating actions which would advance its position; and

WHEREAS, At this time there is more open action on the part of employers and the Government to limit and deprive the political, economic, and civil rights of labor, and to dismember and shackle its organizations, the case of Angelo Herndon takes on a special significance for the entire labor movement, and all believers in democratic rights for workers, in the sense that if Angelo Herndon can be convicted on this old and obsolete statute every worker will be in the same position, and what can be done in the State of Georgia will be repeated elsewhere; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention demand that the Governor of the State of Georgia order the immediate, safe, and unconditional release of Angelo Herndon.

ANGELO HERNDON

Resolution No. 224—By Delegate William B. Clark, Cleaners and Dyers' Local 20001 New Haven, Conn.

WHEREAS, There is today on the statute books of Georgia a law known as the "insurrection" law, which has come down from slavery days; and

WHEREAS, Angelo Herndon, Negro organizer of the unemployed, is today under sentence of 18 to 20 years on the chain-gang because of his activities in behalf of labor; and

WHEREAS, Two young white women, Annie Mae Leathers and Leah Young, were arrested on the picket line during the textile strike of September, 1934, and indicted under the "insurrection" law; and

WHEREAS, The law hangs like a sword over the head of every organizer of labor and every advocate of social justice; and

WHEREAS, The Atlanta Federation of Trades has in a resolution condemned the existence of this antiquated law; be it therefore

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the 55th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we make known to Governor Eugene Talmadge, of Georgia, our strong opinion that Angelo Herndon and all other persons indicted under the "insurrection" law should be at once set free, and that the necessary steps be taken to wipe this law off the statute books of the state.

In lieu of the two resolutions your committee calls attention to the necessity of repealing the slave insurrection law which apparently has been revived in recent days to secure the conviction of individuals toward whom the authorities were in opposition. Your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor actively cooperate with the Georgia State Federation of Labor in securing the expunging of whatever remnants of the slave insurrection law may remain on the statute books of Georgia.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Makman: These resolutions are connected with Angelo Herndon, and the committee's report does not mention him. What action does the committee take on Angelo Herndon?

Delegate Hochman, Ladies' Garment Workers: Apparently the committee realizes that the laws applied in the case of Herndon were unjust. I think the best way to fight these laws in Georgia would be to interest ourselves in this particular case, in order to call attention to the injustices that have been committed under such laws. I would like to know from the Resolutions Committee why they completely left out in their report the name of Herndon?

Delegate Nance, Atlanta Federation of Trades: Your representative from the trade union movement of Georgia appeared before the Resolutions Committee in connection with this resolution. The committee is slightly in error as to the date of the

enactment of the law. However, that is not material now. The State Federation of Labor is opposing the law, but the State Federation of Labor and the trade unionists of Georgia do not want this convention and the trade union movement of America used as a sounding board for other organizations.

I want to say to you that the representatives of Georgia, while they are opposing the law, have no interest whatever in the parties named in these resolutions. In one resolution there are two parties named as having been arrested on the picket line, but as President of the Georgia State Federation of Labor I want to tell you that they were not connected with the Georgia Federation of Labor and were on the picket line interfering with the members of the United Textile Workers who were running the picket line. The representative from Georgia asks you to adopt the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

FORT PECK PROJECT—MONTANA

Resolution No. 178—By Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is a Federal Dam Project under construction at Fort Peck, in the State of Montana, and which said construction has been in progress for about two years and will possibly continue for a period of three years; and

WHEREAS, A very unsatisfactory state of affairs has existed at Fort Peck Dam project and from the latest reports still exists; and

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Code, which regulates the wages and working conditions at Fort Peck, provides for a minimum wage of fifty (50) cents an hour for common labor (pick and shovel work), and a minimum of \$1.20 an hour for mechanics. There is no scale of wages set by the code for helpers and semi-skilled workers; this wage is to be set in each locality according to existing local conditions, rules and usages; and

WHEREAS, The wages for helpers and semi-skilled workers at Fort Peck has been agreed upon by the army engineering officers and the contractors, and, apparently, after the contract has been awarded. It is a graduated scale of wages running from fifty (50) cents to ninety (90) cents an hour; and

WHEREAS, The contractors, with the consent and knowledge of the contracting offi-

cers in charge of the Fort Peck project, are using semi-skilled workers at semi-skilled workers' wages to do the work of skilled workers. Mechanics are hired to do the work of mechanics at wages below the scale of \$1.20 an hour fixed by the contract. Mechanics being paid \$1.20 an hour by contractors are discharged, and when so discharged are informed by representatives of the contractors that if they wish to work as helpers at eighty (80) cents an hour they can go back on the job again. This can be substantiated by affidavits; and

WHEREAS, Some of the contractors have secured 80 per cent. of the skilled work for a wage of 80 cents an hour and less. In other words, some of the contractors have underpaid 80 per cent. of their skilled workers from 40 to 60 cents an hour. All this with the consent of the contracting officers. It is estimated that the contractors have chiseled from \$50,000 to \$60,000 a week from the pay envelopes of the workers; and

WHEREAS, These violations and irregularities have been on several occasions called to the attention of the Army Officers in charge of construction at Fort Peck, and numerous complaints have been made to the Public Works Administrator and the Department of Labor at Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, On July 23 and 24 the Board of Labor Review held a hearing at Fort Peck. The above complaints were submitted to the Board supported by witnesses and affidavits. One of the officers attached to the army engineers' office at Fort Peck acted at the hearing in such a manner as would indicate that he was the attorney for the contractors. He showed no sympathy for the workers and defended the contractors in every way possible. The whole affair ended with complete whitewash of the army engineers and contractors; and

WHEREAS, A further continuation of the aforementioned law violations, abuses, and unjust practices with immunity from prosecution, for the perpetration thereof will destroy public regard for the Federal Administration, will tend to demoralize good citizenship and destroy loyalty and fidelity to the very government itself; and

WHEREAS, This being a Federal Government Project on a Federal Government Reserve under direct control of United States Army; and, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of American Federation of Labor go on record requesting that a Congressional Investigation of the Fort Peck project, the official conduct of the officers in charge, the unjust practices of contractors with relation to their employees, laxity if any with reference to safety for employees,

the housing and sanitary conditions in connection with the project, be instigated to the end that parties guilty of misconduct may be dealt with according to laws governing in the matter and that the unjust practices may be discontinued; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use all power possible to have an organization campaign started and organize the workers on said project, and the situation at Fort Peck Dam remedied and adjusted to the American standard of living, and the officers and executive board of the American Federation of Labor render such assistance as is within their power to procure such congressional investigation.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I hope when the report of the committee is adopted the international officers of the different unions who have men at work at Fort Peck will get busy on the job and organize. There are at least a thousand truck drivers on that job and less than two hundred organized. There are structural steel workers that are having a heck of a time organizing and they are making no headway. The operating engineers have put on the best campaign, but as fast as they have the men organized, the contractors discharge the men and others are brought in.

A year ago last July the Board of Labor Review held a hearing at Fort Peck, and they whitewashed the army officers who have control of the administration of that job. We had about forty hours' time to get our witnesses ready and twelve hours to travel on the railroad to the scene of the hearing. The conference was held for two days. There were thirteen representatives of International Unions present. We presented excellent evidence. We showed where the contractors were violating the codes, that they would hire a carpenter at the rate of \$1.20 an hour, the code wage, and after working him a few days would send him to the office, and when the man arrived there they would tell him that if he wanted to go back on the job for eighty cents an hour he could go back to work. They had one carpenter working at the scale of wages

and five or six other carpenters working with him ranging all the way from 60 cents to 80 cents an hour.

The same thing applied in all classes of labor. We had one plumber working as a first-class mechanic. He was told he was getting too old and he had better go to the office and get his money. This man was getting \$1.25 an hour on the job and when he went to the office he was told that if he would work for 86 cents an hour he could go back to the job, that times were hard and he ought to take the job at 80 cents, that if he lost that job he would have a hard time getting another. A pipe fitter in the prime of life was told that he was not hitting the ball, and if he would take the job for 70 cents an hour he could have it.

We brought this thing to the attention of the Board of Labor Review. We gave them affidavits, we brought witnesses showing the conditions, and they whitewashed the army officers.

There is other work going on out there. There are four tunnels a mile long being built to drain the Missouri River, and the men working in those tunnels should be getting the wages of the coal miners in Eastern Montana. The men who do the rock work, the same as the men in the coal mines, are getting 50 cents, when the contract price calls for 90 cents and \$1.20.

We have made an estimate of the chiseling of wages at Fort Peck on this Government, project last June and July and we estimated that the contractors were chiseling on the men's wages to the extent of \$50,000 a week. That means over \$3,000,000 a year—not fifty thousand dollars a month but \$50,000 a week lower than the codes provide for. These contracts are let in Kansas City, Missouri. There is a wage scale fixed and the contractors are paying less than the wages, and the army officers are winking on the job.

We have a large death rate. The men are being killed as fast as if they were on the Western Front under fire. We have a large death rate in the winter time from pneumonia, because of the shacks in which the men are living. There are between eight and nine thousand men employed, and some of them have their families there living in these shacks.

What we want to do as well as to organize is to get a Congressional investigation. We are satisfied that officers of the Army have their relatives getting the contracts and they have helped the contractors to chisel on the wage scale.

This is about the situation. It is one of the big river jobs in the United States, and it will take over \$80,000,000 to finish the contract. There will be four years' more work and we want something done by organized labor to help out in that situation. The contractors are now forcing each worker before he goes on the job to take a physical examination. I hope the International Officers will give us some help in Montana and go down the line and clean up that mess.

Before closing let me tell you that the Board of Labor Review went to the Grand Coulee Dam near Spokane to make a like investigation. From the time they got into Spokane until the time they left it was less than 24 hours. They made no investigation; they whitewashed the administration again in Spokane, and they made the statement that the only reason they were wasting their time in Montana was because Senator Burton K. Wheeler was forcing an inspection.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

HEALTH INSURANCE LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 174—By Delegates Thomas Kennedy, United Mine Workers of America; Julius Hochman, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor; Andrew J. Kennedy, Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada; A. P. Bower, Federated Trades Council, Reading, Pa.

WHEREAS, Even in normal times sickness is one of the greatest hazards confronting wage-earners, constituting the chief cause of dependency; and

WHEREAS, Outside of unemployment, it is today the outstanding fear confronting American workers; and

WHEREAS, The American worker during times of illness is not only confronted with a loss of wages but is forced to pay exorbitant medical and hospital bills which

frequently force him into debt and poverty; and

WHEREAS, Although health insurance has been in successful operation in all industrial nations for more than a generation, the American social security act completely ignores this major problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled at Atlantic City, hereby goes on record urging the enactment of socially constructive health insurance legislation through Congress and the individual States.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROPOSING INVESTIGATION OF LABOR PROVISIONS OF CONTRACT OF THE ILLINOIS POWER AND LIGHT COMPANY WITH UTILITY OPERATORS' ASSOCIATION.

Resolution No. 172—By Delegate Joseph D. Keenan, Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Public utility corporations including the Illinois Power and Light Company, engaged in interstate commerce, have entered contracts with an association identified as the Utility Operators' Association; and

WHEREAS, The served purpose of the Utility Operators' Association, in combination with the enforced intent of the public utility corporations, constitutes conspiracy to defeat the objects included in the Wagner Disputes Bill, and the right of employees to bargain collectively for wages through a voluntary organization of their own choice; and

WHEREAS, The contracts between the public utility corporations and the Utility Operators' Association are illegally resorted to by the indicated employers as effective instruments denying collective bargaining privileges to the employee except through company's dictated and established method; and

WHEREAS, Such form of contract labor denies the citizen employee of the equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which right the Constitution of the United States guarantees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to obtain from the Chicago Federation of Labor copies of the aforementioned contracts between the designated public utility corporations and the Utility Operators' Association, and after

ascertainment of all facts pertinent thereto, submit same to the Attorney General of the United States and the Interstate Commerce Commission, with a request for interpretations of the legality of and correction of the aforesaid procedures; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to formulate and pursue such further methods of protecting the rights of such employees to bargain collectively as free citizens as are determined upon by the Council.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGISLATION FOR PROTECTION AGAINST CHEAP SUBSTITUTES FOR DAIRY PRODUCTS

Resolution No. 239—By Selma Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Throughout the depression there has been a necessity, because of unemployment and inadequate wages, among the workers and their families to turn from high-class, health-giving foods to cheaper substitutes; and

WHEREAS, Studies made by Dr. C. E. Bloch, and confirmed by studies made at Johns Hopkins Hospital, indicate serious danger to the eyesight of our children caused by xerophthalmia, a disease arising in a large degree out of a diet lacking in Vitamin A; and

WHEREAS, Vitamin A is now recognized by scientists as an element which is vitally necessary in abundant quantities in the diets of our children; and

WHEREAS, This disease is occasioned in large part by the use of cheap substitutes for milk, butter and other dairy products and it is necessary at this time, when all are hopeful of better economic conditions, to call to the attention of our members the dangers to their families which may be brought about by the use of synthetically composed substitutes in place of wholesome dairy products; and

WHEREAS, We recognize the necessity and the value of the organized workers co-operating with the producers of dairy products in protecting themselves and their families against the destructive competition of synthetic substitutes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we pledge our support to the dairy farmers of this country in securing legislation which will insure protection against these substitutes and at the same time require that these substitutes

pay their proportionate share of the local, state and federal tax burden as is now or may be imposed upon those engaged in the dairy industry.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGISLATION TO CONTROL INTEREST RATES AND PROFIT IN MONEY

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, On March 4, 1933, the American people were in the depths of despair and confidence was shaken in the safety of all our financial institutions. Banks were closing by the thousands and despondency was almost universal; and

WHEREAS, The first official act of our great President was to allay the fear of our people by closing all financial institutions until a sound program of finance could be developed; and

WHEREAS, The Administration promptly put the financial strength of the United States Government behind the banking structure and restored confidence to our people; and

WHEREAS, Hundreds of millions of dollars were advanced to financial institutions so they could open their doors for business in a normal way; and

WHEREAS, Through the enactment of compulsory deposit insurance by the National Congress, billions of dollars of hoarded money has been returned to the financial institutions. Deposits increased eight billion dollars during 1934; and

WHEREAS, The financial institutions having received government protection, have not reciprocated in a constructive way to assist in national recovery but on the contrary have pursued a policy of hoarding; and

WHEREAS, Money is, or should be, but a commodity in the marts of trade and should be sold on prices based on its cost the same as other merchandise; and

WHEREAS, Through the effective operation of the Federal Land Bank and the reduction of interest based on the cost of money at the source, farmers are today paying 3 1/2 per cent interest on their loans; and

WHEREAS, Home-owners and small industries are still paying interest rates 100 per cent greater than farm mortgage loans which is materially throttling employment and discouraging ownership of homes; and

WHEREAS, Banks are paying an average of less than 2 per cent for money and

selling it at a gross profit of more than 200 per cent as against a normal profit of from 50 per cent to 60 per cent prior to March, 1933; and

WHEREAS, The greatest safety to our country is the home-owner and as such he should have the lowest possible interest rate to encourage every man to own his home; home-owners do not become reds; and

WHEREAS, History reveals the greatest danger to government is the uncontrolled "Money Changer" and he is still in the Temple in spite of the heroic efforts of President Roosevelt; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at Atlantic City, N. J., condemn the present practice of charging excessive rates of interest as being unfair and un-American, which is largely responsible for present lack of employment and is of political significance in embarrassing the Administration; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct their legislative committee to memorialize Congress of the United States to introduce the necessary legislation to control the profit in money to a maximum of 60 per cent above the base price paid the depositor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

IMPORTATION OF NEWS PRINT PAPER

Resolution No. 118—By Delegates John P. Burke, John A. Bayha and H. W. Sullivan, of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, New York, and Matthew J. Burns and E. P. Barry, of International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

WHEREAS, The Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in San Francisco, Calif., October, 1934, adopted Resolution No. 196, referring to the importation of news print paper manufactured by underpaid labor in mills in foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, Since the date of the adoption of this resolution there has been a still further decline in the production of domestic news print paper and an increasing amount of tonnage imported from foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, This decline in the production of domestic news print paper threatens the life of this great essential industry and menaces the jobs and the welfare of thousands of American wage earners employed in mills paying union wages and

working under union shop agreements; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor most urgently petitions the State Department of the United States to write into the reciprocal trade treaties that are now being negotiated with foreign countries a provision that will place the importation of news print paper upon a quota basis; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist the affiliated unions in the pulp and paper industry in their effort to have news print paper imported on a restricted basis.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MASSACHUSETTS SAVINGS BANK LIFE INSURANCE

Resolution No. 114—Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, With the help of organized workers and other public spirited citizens, a plan proposed by Mr. Louis D. Brandeis was established by act of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1907, known as the Massachusetts system of Savings Bank Life Insurance; and

WHEREAS, Under the Massachusetts Savings Bank System wage earners are able to buy sound legal reserve life insurance at a cost less than half the cost of similar protection in the weekly premium companies; and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Department of Labor has just published a detailed report contained in Bulletin No. 615 of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, based upon an extended study of the Massachusetts system of Savings Bank Life Insurance; and

WHEREAS, This government report discloses that the Massachusetts system of Savings Bank Life Insurance is of great benefit to the wage earners of that State, and is now in its 27th year of successful operation; and

WHEREAS, The wage earners of the United States are expending each year for weekly premium insurance a sum approximating three-quarters of a billion dollars, a large portion of which is utterly wasted; and

WHEREAS, The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor in its 50th Annual Convention at Springfield, Massachusetts, on August 5th, 1935, unanimously directed its delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention to request that we con-

sider the desirability of taking such action as will assist in bringing about the establishment of a system similar to the Massachusetts Savings Bank Life Insurance in every State in the Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers and Delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, recommend that each State Federation of Labor take immediate steps, with the assistance of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to bring about the establishment in its own State of a system of life insurance similar to that available to Massachusetts wage earners under the Savings Bank Life Insurance System.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I had several resolutions referred to the Executive Council at the San Francisco convention, and I have not heard anything further about them since.

It is my opinion that with the passage of the Social Security Act the whole question of insurance becomes quite important. The delegates will note the other day they had a survey made by the United States Department of Labor of the systems which I have asked the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to approve in this resolution. This survey contains some rather startling facts. I do not want to be misunderstood. I do not believe this is the solution. I think this is merely a step in the right direction. What I feel we ought to bid for is outright government insurance, with the elimination of all private profit-making insurance in every field. This does not do that. However, it does, as I have said, take a step and probably as big a step as the American Federation of Labor would want to take at any one time.

I do want to bring to the attention of the delegates what appears to me to be some rather startling facts, because after all, everyone realizes that millions of American wage earners are being victimized by an unholy group of pirates in the form of insurance interests. This is not our report. I want you to note what the United States Department of Labor says. On page 5 of their report, gotten out by Edward

Berman, of the University of Illinois, appears the expenses of operation for private insurance companies, and the Socialistic system which is operated in Massachusetts and which was founded by that venerable justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, Louis D. Brandeis. For 1933 it shows that the percentage of expense for operation in Massachusetts was five percent, whereas in the private insurance companies, for the same type of insurance, it was 22.7 percent. What does that mean in actual wages? Three companies alone in America, the Metropolitan Life, who pay their president \$162,000 a year, the Prudential and the John Hancock collected in one year \$650,000,000 for weekly premium insurance—in other words, not ordinary life, the insurance that officials of the American Federation of Labor would buy, but weekly premium insurance collected from weekly premium wage earners. We have talked a lot here about increased wages and if we want to, here is an opportunity to increase the wages of the American wage earners by ten percent in every industry in America, if you care to take this position.

I don't know whether you want to do it or not, but as I said in opening my remarks, I think that at least a large number of delegates will realize with me that the whole question of insurance is one that we must give some attention to.

There are other figures in this report, which to my mind are rather startling. On the last page is a record of lapses. You know what a lapse means—it means that it affects those unfortunates who are unable to carry on. The record in this savings bank life insurance system from 1908 to 1931 is this: The average ratio of insurance lapses to new insurance written was 2.6 percent under the savings bank system, whereas in the case of weekly premium insurance it was 54.5 percent. If that is not worth thinking about, Mr. Chairman, I don't know what is. If the officials of the American Federation of Labor are really interested in increasing the wages of the American workers this provides a glorious opportunity. And after all, do not forget that that \$650,000,000 that I have told you about, which was collected by these three great companies, without any consideration being

given to the hundreds of companies operating, most of that money is used to beat down the standards that you are trying to build up. The greater part of that money is used in opposition to the philosophies of the American Federation of Labor. Here is a chance to take that money. Here is a chance to provide insurance which every worker needs at cost, owned and operated by the government itself.

I disagree with the report of the committee because I doubt very much whether it will get any further. If I thought the Executive Council would give any consideration to it, yes, I would agree, but in view of my own personal experiences during the past two years I am fearful that it might stop right where it is today. I am not going to try to overturn the committee's report, but I do say this once more, that there is no more important question facing the American worker today than the question of private insurance companies, not only in the field of life insurance but in the field of workmen's compensation and in other fields relating to the American wage earner.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the committee: Mr. Chairman, yesterday your committee in submitting its report upon that portion of the Executive Council's report relative to the Social Security Act, recommended that the Executive Council stand instructed to introduce amendments to the law for the purpose of providing protection to labor and preventing anything continuing in the law which does not give labor adequate representation on all agencies. The convention approved of the committee's report which referred all of these matters to the Executive Council.

The delegate has just indicated that his resolution has a direct bearing upon social legislation. In view of the action of the convention yesterday in referring all questions relating to social security legislation to the Executive Council, with instructions for them to act, it seemed appropriate that we should continue what the convention had approved of.

The delegate has gone outside of the resolution itself to discuss insurance. For one I am very glad that he did. It is a question which the trade union movement has never

studied sufficiently. Two years and a half ago I had the privilege of opening the campaign in the Senate to secure an investigation of the banking system. For almost two years I had been studying the records. When I testified I pointed out, among other things, that the House of Morgan had directors on boards of 2,242 corporations. After I had completed that study I had found such a tie-up between the banks and the insurance companies that I continued my studies. I have been unwilling up to the present time to give publicity to my material, because I was of the opinion that until we became a little more stabilized industrially, if there was a complete expose of the insurance companies of this country it might result in another collapse.

Briefly I found that on all of the leading insurance companies there sit directors of the largest private banks and the largest commercial banks in the country. I found that those bank directors on the insurance companies were directors in a number of banks and a number of insurance companies. The leading individual who has his influence as a banker upon insurance companies is a Morgan man, working out of the Guarantee Trust Company of New York. He is a director upon four other large commercial banks in New York City and a director upon twelve of the largest insurance companies in the United States.

I find that in the portfolios of the insurance companies invariably are to be found the bonds of those corporations upon which the banker sitting as a director of the corporation and later on sitting as a director in the insurance company board of directors, transfers his bonds into the portfolios of the insurance company.

Now the interesting thing to us is not that so much as the fact that the insurance companies today in their portfolios have billions of dollars of corporation bonds, and the influence of the insurance companies controlled by the bankers is used to prevent these companies whose bonds they hold from paying higher wages.

We have to deal no longer with the corporations as individual organizations, we have to deal with the bankers who finance them and with the insurance companies whose bonds they hold. I merely give this as information to indicate that there is in

what Delegate Watt said a great deal more than may have appeared on the surface.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by "show of hands."

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 33, 76, 91, and 192, which are as follows:

FASCISM

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Harry Krauss, Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990, Lancaster, Pa.

WHEREAS, We, not with alarm, see the growing tendencies of Fascism and the preparations for war in the U. S. A. and realizing that Fascism has as its objective the smashing of all civil liberties of the people, also the smashing of all labor unions (Germany, Italy) by force and bloody terror, that in imperialist wars the workers in all countries gain nothing but untold poverty, misery, hardship, and death; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the Linoleum Workers' Union declares itself to be the irreconcilable foe of Fascism and war and pledges itself to struggle with all power at its command against these blood brothers of reaction and destruction of civilization.

FASCISM

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin, Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, The International situation is such that nations are, if not directly, involved in open warfare, arming and preparing for war as never witnessed since the last world war; Italy is now preparing for an attack on Ethiopia, the last remaining independent Negro nation; and Japan is advancing daily into China with intentions of making greater the burden of the Chinese masses; and

WHEREAS, The entire capitalist world is approaching another world slaughter which will kill off millions of the world's best workers who will be called upon to fight this war; and

WHEREAS, War is always in the interest of the rich, as during the last war when 25,000 millionaires were made in the United States at the expense of millions killed and wounded, many who were members of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Fascism is the open dictatorship of finance, Capital is the forerunner of war as seen today in Italian and German Fascism and their attacks on the Trade Unions, Workers' Organizations, Jews and Churches with the intention of throt-

ting any gatherings of organizations of workers or masses in general; and

WHEREAS, President Green of the American Federation of Labor has recommended a boycott of all German Nazism made goods; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this organization heartily endorse the recommendation of President Green; and, therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That this thirty-second annual Convention of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers go on record as being unalterably opposed to War and Fascism; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this organization will actively support and co-operate with all workers or any other organization or individual or individuals in a genuine movement against war and Fascism, and will endeavor to impress on all locals and individual members the necessity of a united front movement against war and Fascism; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event that this Nation becomes involved in any imperialistic war, we call upon President William Green to immediately call a general strike of all workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

GERMAN FASCISM

Resolution No. 91—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski and Chris Lane, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, During the brief period since Hitler's advent to power he has already wiped out the free trade unions, imprisoned, tortured and murdered trade union leaders and thousands of the working population and completely destroyed all vestiges of democratic rights; and

WHEREAS, The ruthless campaign of extermination of the trade unions has been against the Jewish population, the Catholics, Protestants, and others who dare to challenge this Fascist regime of brutality and suppression unparalleled in history; and

WHEREAS, It is a matter of the most vital concern to the workers throughout the world to aid in putting a stop to the barbarism and terror in Fascist Germany; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record to condemn the Fascist murder campaign and communicate this action to the German Embassy and to call upon the Government of the United States to officially protest this reign of terror; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call on all locals to intensify the boycott of German goods, to oppose the holding of Olympic games in Germany in 1936 and to send protests to the German Embassy and that we pledge to do all in our power to assist our trade union brothers and all other victims of German Fascism in their struggle to overthrow the Fascist regime; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the delegates to demand the immediate and unconditional release from Hitler's prisons and concentration camps of all imprisoned trade unionists and all other anti-Fascists.

This Resolution was unanimously adopted at our Regular Meeting, September 13th, 1935.

GERMAN FASCISM

Resolution No. 192.—By Delegates Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union, Local No. 19306, Chicago, Illinois; Frank Marek, Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18416, Aurora, Illinois, and Norman Ratkin, Photographic and Photo Finishing Employees' Union, Local No. 19893, New York City, New York.

WHEREAS, During the brief period since Hitler's advent to power he has already wiped out the free trade unions, imprisoned, tortured and murdered trade union leaders and thousands of the working population and completely destroyed all vestiges of democratic rights; and

WHEREAS, This ruthless campaign of extermination of the trade unions has been extended against the Jewish population, the Catholics, Protestants, and others who dare to challenge this Fascist regime of brutality and suppression unparalleled in history; and

WHEREAS, It is a matter of the most vital concern to the workers throughout the world to aid in putting a stop to the barbarism and terror in Fascist Germany; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record to condemn the Fascist murder campaign and communicate this action to the German Embassy and to call upon the Government of the United States to officially protest this reign of terror; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call on all locals to intensify the boycott of German goods, to oppose the holding of Olympic games in Germany in 1936 and to send protests to the German Embassy and that we pledge to do all in our power to assist our trade union brothers and all other victims of German Fascism in their struggle to overthrow the Fascist regime; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the delegates to demand the immediate and unconditional release from Hitler's jails and con-

centration camps of all imprisoned trade unionists and all other anti-Fascists.

Resolutions Nos. 33, 76, 91, 192, relate to Fascism as it exists in Europe or as it endeavors to emerge in this country. The American Federation of Labor on numerous occasions has voiced its condemnation of the theory and the practice of Fascism.

Your committee therefore recommends that this convention reaffirm all of the previous declarations upon the subject of Fascism made by conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

In addition to this portion of the committee's report the committee desires to submit the following on its own behalf:

Your Committee on Resolutions has studied very carefully and very attentively the report of the Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe submitted to the 1935 Convention of the A. F. of L. by Matthew Woll its Acting Chairman and begs to submit the following resolution in connection with it:

By bluff and bludgeon, by threats, torture and terror, by a system of glorified and gory gangsterism, which are the methods of every brand of dictatorship, Nazis and Fascists succeeded in obtaining power and establishing themselves as legal governments of their respective peoples.

Their coming to power invariably and inevitably signalized the abolition of all civic and political rights and complete annihilation of everything that organized labor has gained during decades of struggle. All normal processes of civilization were reversed and all accepted laws of justice and decency outraged.

Particularly in Germany which deserves at this time our closest attention because of its size and influence, the Nazi Government exceeded all cruelties known to history in its attempt to establish itself and to insure for itself the spoils of victory. Under the pretext of leveling the German people down to one state of equality, the powerful German Trades Union movement was stamped out in blood and fire in order to clear the way for an attack upon the living standards of the German working class. We stand with bowed heads before the graves of the many true and tried leaders of labor who were killed in cold blood

for their allegiance to labor by Nazi gangsters and we extend a hand of friendship to those in exile or in prison and concentration camps, assuring them of our most sincere and brotherly assistance.

No person or public body can enumerate the crimes of Nazi Germany without expressing its horror of the persecution of religion in general and the Jews in particular. Upon the crooked cross of Nazism the very teachings of Jesus Christ are being crucified, and the Jews are only the most suffering scapegoats in a campaign against civilization and religion, whether Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or any other religion.

The very existence of Nazism and Fascism, indeed the very existence of dictatorship in any form, is a threat to peace and its goal is the subjugation by cruel force of all humanity. It was born in bloodshed, it thrives on force and moves onward on hopes of war and conquest. For the sake of the human race and for its own sake labor must combat it and must strengthen the hands of all its true opponents. As the proper embodiment of the sentiments expressed herein, we propose:

1. That the boycott declared by the Convention of the A. F. of L. at Washington and reaffirmed at San Francisco against all German goods and services be continued and with greater vigor and efficiency.

2. That all American sport organizations be prevailed upon not to participate in the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. Such participation would be used only to confer prestige upon Nazi regime; and

3. To give all possible moral and financial support to the Labor Chest for the relief and liberation of workers of Europe so that it might efficiently and adequately meet the needs of labor's Fascist victims.

Your committee is advised that Mr. English Walling has been selected its Executive Director, with headquarters at 3 West 16th Street, New York City, and is authorized to carry on the executive direction of the work of the Chest.

The Officers and Directors of the Labor Chest are hereby thanked for their devoted efforts hitherto and are urged to broaden their activity so as to have each and every labor organization in the United States on its rolls. The Officers and Directors of the

Labor Chest are directed herewith to present the cause of the Chest to all national and international unions, to all State, city and local labor bodies, and to all friends of labor everywhere.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Robinson, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: Mr. Chairman, I am in hearty accord with the report of the committee against Fascism and war, but the committee has overlooked one very important point that was brought out in the resolution as presented by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. The resolve in that resolution states that in event this nation becomes involved in any imperialistic war, we call upon President William Green to immediately call a general strike of all workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Chairman, I think the sentiments that you expressed on the fourth day of this convention are the best arguments that have been presented in support of that resolve and I should like to read to the convention the statements made by our worthy president at that time:

"Here in America we are influenced by a passion for peace. We abhor war. We are unalterably and uncompromisingly against it, and it is our fixed and determined purpose as citizens of this republic and its members of the trade union movement to say to this Government, 'Thou shalt not embroil us in war.'"

"I have long favored the establishment of a closer relationship between our great organized labor movement and the trade unions of Great Britain and the European continent. I have felt that if the organized movement throughout the world could be developed to its maximum power and influence it would stand as such a mighty force against war that the nations of the world would not dare to declare war. If organized on an international basis, would it be too much to expect that that great international organization itself could apply its own sanctions? What nation could dare to enter into a conflict with another nation if the working people who produce and work and serve and create wealth, say 'We will not and you must not involve us in a war'?"

I think that is one of the finest arguments in favor of the resolve in our resolution. I might say that I have found out since I came to this convention that there

are some delegates here who have committed a very serious crime. That crime is the fact that they are young. But I also want to point this out. That in the event war is declared, the younger men will be the first to go out and fight the battle for these barons, these munition manufacturers.

I say this, that the best possible solution to this proposition, the best preventive of war would be to have on the record books of the American Federation of Labor a declaration to the effect that the minute we become involved in a war, the workers will go out on a nation-wide strike in protest. In the event that war is called, we, the youths who are about to die, ask you to declare a general strike in protest against it. I wish you would consider this along with the report of the committee against Fascism.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, the resolutions just read with the exception of the item just referred to, dealt with but one question—Fascism and Nazism, and it was the desire of the committee to confine its report to that general question. For the information of the delegates may I say that there is a resolution in the hands of the committee which deals with the general strike, and at that time it would be most appropriate to discuss that feature.

Delegate Krauss, Linoleum Workers' Union No. 19990: Mr. Chairman, I am in full agreement with the report of the committee, but it does not bring out enough the Fascist tendencies within our own nation. I happen to be a citizen of the United States, born in 1901. As a former delegate said, we have come here as young men, probably "rank-and-filers". We know that in the event of Fascism or war it will be the young people who are called. I happened to be one who was fortunate enough to come out of the last war. I was so patriotic, with the flag-waving going on continually around me by such people as William Randolph Hearst and others, that I ran away from home to join the last war.

Instead of putting up placards in the central body saying that we are opposed to Fascism and Nazism, we should do something definite in this country here.

The National Civic Federation, I understand, had been disseminating Nazi literature

here in these United States. These are the things we have to look out for in this country, supposed to be a democratic country, and if we do not fight for democracy it is no good on paper.

I wish this convention to go on record against any tendency towards Fascism in the United States.

Delegate Ernst: Mr. Chairman, the explanation of Brother Frey with regard to the separation of the two propositions is a very good one and I am very glad he did separate the question of Fascism and Nazism from that of war. I concur wholeheartedly in the report of the committee with one exception.

There is in the United States an association known as the American Nationalist Party. This American Nationalist Party seems to be very, very active, more so perhaps than any one realizes. It is too late to make it a matter of resolution, Mr. Chairman, but I have received from San Francisco a proclamation, and it is signed by the American Nationalist Party and is intended for nationwide distribution. This proclamation contains the most wild and scurrilous attacks upon the Jews of the United States that I have ever seen. While we are accustomed to that kind of propaganda, on the part of the Fascists in Germany, I believe the American Federation of Labor can ill afford to disregard the existence of this American Nationalist Party and not say anything about it in their convention.

If we want to effectively counteract the propaganda of Fascism and Nazism, we ought to direct our guns, our heaviest guns on all those agencies that are trying to distribute such literature and poison the minds of the people of the United States against labor or against any religious sect.

I would like, if I may, Mr. Chairman, to have incorporated in the report of the committee a condemnation by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled against the American Nationalist Party, and to call upon all people wherever they are confronted with such proclamations or similar literature, to immediately notify the American Federation of Labor, so that proper steps may be taken to counteract that pernicious activity.

If I am in order, Mr. Chairman, I would like to move as an amendment to the report of the committee that the name of the American Nationalist Party be specifically mentioned in that report, or added to the report so that we may know there exists such a party that is issuing such scurrilous things as I hold in my hand. It has been placed on lamp posts, and other public property in San Francisco in the so-called downtown district. This is not only being distributed from door to door, but it is being posted on lamp posts and on billboards all over the city of San Francisco.

President Green: The committee accepts the suggestion offered by Delegate Ernst and offers no objection.

The motion to adopt the committee's report with the addition suggested by Delegate Ernst was carried.

Vice President Woll: In behalf of the Labor Press and the appeal that is made in connection with the report thus made, first of all I want to say that Mr. English Walling is the director of the Labor Press, with offices at 3 West 16th Street, New York City.

May I further report that at this convention there has actually been granted to the Labor Press \$11,000, with much more pledged by the national and international unions as soon as their Executive Boards or Councils may have a chance to meet. The particular contributions received at this convention are \$1000 from the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers; another \$5000 from the Ladies' Garment Workers and \$5000 from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Organization directly, with promises from many others.

President Green: May the Chair exercise his prerogative to interrupt the proceedings of the convention just now and the report of the committee for the purpose of paying tribute to a distinguished and honored son of organized labor who is a delegate to this convention and a member and officer of the United Mine Workers of America. We are all proud when a son of the great organized labor movement is advanced to a position of honor and responsibility, particularly when such positions represent the election of our honored sons to positions in the Commonwealth. We have such a

man here, one who was elected as the Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, one who gained his education in the school of trade unionism and who received his academic degree from the workers whom he had served so faithfully and so well.

I am going to ask Delegate Murray, of the United Mine Workers; Delegate James Mahoney, and Delegate Swartz to escort the Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania to the stage so that I may present him to this convention.

HON. THOMAS KENNEDY LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—I appreciate the courtesy very much in presenting me to this convention. I just want to say this, that I prefer to be known here as a delegate from the United Mine Workers of America and to have joined with you in the deliberations of this convention. I do not propose to make a speech at this time. I expect later on to discuss some of the matters that are coming before your convention. At that time I will consider them, and those appearances will be sufficient. I want to say, however, that insofar as my election as Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania is concerned, that I owe that election to labor of the State of Pennsylvania.

I have endeavored to discharge my obligations to labor, and work in the interests of labor, believing as I do that in serving labor I am best serving the interests of the commonwealth.

I want to say in passing that the Governor of Pennsylvania, Mr. George Earle, who was elected on a platform which contains practically all of the legislative program of the American labor movement, has not only lived up to that program but he has gone far beyond it. I consider George Earle, the Governor of Pennsylvania, as being equal with the great humanitarian President of the United States in striving to obtain those things in which labor is vitally interested.

Insofar as my office is concerned or whatever honors have been bestowed upon me, I just want to say that whatever I am

or can ever hope to be can be attributed to labor of this country in general and to the United Mine Workers of America in particular, and I shall continue to serve along that line to the best of my ability.

This is all I care to say at this time. I thank you for the honor of presenting me to the convention, Mr. Chairman, and I again say I expect to discuss some of these matters later in the convention, and possibly after discussion I will not receive the unanimous acclaim that evidently I am receiving at this time.

President Green: We appreciate very much these remarks of the Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania.

Secretary Frey: On a matter of personal privilege for a moment, Mr. Chairman. The Secretary of the Committee yesterday, in making reference to the Associated Press, used words that left the impression that it was intended as a criticism of the Associated Press. I want to make it clear now that if anything I said could be so interpreted it was because of failure on my part to make myself clear. I certainly was not criticizing the Associated Press or any other press association.

PROPOSING U. S. OFFER ASYLUM FOR NAZI AND FASCIST REFUGEES

Resolution No. 170—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Isidore Nagler, Julius Hochman, Basilio Desti, Abraham Snyder, Nathan Margolls and Reuben Zuckerman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Nazi and Fascist suppression of fundamentals of democracy, including free speech, free assembly, a free press and free religious confession, in a number of European countries has in the past year become even more ruthless and severe, forcing many citizens of these dictator-controlled lands, most of them formerly affiliated with trade unions or other branches of the labor movement to flee for their lives and freedom; and

WHEREAS, These refugees from economic, political and religious tyranny are entitled to the generous sympathy and support from organized labor everywhere, and help extended to them could not be viewed as a deviation from the traditional policies of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, America has, from her earliest days, proudly offered to all oppressed and persecuted, politically and spiritually, the privilege of asylum and the protection of democracy within its boundaries; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-fifth Convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., extend every possible aid to facilitate the entry of fugitives from Nazi and Fascist terror on account of trade union activity or racial or religious affiliation.

While your committee is aware of the terror and persecution inflicted upon defenseless people by the Nazi and Fascist dictatorships, it must direct attention to the fact that the adoption of the resolution would run counter to the immigration laws now in existence as a result of the activities of the American Federation of Labor; we, therefore, recommend non-concurrence.

On an aye and nay vote the Chair stated that he was in doubt as to the result of the vote. A vote by show of hands was had and the Chairman said it was clearly evident the report of the committee had been adopted.

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF LABOR SPY ACTIVITIES

Resolution No. 188—By Delegate Thomas F. McMahon, Emil Rieve, Frank Schweitzer, Francis J. Gorman, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Evidence is available showing that just prior to, and immediately after, the passage of the Labor Disputes Act, there has been a revival of activity on the part of the "under-cover" agencies whose function is to bring about the destruction of the legitimate labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The private detective agency or the "labor spy", who formerly adopted other tactics inimical to the labor movement, are now frequently engaged in establishing and forming company unions or alleged "employees' associations," whose only purpose is to make genuine collective bargaining impossible; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of the Labor Disputes Act is to bring about industrial peace through the development of orderly relations between employer and employee; and

WHEREAS, If, through the vicious and nefarious activities of the industrial parasites known as "labor spies" it becomes difficult or impossible for the National Labor Relations Board to administer the Labor Disputes Act we must needlessly suffer prolongation of industrial strife; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the incoming Executive Board to take such steps as may be necessary or expedient to call to the attention of Congress the new dangers which the activity of the "labor spy", or anti-union under-cover agency, now present; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall request that a special Congressional Investigation of the anti-labor activities of private detective and similar agencies shall be held as quickly as legislation to that end can be enacted.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Kuehnle, Hartford, Conn.: I would like to call the attention of the Chairman and delegates to the activity of spies in various industrial plants, which today is increasing rapidly. In fact, there is a special department which is devoted exclusively to these spy activities. I will call to your attention a case in which only a few weeks ago I had the pleasure of uncovering in an industrial plant in the city of Hartford, Conn., the pernicious activities of a spy who went into that plant as representative of an agency in New York City, and attempted in every way possible to break down the union in that plant. He became deeply interested in the union activities and attempted in every possible way to influence the union to become inactive. He attempted to break down the union. His reports were intercepted and turned over to the proper officials of the union. I reported the facts and the president of that union exposed this spy, not only before the union members, but the non-union membership of that plant, and he is still running. I think the delegates should inform the American Federation of Labor whenever they think something is wrong in their plant.

One of the largest plants in Hartford formerly had a Federal labor union whose membership went up into the thousands, but owing to the work of a spy who, up to the present time we have been unable to uncover, the union was wrecked.

The large concerns, such as the big automobile interests, all have large spy activities in their fields. I hope the delegates, if they have anything in their possession, especially anything that has happened since June 1, will give that information to the American Federation of Labor so that this committee that is working to bring about an investigation may have the proper material to bust this pernicious activity wide open.

Delegate Hochman, Ladies' Garment Workers: I believe that this resolution

that has been recommended and accepted by the Resolutions Committee is of great importance to the American labor movement. In order to interest all the delegates to co-operate with the American Federation of Labor if and when such an investigation will be made, either by the Federal Government or by the various states, I desire to present to you a few facts in connection with the activities of these detective agencies.

There is not a man present at this Convention who has not at one time or another met with some of the representatives of these so-called detective agencies. There are very few men in the Labor Movement who ever tried to do organizing work whose wires have not been tapped, whose files have not been rifled, whose lives have not been threatened by these so-called representatives of so-called Detective Agencies.

Interfering with organization work is only one of the functions of the Burns and Bergoff agencies and the like. I saw letters of agencies in my own industry which offered to organize Company Unions for employers to stave off the organizing being carried on by us.

It is interesting to hear the cry of the employers against these outside professional agitators who try to interfere with the peace and harmony prevailing in their plants. Most Company Unions in this country have been organized by these criminal agencies which have accumulated tremendous wealth by interfering with the right of the workers to organize and bargain collectively.

I have recently seen an advance proof of a book soon to be published dealing with the professional strikebreaking spy industry. It is a sensational collection of facts, naming names and indicating how widespread, and how profitable has become this industry of supplying mercenaries who prey upon the efforts of the trades unions.

There is a letter from the Wm. J. Burns International Detective Agency, in which this agency offers to supply spies to uncover what he calls "disloyalty of its employees." By that, of course, he refers to every member of a trade union who is trying to organize a plant. The letter,

signed by A. J. Wilson, the head of the Burns Agency in New York, goes on to say:

"Our rates for such work depend upon the nature of the work and the type of operative we will have to detail to secure the desired information. For example, if it is necessary to detail an operative who is a civil engineer, tool maker or draughtsman, our rate would be higher than if we detailed an operative who would work in the capacity of a clerk or laborer."

Then there is a letter from the Val O'Farrell Detective Agency which was founded by a former New York City detective, who was thrown off the police force for accepting a bribe to break a Cloak-makers' strike. He immediately set up a private detective agency which specialized in strike breaking. The agency now writes to a prospective customer:

"We are in a position to handle any type or class of detective work. We are making a specialty of inside industrial work, by which we mean that we supply men for under-cover work in plants or factories. This man reports on general conditions inside the plant and also on the union activities of the employees, advising the owner of what is being done to have his plant unionized. This strictly confidential information is easily obtained by our men who work under cover as though regular plant employees. We have men with union cards in all branches of industry and are always in a position to place them in any line of business. We are also in a position to furnish skilled labor of all kinds at any time of strike, together with armed guards and escorts."

And listen to this offer made by a labor spy and strike-breaking organization that calls itself the Aetna Judicial Service of New York City. Mr. Harry Mousley, its director, writes:

"In answer to your recent inquiry concerning our facilities in connection with industrial detective service, permit us to suggest that labor troubles can never develop where employers are forewarned. We have facilities to collect various data for your clients through circuitous methods of operation. In simple terms, we simply install under-cover operatives in the factories, mills, office or shop. These operatives are selected for their past experiences, dealings and certain knowledge that enables them to work unobserved while gathering the data required. These mechanics, laborers, work unobserved, doing whatever work will give them the best opportunity to gather facts."

These letters are illustrative of these organizations which offer to supply spies.

There is another group of agencies which specialize in strike breakers and guards,

armed or unarmed. They boast that they can recruit an army of two or three or five thousand strike breakers within a few days and ship them to any part of the country. That is the boast of the Washington Detective Agency, of the Bergoff Detective Agency and many others.

One of these is the Eagle Industrial Associates, so-called, which is headed by a confessed distributor of forged documents. This is the promise he makes. He says:

"We have an open shop department, equipped to supply all classes of competent labor to keep the industry moving; when a strike is on to provide strike breakers or persuade the employees to return to work in almost all instances on the terms of the employers. Some of the largest firms and corporations can testify to the success of our methods,"

and for reference these organizations offer the names of the Pennsylvania Railway Co., the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co., the J. B. Lippincott Co., of Philadelphia, the Curtis Publishing Co. and many others.

Still drawing from the same source of material that has been made available to me, I want to show you one of these agencies at work. It is the notorious Bergoff Agency, headed by a man who with peculiar pride declares that he is the "king of strike breakers."

In April of 1934 the employees of the S. K. F. Ball Bearing Co., of Philadelphia, were engaged in a bitter strike. The Bergoff Agency was retained. The story which I now briefly outline to you was contained in a confession, the original of which is now in the possession of the Philadelphia Department of Public Safety.

Bergoff sent five men to New York. Early one morning before sunrise two of them were arrested in the suburbs of Philadelphia with a bucket of red paint and brushes in their possession. One of the men who were arrested confessed that the Bergoff Agency had been retained by the S. K. F. Ball Bearing Co. at a wage of \$7.00 a day and expenses per man and they were instructed to deface the houses of the Union officials by throwing paint on them. That is the contribution of one agency to industry's peace.

But that is not the complete story. Let me tell you who those five Bergoff men

were. The one who was in charge of the brigade is known as Eddy Klein, who pleaded guilty to abduction and assault in New York in 1931. Two of the others were Chas. Rinder, alias Chas. Reynolds. The other is known as Eddie Gatty, and the records of the New York Police show that he has several names. Before he was retained by Bergoff to deface the homes of the Philadelphia strike leaders, he served a term in the New York City Penitentiary for felonious assault, was convicted of grand larceny in Albany, was arrested as a drug addict and he was convicted of petty larceny in New York City. Somehow he left the city while under bail in this latter case, and at the time the Bergoff Agency sent him to Philadelphia he was a fugitive from justice.

Now if you think Chas. Rinder and Eddy Klein were tough customers, let me give you an idea of who this Eddie Gatty was. He also went to Philadelphia to deface the homes of the strike leaders. The criminal records show that between 1914 and the time of his visit to Philadelphia in 1934, he was arrested thirteen times and convicted, in succession, of grand larceny, disorderly conduct, petty larceny, violation of parole, carrying a revolver, burglary and assault with a knife. This is not an exaggerated example; these are the type of men that are being sent out to almost every strike to fight the workers' attempts for a few cents increase in pay or a slight reduction in hours.

While I am on the subject of the Bergoff Agency, let me tell you of a strike which he tried to break, that of the Warren Piece Dye Works of Paterson, N. J., last year. The company originally retained Edward Ward, a private detective of Paterson, and Mr. Ward sub-let the job to the highly experienced Bergoff Agency. Later Ward and Bergoff had a falling out on the division of the spoils and according to Ward's testimony in a New York Court, the men who Bergoff sent to break the strike impersonated NRA officials and went through the neighborhood of the strike saying that the NRA was against this strike and that Uncle Sam wanted this strike called off.

Despite these efforts, the strikers' ranks held fast and they won their fight. Soon after that Ward went to Bergoff to collect

his commission and this is what Ward says took place at that interview:

"Bergoff denounced me because the strike had ended so soon; he said, 'You damn farmer, if you had known your business, that could have been a two months' job.'"

Here is further proof of their methods: (Delegate Hochman read the following letter, on the stationery of the Butler System of Industrial Survey.)

"At the present time in accordance with a general movement as announced by officials in control of the American Federation of Labor a widespread attempt will be made to organize all workers engaged in all industries. This action on the part of these various labor leaders can only indicate the decided necessity of employers taking the necessary steps to preserve their interests and at the same time to make it possible for any and all of their employees, who might desire, to be permitted to work under open-shop conditions or as an organized body within their own plant and with their own self government and without being forced to contribute either financially or morally toward the support of any outside organization for the mere purpose of being permitted to hold their jobs.

"The time has now arrived when any firm that might be desirous of doing the right thing by its employees and at the same time be afforded the opportunity to dictate their own policies and without any interference on the part of any persons from the outside, to take lawful means of preventing any condition which might at any time, present or future, prevent the peaceful operation of their plant or industry.

"Therefore, as we suggest, the time has arrived when your attention should be given to the important matter of governing your workers and thus keeping them in control through keeping them satisfied as irrespective of how fair you may be desirous of acting toward your employees, it is also advisable to take steps to educate them to the extent whereby they may be caused to realize that you are most desirous of doing your best in preservation of their interests as well as your own and in this way prevent the possibility of their minds being swayed in a negative direction through propaganda of a misleading nature being circulated among them by any person or group, be they in your employ or on the outside, who usually have but their own selfish ends to further.

"For many years we have been engaged in that particular field of endeavor, viz., keeping the workers satisfied and as a result enabling their respective employers to derive greater service from them. In this connection we carry on from within their own ranks through having our representatives work shoulder to shoulder with them and all the while discuss their grievances, imaginary and otherwise, using their own terms and thus

being afforded the opportunity of in turn advising them in a constructive manner as to just what is good for their own personal welfare. Through this method we frustrate any and all attempts made by shop agitators on the inside or by so-called labor leaders on the outside to sow the seed of discontentment such as would result in preventing the peaceful operation of a plant or industry.

"Furthermore, our service as rendered does result in increased production both as to quality and quantity—elimination of waste—labor and material, developing closer co-operation between the various production groups, also between the workers and the supervisory forces—elimination of all agitators and trouble makers by the workers themselves, rather than the management and in the end materially reducing the overhead cost of operating, i. e., we facilitate production and economize time.

"Where it is desired that company unions be formed we first sell the idea to the workers and thereafter promote its development into completion. Hundreds of such organizations have been formed by us to date and all have continued to function to the satisfaction of all concerned. All the while that we are educating the workers and causing them to recognize and understand fully that the success of their employer is equally important to them, we are continuing to make a complete survey of general conditions within the department and plant in so far as our scope may permit and as a result do forward a complete resume of existing conditions covering both the personnel as well as the method of operating coupled with definite suggestions and recommendations which if adopted would result in greater improvement all around and furthermore in causing the workers to be much better satisfied and with the ultimate result that production would be automatically increased. In this latter respect it has been our experience, viz., a satisfied body of workers are producers whereas a dissatisfied group is a liability.

"Such recommendations as we do offer for improving conditions are entirely practical and are forwarded only as a result of careful consideration by our own executives. Furthermore, they are of a nature that can be put into effect without any additional cash outlay but rather with a resultant saving all around. In applying this service while our methods are unique they are nevertheless simple. We handle all problems as relate to industry and through a totally secret process. Our representatives are experts in their respective trades or professions. Accordingly, we do find it an easy matter to show results from the very beginning. As to reference, we are in a position to submit any amount and from any industry. Accordingly, we would be pleased to have the opportunity to service you as what we are doing for others we certainly can do for you.

"May we have the pleasure of discussing this matter with you and without any obligation on your part?

"Very truly yours,

"(Signed) J. F. DAVENPORT,
"BUTLER SYSTEM,
"Bus. Dir."

There are other equally sensational facts I could tell you of, but since I know there is no need for me to convince this Convention of our cause, I will omit the details for the present. Suffice it to say that I have seen a letter from the Foster and Roberts Detective Agency of Brooklyn offering to reward a sheriff of Warren County in N. J. for his help in landing a local strike-breaking job. I have seen a letter from this same Agency offering to obtain for a certain firm which was tied up by a strike, "Sufficient evidence to win the granting of an injunction" and I have seen affidavits by a Sheriff and Under Sheriff of Warren County, N. J., that private guards supplied to a firm by the Capt. Robt. J. Foster Agency were provocative and a menace to peace. The Sheriff stated only last month that he could not maintain order as long as these guards were on the scene. May I add that these guards were supplied by the same Capt. Robt. Foster, who has been supplying labor spies and strike breakers for the iron and steel erectors in the last two decades.

There is a letter on record in which this Capt. Foster offers to take over the direction of unions. If a strike develops, according to his promise, he will carry on "an intrigue which would result in factions, disagreements and a general decrease in membership."

The A. F. of L. should take the leadership in an immediate and vigorous fight to eliminate these industrial scavengers, etc.

It is high time that we lift the lid wide open of this organized crime that is a menace not only to our Labor Movement but to the very Nation itself.

Delegate Martel: Will the paper presented by Mr. Hochman be included in the proceedings?

President Green: It will.

Delegate Howard, International Typographical Union: It appears to me that the subject with which this resolution is concerned should arouse every delegate in this convention. It also appears to me that it should arouse the utmost activity upon

the part of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. There is not a national or international union seated in this convention but what has suffered as the result of the activities of labor spies and strike-breaker agencies; and it occurs to me that the time has arrived when the American Federation of Labor should devote more effort to secure legislation whereby these agencies engaged in activities that are undoubtedly criminal should be properly punished. It also occurs to me that it might be possible, through the use of the National Labor Disputes Board, to investigate their activities.

We have had some experience in the past with congressional investigations, and I must say we have not always been satisfied with the results. I support the Committee on Resolutions in its favorable report for the adoption of this resolution, but I do not believe that we should confine our efforts to a congressional investigation of a spy system that is nation-wide, and of the general practice of transporting strike-breakers throughout the length and breadth of this land. I believe we should use every agency that is open to us for the purpose of minimizing and entirely discontinuing, if possible, these reprehensible practices. I sincerely hope that through the adoption of this resolution there will be inspired in the national and international unions a greater interest in attempting to secure effective legislation which will estop this practice as it has generally obtained against the interests of the organized labor movement of this country.

Delegate Harvey, New Orleans: I would like to say that we have heard of the gunmen and the detective agencies. I have encountered them in my endeavors in the mills and the factories, but for the record and for the information of the delegates, I want this to go down as an experience for our representatives to be aware that they meet people who are mightier than the sword by using the pen. I refer to an experience where I found in an agency of stenographers and typists the name of Ferdinand Zimmer, who appeared and misrepresented himself as a reporter of the press to take down the proceedings of a meeting, and then, lo and behold! when this man was before a Regional Board of

the United States Administration I found the same representative employed by the United States Regional Board to take down the minutes of the proceedings of a prosecution that we had against the employer.

The pen is mightier than the sword, and a stenographer can change the phraseology of charges against the employer. Only recently, in co-operation with a typographical union in New Orleans, in a negotiation and hearing, there was a representative of Ferdinand Zimmer again employed to take down the conferences of the labor representatives and employer. I believe the time has come for us, if there is any way possible, to investigate the agencies that are employed in the matter by the Regional Labor Board who are going to take down our statements.

Delegate Henley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: I might give this information for the benefit of some who may not be familiar with the fact that we have overcome that situation in Wisconsin. We have a law that so regulates the privacy of detective agencies as to make it impossible for them to operate in the State of Wisconsin. We had the same experience the delegate from the garment workers related in the paper he read. When the machinists were on strike in Milwaukee in 1916, or shortly after that, an effort was made to prevent the operation of these private detective agencies by legislation. A hearing was held and a representative of one of the detective agencies, under oath, stated that they had 1,200 operators in that strike.

The law that was passed provides for a license. This license must be procured from the Secretary of the State, and before he can issue the license they must have the recommendation of the Police Department in the locality where the agency exists. That is where we win. Every time that an agency applies for a license a hearing is held and organized labor comes there almost en masse to protest against the license. The regulations are so strict that there are no private detective agencies operating in the State of Wisconsin at the present time.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention recessed until 2:30 o'clock p. m.

NINTH DAY—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

ABSENTEES

Albano, Alter, Beedie, Bender, Billet, Bradley, Breidenbach, Brooks, W. C.; Burke, J.; Burks, J. A.; Burns, T. F.; Braginsky, Biel, Burch, Cashen, Creed, Crother, Campbell, J. C.; Campbell, W. W.; Dahlager, Dallas, Dance, David, Davis, O. E.; Dellums, Dewitt, Doane, Dougherty, Draper, Eardley, Edmundson, Evans, A. A.; Fearna, Flynn, Al.; Goff, Gorman, F. E.; Grois, Hailey, Hanoway, Henderson, Howat, Hynes, W. J.; Hein, Jeffries, Kaiser, Kats, La Belle, Lentie, Lovell, Lufano, Lumley, Lyding, McAloon, McCabe, McCarthy, M. L.; McGilivray, McCloskey, McGurk, McCormick, Mack, Malkovich, Masucci, Matchley, Maxwell, Mayer, Michelson, Miller, Mitch, Mitchell, H.; Morgan, E. J.; Morgan, J.; Morningstar, Mortimer, Msaucci, Nadelhoffer, Nafe, Ocker, Osborne, Owens, O'Leary, Palmer, Passage, Pavona, Pickler, Foe, Ravitch, Regan, Richardson, Rosqvist, Ross, Rundie, Ryan, E.; Ryan, J. A.; Russell, Sager, Saltus, Sampson, Sandefur, Schneiderman, Scully, Serra, Shave, Sigman, Slich, Slout, Smith, Stein, Sticht, Swetland, Taylor, Tighe, Turner, Wade, Walsh, M.; Weinberg, Weizenacker, Williams, Wise, Wood, Woodmansee.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, who will continue the report of the committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

PULLMAN PORTERS' FIGHT FOR HIGHER WAGES AND SHORTER HOURS

Resolution 158—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, 18068, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, after ten long, hard, difficult years of struggle, won a brilliant, far-reaching and significant victory, with a vote of six thousand to fourteen hundred, over the Company Union, in a national election, conducted under the supervision of the National Mediation Board, receiving certification by the Board, July 1st, as the duly authorized representative of the sleep-

ing car porters and maids for purposes of collective bargaining; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood sought conference, and presented therein, to the management of the Pullman Company a proposed agreement concerning rates of pay, hours and rules governing working conditions, for discussion and consideration for the porters and maids, in which the basic wage was increased from the present rate of \$77.50 to only \$93.00 a month, and the hours of work reduced from the present stretch-out, sweat-shop, monthly hourage of 317 to 240 hours, and a comparable mileage of 7,000, which formula of dual computation of pay is practically uniformly applied to all classes of transportation railroad workers, but which is recognized by the standard railroad unions as being excessive, as shown by their fight for the six-hour day and the five-day week; and

WHEREAS, The present wages of the porters and maids are woefully inadequate to insure living standards of health and decency, as set forth in the budget for family of five by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics; and

WHEREAS, Out of the meagre wage of \$77.50 a month, subsidized by tips that have declined some 75 per cent. during the depression, tips which the union regards, at best, as an unsatisfactory, uncertain, and improper method of paying the porters, must be deducted an occasional expense, including food in transit, uniforms, shoe polish, and lodging away from home, which according to a survey of porters' income and working conditions, made by the New York Labor Bureau, Inc., in 1926, was \$33.00 a month;

WHEREAS, Representatives of the management of the Company, after exhaustively examining the proposed agreement by questioning the representatives of the Brotherhood upon the meaning of every article, in conference, September 16th, 17th and 18th: following with a request for the reasons for the proposed wage increase, and hourage and mileage reduction, which was comprehensively given, only to be met, in conference, October 4th, with a flat refusal by the Company to grant ONE CENT wage increase or reduce working time ONE HOUR, or change ONE WORKING RULE which would result in any increase in compensation to the porters and maids, thereby forcing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to invoke the services of the National Mediation Board, to effect a settlement of the dispute; and

WHEREAS, The National Mediation Board on October 5th, telegraphed the Brotherhood that its invocation had been received, and

that the Board had taken jurisdiction over the case, and had also notified the Pullman Company, calling the Company's attention to the appropriate provision of the Railway Labor Act, as amended by the 73rd Congress, under which it, The Board, was taking action; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its fifty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, congratulates the Pullman porters and maids upon their splendid fight and victory for bona-fide representation, and condemns the refusal of the Pullman Company to grant a wage increase to the under-paid and over-worked porters and maids, as a species of unconscionable exploitation and oppression, and the essence of an economic policy, which is not only unfair, unsound, and un-American, but also a method by which the industrial depression is prolonged and unemployment increased.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL INVESTIGATION OF STRIKE-BREAKING AGENCIES

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate Julius Hochman, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, There have developed in the United States a number of agencies and organizations which make it a business to supply professional strikebreakers, armed and unarmed private guards, and under-cover operatives to spy upon and betray the legitimate activities of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, The record of professional strikebreaking from Homestead in 1892 to the textile strike of 1934 and up to date has been a record of the shipment of criminals and mercenaries across state lines, of violence and of destruction of the life, property and liberty of workingmen and their families; and

WHEREAS, The activities of labor spies and spy agencies have frequently been exposed as destructive of every decent instinct in American life; and

WHEREAS, There are indications that several of these strikebreaking and spy agencies are now concentrating their efforts on the formation of company unions in violation of the Federal Labor Disputes Act; and

WHEREAS, The continued existence of these professional strikebreaking and espionage agencies are a menace to the trade union movement and a serious barrier to the ad-

justment of economic disputes on the basis of mutual trust and fair play; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation be instructed to seek an immediate and thorough Federal investigation of these agencies to the end that they shall be exposed to the light of publicity and the condemnation of all fair-minded citizens; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to prepare an integrated program of Federal and state legislation which, with the aid of the State Federation of Labor, the Executive Council shall strive to have enacted into law to the end that the lawless activities of these agencies shall be brought to an end.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPRESENTATION OF ORGANIZED LABOR ON PUERTO RICO RECONSTRUCTION ADMINISTRATION

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico has reported to the President of the American Federation of Labor that in the organization of the Executive Committee set up by the Administrator of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration appointed by the President to carry out all rehabilitation work in the Island under the Emergency Appropriation Relief Act of 1935, not a single member of organized labor has been appointed; and

WHEREAS, In such Executive Committee as has been named it appears to be composed of three lawyers, three university professors, four engineers, four agronomists, two doctors and four farmers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be recommended by this Convention to communicate with the President of the United States and earnestly request and urge him to recommend and direct the Administrator of the PRRA to appoint a member of the American Federation of Labor in the Island to represent organized labor in said Executive Committee.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OPPOSING REDUCTION IN PROPORTION
OF NAVAL WORK DONE IN U. S.
NAVY YARDS AND ARSENALS

Resolution No. 141—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, W. F. Robinson, Charles Fry, N. P. Alifas, R. A. Henning, Dan Haggerty, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, "Organized Business" is continually seeking legislation and "departmental action," having for its object a reduction in the proportion of the construction of naval vessels and the manufacture of munitions of war, to be performed at Navy Yards and arsenals; and

WHEREAS, The Dallinger Amendment to the Cruiser Act of February 13, 1929, and the Thompson Amendment to the Vinson Naval Construction Act of March 27, 1934, require that fifty per cent of the work involved be performed at Navy Yards and arsenals; and

WHEREAS, Other legislation carried in the Annual Naval Appropriation Acts has the effect of requiring production of practically all of the ordnances for all of the vessels at Navy Yards and arsenals; and

WHEREAS, The recent circular letters issued by the Navy Department convey the intimation that an effort may be made to change this policy laid down by Congress, so that in the future only such work may be done at the Navy Yards, as may be necessary to provide a "yardstick" for the purpose of determining proper costs to the Government of construction in private shipyards; and

WHEREAS, These circular letters further convey the thought that, instead of present law being interpreted as requiring a fifty-fifty division of the construction work be performed at Navy Yards; and that all of this work may be performed at Navy Yards and arsenals in case the cost is not appreciably greater than by contract, the law is being construed to only require a fifty-fifty over-all division of the total cost, a proportion which we regard as less liberal to the Navy Yards than the law contemplates; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, strongly oppose any effort to reduce the proportion of naval construction and the production of munitions of war now being performed at Navy Yards and arsenals, and that we strongly urge the operation of these Government plants to their fullest capacity before any of this work is to be left to private concerns; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be advised of our position in this matter.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

UNION GENERAL HOSPITAL
CORPORATION, NEW YORK CITY

Resolution No. 238—By Delegates Charles W. Hanson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

WHEREAS, The Union General Hospital Corporation will erect a hospital building at 72nd Street and West End Avenue, New York City; and

WHEREAS, As its name implies, this corporation has for its purpose the placing of standard hospitalization within the reach of the ordinary worker and his family; and

WHEREAS, This greatly welcomed and much needed medical and surgical service will be made possible to the worker and his family at a minimum cost; and

WHEREAS, the introducers of this resolution and many others have acquainted themselves with all the details in connection with this proposed venture; and

WHEREAS, They know it to be bona fide in every respect as that the worker and his family should expect it to be; and

WHEREAS, The New York State Federation of Labor has endorsed this venture of the Union General Hospital Corporation and calls upon its affiliates to give the co-operation necessary in bringing standard hospitalization service to the worker and his family at a cost commensurate with his position in life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse this project and recommend that its affiliated bodies give full co-operation to this much needed service.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF
TEACHERS

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate Selma Borchart, Washington Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, A number of local unions of the American Federation of Teachers, while remaining in the organization, and claiming to represent more than sixty per cent of the membership, withdrew from the last convention of that organization held

in August, have publicly stated that they left the convention because the convention had been packed with a group, not eligible under their constitution to membership, of many who are openly hostile to and opposed to the principles of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Due to the packing of the convention the convention was in fact controlled by a minority of those who hold membership in the American Federation of Teachers; and

WHEREAS, The newly elected Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers has recently sent to the local unions of that organization a letter asking them:

(1) "To get your Central Labor Union to instruct its delegate" to the A. F. of L. Convention to prevent the question of the status of the American Federation of Teachers of being raised there; and

(2) "To bring this question up in your Central Labor Union only if you have a good chance of getting it adopted"; and

WHEREAS, If the charges of those who have publicly protested and who left the convention are true, then a most serious situation confronts the State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions where locals of the American Federation of Teachers are organized; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor owes an obligation to the State Federations of Labor and to the Central Labor Unions to see to it that these bodies do not have forced upon them those who support anti-American Federation of Labor tactics; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, directs the President and the Executive Council to make an immediate and thorough investigation of the charges publicly made that the American Federation of Teachers is now controlled by those openly hostile to the principles of the American Federation of Labor and after ascertaining the facts the President and the Executive Council are authorized and directed to take such action as the facts may warrant and to notify all State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions of such facts and their action thereon.

Your committee reports that the representatives of the directly interested parties appeared before the committee and agreed as to the scope and character of the investigation to be made. Interpreted in this manner your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SLUM CLEARANCE AND LOW RENT HOUSING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates J. W. Williams and Herbert Rivers.

WHEREAS, The emergency program of slum clearance and low-rent housing which has been initiated by the Administration has given hope to many families now obliged to live in dwellings which are a constant hazard to health and life itself, for the ultimate provision of rehousing accommodations in homes which will conform to the high standards of living set by the people of the United States for all who dwell within our country; and

WHEREAS, The unemployment situation among all American workers is still ominous, no group has suffered more consistently through the depression than the building trades, and it is estimated that sixty per cent of workers in the building industry were unemployed in January, 1935, and in September, 1935, forty-nine per cent of these workers were still unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has given very careful consideration to the question of the unemployment situation with a view of being helpful in providing steady employment to all those engaged in building and construction thereby eliminating the necessity of providing relief for those who have been forced to accept relief; and

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has reviewed the efforts of the Federal Housing Administration, The National Public Housing Conference, and the Labor Housing Conference in their endeavor to correct the unemployment situation and in Convention adopted this resolution and calls upon the American Federation of Labor to endorse the action of the Building Trades Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as being in sympathy with the Slum Clearance and Low Rent Housing Program which has for its purpose provisions that will furnish employment to those engaged in the building and construction industry.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

HOUSING PROJECTS

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Frank Hughes, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized that the dwellings available to the majority of workers are sub-standard, obsolete, and

grossly inadequate, particularly when contrasted with our country's vast resources of land, labor, materials and skill; and

WHEREAS, In spite of an acute impending housing shortage and rising rents, the building industry remains idle and the great majority of building workers are still unemployed; and this paralysis of the building industry, even in face of an acute housing shortage, is largely due to the long standing inability of private enterprise to supply new or modern dwellings at a price within reach of the average worker; and

WHEREAS, It has been officially recognized by Congress, by the Administration, and by many state legislatures that public aid and initiative are necessary if the housing problem is to be attacked effectively, and the Administration has repeatedly promised and even attempted to undertake an extensive program of planned large-scale housing projects; and

WHEREAS, The Government's housing program has thus far been steadily compromised by the lack of a clear-cut long-term policy and legislation to effect it, and by the treatment of housing as a mere adjunct to a temporary, emergency relief program; and the entire public works program has now been reduced almost to the vanishing point, while vast funds are allocated to "make-work" projects of no permanent value at starvation wages; and

WHEREAS, An active, unified and informed demand on the part of workers and consumers, led by organized labor, is the only force which can animate and promote a permanent public housing policy, and compel the Administration to put its promises into effect; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That a long-term public housing policy must be adopted in order to guarantee a minimum standard of decency in housing for all families; and that by "housing" is meant not merely dwellings but planned neighborhoods, including adequate educational and recreational facilities and suitable meeting halls for community and social life; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the construction of sufficient low and medium rental housing to meet the present shortage and replace existing unfit habitations, whether on present sites or elsewhere, must be undertaken or assisted by public agencies; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in locating public-aided housing, preference should be given to communities having a decent labor policy and offering a variety of employment opportunities, to avoid any extension of the feudal conditions now prevalent in one-industry towns; and that all public-aided housing must be built by labor working at union rates and under union conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That permanent Federal, State and Local housing authorities, implemented with adequate funds and the power to acquire land and to construct and manage large scale community housing projects, are the first requirements of an effective long-term program; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That there must be bona fide labor and consumer representation on all housing authorities, and that sponsoring and management committees of all specific projects must include a majority of representatives from the groups for whom the housing is intended; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That broad Federal, state and local legislation, establishing workers' housing as a public responsibility, setting up permanent machinery to effectuate the ends herein set forth, and providing adequate sources of funds, must be enacted as quickly as possible; and that all labor organizations should actively sponsor and promote such legislation, and should investigate and publicize the stand on housing of all candidates for office; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, authorize the appointment of a committee to aid, direct and collaborate with the Labor Housing Conference or other suitable agency in providing information, promoting legislation, developing projects, and protecting the interests of labor and consumers in the housing movement.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Frey: The introducers of Resolution No. 98 appeared before your committee and requested that certain changes be made in the resolution, as follows: To amend the fourth whereas by striking out the word "starvation" and inserting in its place the words "at less than prevailing" so that the last line of the whereas would read, "value at less than prevailing wages."

The introducers also requested that an additional resolve be inserted before the last resolve reading as follows:

RESOLVED, That Local Labor Housing Committees should be set up, to take the lead in developing an active public demand for housing, to initiate suitable projects, and to represent, protect, and promote the interests of labor and consumers in the location, design, construction and management of public housing projects; and, be it further—

The resolution as amended reads as follows:

PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Charles F. Hollopeter, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is generally recognized that the dwellings available to the majority of workers are sub-standard, obsolete, and grossly inadequate, particularly when contrasted with our country's vast resources of land, labor, materials, and skill; and

WHEREAS, In spite of an acute impending housing shortage and rising rents, the building industry remains idle and the great majority of building workers are still unemployed; and this paralysis of the building industry, even in face of an acute housing shortage, is largely due to the long standing inability of private enterprise to supply new or modern dwellings at a price within reach of the average worker; and

WHEREAS, It has been officially recognized by Congress, by the Administration, and by many state legislatures that public aid and initiative are necessary if the housing problem is to be attacked effectively, and the Administration has repeatedly promised and even attempted to undertake an extensive program of planned large-scale housing projects; and

WHEREAS, The Government housing program has thus far been steadily compromised by the lack of a clear-cut long-term policy and legislation to effect it, and by the treatment of housing as a mere adjunct to a temporary, emergency relief program, and the entire public works program has now been reduced almost to the vanishing point, while vast funds are allocated to "make-work" projects of no permanent value at less than prevailing wages; and

WHEREAS, An active, unified, and informed demand on the part of workers and consumers, led by organized labor, is the only force which can animate and promote a permanent public housing policy, and compel the Administration to put its promises into effect; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That a long-term public housing policy must be adopted in order to guarantee a minimum standard of decency in housing for all families; and that by "housing" is meant not merely dwellings but planned neighborhoods, including adequate educational and recreational facilities and suitable meeting halls for community and social life; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the construction of sufficient low and medium rental housing to meet the present shortage and replace existing unfit habitations, whether on present sites or elsewhere, must be undertaken or assisted by public agencies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in locating public-aided housing, preference should be given to communities having a decent labor policy and offering a variety of employment opportunities, to avoid any extension of the feudal conditions now prevalent in one-industry towns; and that all public-aided housing must be built by labor working at union rates and under union conditions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That permanent Federal, State, and local housing authorities, implemented with adequate funds and the power to acquire land and to construct and manage large-scale community housing projects, are the first requirements of an effective long-term program; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That there must be bona fide labor and consumer representation on all housing authorities, and that sponsoring and management committees of all specific projects must include a majority of representatives from the groups for whom the housing is intended; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That broad Federal, State, and local legislation, establishing workers' housing as a public responsibility, setting up permanent machinery to effectuate the ends herein set forth, and providing adequate sources of funds, must be enacted as quickly as possible; and that all labor organizations should actively sponsor and promote such legislation, and should investigate and publicize the stand on housing of all candidates for office; and be it further

RESOLVED, That local Labor Housing Committees should be set up, to take the lead in developing an active public demand for housing, to initiate suitable projects, and to represent, protect and promote the interests of labor and consumers in the location, design, construction and management of public housing projects; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, authorize the appointment of a committee to aid, direct and collaborate with the Labor Housing Conference or other suitable agency in providing information, promoting legislation, developing projects, and protecting the interests of labor and consumers in the housing movement.

With these amendments your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROTESTS OF OFFICERS OF MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

Delegate Frey: Mr. Chairman, the committee now makes a report on that portion of the Executive Council report dealing with the protests of the officers of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Perhaps it might be

well before making the committee's report to read the section of the Executive Council's report so that all the delegates may be familiar with it. The Executive Council reports as follows:

PROTEST OF THE OFFICERS OF THE MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

The following communication was submitted by Thomas H. Brown, President of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, to the Executive Council for consideration at its meeting held beginning January 29, 1935:

Washington, D. C.,

February 1, 1935.

President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, and the Executive Council, Greetings:

The Executive Board of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is protesting against what we believe is an infringement on our jurisdiction as defined in our charter as granted to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. This charter was issued on October 17, 1916, by the American Federation of Labor. This charter granted to us the same jurisdiction that we had prior to our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, with this reservation only: that the machinists working in or about the mines of Butte, Montana, and Bingham, Utah, would not be required to become members of the Western Federation of Miners, date of organization, May 15, 1893.

On or about May 8, 1934, the members of three of our locals who had taken a strike vote came out on strike. Later they were joined by our local in Great Falls, Montana. At that time we had probably 8000 men out. The company against whom the strike was called was the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. That strike was terminated about the 15th of September. While that strike was still in progress, I received the following information: that officials of craft unions had come to Butte under sealed orders, the nature of which our members did not know. Those of our members on strike were very much concerned. I was asked to return to Butte as soon as our convention was over. On my return to Butte I was informed by a member of the strike committee that an agreement had been consummated in Washington between officials of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company and someone in Washington; that his understanding was that they were going to be allowed to vote on this agreement. This agreement was negotiated without our knowledge or consent, notwithstanding the fact that we had about

8000 of our members out on strike against this company, striking for better working conditions.

It is not extension of jurisdiction we are seeking, but only to retain the jurisdiction we have had for over 40 years. We are going to be besieged and disgorged of our membership that joined this organization believing that they rightfully came under our jurisdiction, if we are not to be allowed to retain as members of our organization all men working in or about mines, mills, smelters, metal refineries, tunnels, open pits and open cuts.

We would very much like to know who are eligible to become members of our organization. I feel that in fairness to the members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers who joined our organization, thinking that we have certain jurisdiction, which has been questioned by other international unions we would appreciate very much if you will give our protest your earliest consideration.

THOMAS H. BROWN.

The Executive Council gave most careful and extended consideration to the protest filed by the president of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. A hearing was held at which representatives of the Metal Trades Department, metal trades organizations, President Brown, of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and others were present. All details and facts connected with the jurisdictional controversy referred to in the communication presented to the Executive Council were most carefully considered.

A special time for the consideration of the case was set for Wednesday afternoon, February 6.

The hearing developed the fact that the protest filed by President Brown was against an agreement relating to hours, wages and conditions of employment, entered into between metal trades and building trades organizations and the Anaconda Copper Mining Company.

President Brown contended that such action constituted a transgression of the jurisdiction of the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen's Union over men employed in and around mines, mills and smelters.

At the conclusion of the hearing and of the discussion which ensued, the Council decided to refer the matter for further consideration to the next meeting of the Council, and that a conference be held with the Metal Trades Department in order to ascertain their attitude and to secure facts.

Pursuant to the decision of the January meeting of the Executive Council, at the meeting beginning April 29, the Executive Council gave a further hearing on the protest of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers against the agree-

ment negotiated by the Metal Trades Department with the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. Representatives of the organizations interested again appeared before the Executive Council supplementing the communications and statements made at the January meeting, with additional information, facts and statements. The Executive Council again gave the protest of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers painstaking, diligent and most analytical consideration. Every pertinent fact in connection with the protest and with the grant of jurisdiction by the American Federation of Labor to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union was taken into account, analyzed and considered. At the conclusion of the Council's deliberations the following motion was adopted:

The Executive Council, after hearing the protest of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization decided that there is no infringement on the jurisdiction of that organization.

The Executive Council herewith submits its report of its consideration and decision of the protest of the officers of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to the convention for its information and for such consideration and action as it may desire to take.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the report.

Your committee recommends adoption and approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Peterson, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates: Speaking in opposition to the report of the Resolutions Committee I wish first to remind this body that we are not seeking to enlarge our jurisdiction. We are perfectly willing to live up to the sacredness of this contract entered into by the International and National Unions and the American Federation of Labor referred to by Delegate Frey last night. We ask you does this sacredness of contract refer only to the great national and international unions? Some of us who are not as strong as we once were believe it refers to us also, and all we ask of Delegate Frey or any of the other delegates representing national and international unions is that they do the thing they say they are willing to do.

I would first like to remind you that according to the official records of the con-

ventions held in previous years, my organization asked to be admitted into the American Federation of Labor in 1910. The matter was objected to by the International Association of Machinists. They were the only ones who offered any serious objection. The matter went through the convention in 1910 and it was finally decided by a motion passed that this matter be referred to the Executive Council for their action.

On page 333 of the report of that year, you will find that a motion was passed by a roll call vote, if you please, to refer this matter to the Executive Council for their action. The only serious controversy was the Machinists wanted all machinists employed in and around mines, mills and smelters.

The Western Federation of Miners contended and justly contended that they were entitled to the same jurisdiction over mine workers in the metalliferous mining industries as was enjoyed by the United Mine Workers of America in the coal mining industry. After a good deal of controversy the Executive Council did in 1911 issue a charter to the Western Federation of Miners, the predecessor of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union. With what result? There was one limitation on that charter and that was this: That those organizations of machinists located in mining camps organized prior to the issuance of this charter would not be forced to become members of the Western Federation of Miners. For your information there were two such organizations in this broad land of ours—one in Butte, Mont., which is still in existence and whose members we do not care to take from that organization, because we are willing to live within our jurisdiction. The other one was situated at that time at Bingham Canyon, Utah, and has since gone out of existence, so we are not bothered with that any more.

On page 125 of the official proceedings of the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1911 we find that the charter was granted. The Executive Council in making its report for that year to the convention states that they have granted a charter to the Western Federation of Miners with the same jurisdiction as given to the United Mine Workers of America with this exception: It was made

a provision of the issuance of the charter that members of Machinist locals now existing in mining camps are not to be required to join the Western Federation of Miners in order to follow their trade in the mining industry. That is what happened in 1911.

We had the privilege last night of having Delegate Frey drag through the muck and the mire the name of one of the most militant organizations that ever affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I don't say that our organization has not made some mistakes in the past, but we do contend that we have never followed under the banner of organized scabbery, and that is more than can be justly reputed by the organization Delegate Frey represents.

Delegate Frey: I rise to a point of order.

President Green: What is your point of order?

Delegate Frey: The point of order is that the delegate charges a delegate to this convention with scabbing.

Delegate Peterson: I said the organization that you represent.

Delegate Frey: With scabbing?

Delegate Peterson: Yes.

President Green: The Chair will suggest that the speakers refrain from engaging in personalities. Confine yourselves to a discussion of the question at issue.

Delegate Peterson (continuing): In 1916 because of the fact that men east of the Mississippi River would not join the Western Federation of Miners because of the name, the officers of that organization petitioned the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to have the name changed. That petition was granted. On page 377 of the official proceedings of the convention of 1916 you will find the following:

"The Western Federation of Miners made application for a change of its title to International Union of Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers. The Executive Board making the application distinctly disclaimed any desire or purpose in changing or extending the jurisdiction under its new title. Protests from several organizations were received, and President Gompers was

authorized by us to hold a conference with the officers of the Western Federation of Miners and the representatives of the protesting organizations. That conference was held, and upon the clear understanding that no change or extension of jurisdiction was involved in the application, the objections were withdrawn. We, therefore, authorized the issuance of the charter to the Western Federation of Miners under its new title.

"The report was adopted as read."

I bring you this, fellow delegates, to show you that we are not asking for anything that does not belong to us. We want to know if the law of the American Federation of Labor operates, if you please, in the same manner as the civil law does and that it protects the strong and the weak as well, or we want to know if you people are going to demand that we receive our rights as laid down by the law.

What we want to know is how the metal trades or anyone else expects us to build an organization successfully if they are going to divide their forces. We want to know if we have a controversy with the boss, if we have the right to settle that controversy or someone else is going to settle it for us, and after they force us into a position where we have to accept it, that we take it? We want to know what our rights are. We not only want to know, we demand, if you please, that we are given our jurisdiction as provided by this holy contract that has been referred to. That contract is just as holy to us as to anyone, and I defy any of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor within the last few years at least to show where we have encroached on any national or international union's organization or members. We do not want them. We do not ask for them, but we do ask for the right to form an organization of such proportions that it can function.

We have had the unhappy thing come to us in my own state, the State of Utah, of having seven distinct organizations that were operating a year ago in the graveyard now. The charters have been returned to the international unions—and for one reason and one reason only—because the crafts did not go out and organize ahead of us, they did not do that. They follow us up

after we get them, and then cause confusion, and when we go to a boss in an attempt to make an agreement he says, "No, I am not going to enter into an agreement with 25 or 30 different organizations." What is the result? The union is dead. And let me tell you something else, that the crafts, neither us nor anyone else can go into that camp and again reorganize those workers so long as the present conditions exist. We have to have the right to show those workers that we are going to be able to protect them by taking a sufficient number into the organization at the start so that we can protect those who might be discharged.

You people seem to think you have the right to tell a man what kind of an organization he must join. I always looked at it the other way. I figured unionism was something made out to sell and that the prospective man was your customer and that if you wanted to get his initiation fee and his dues and you wanted to make a real honest-to-God union man out of him, you had to sell the idea to him. You could not ram it down his throat. If you want to make a real union man you can't ram it down his throat, you have to teach him and educate him and we cannot do that under the present conditions, because our members know that as quickly as this disintegrating process starts in the unions, all of them who have made efforts to organize them are blackballed, and out in the West where men are not so thick as they are in the East, that blackball follows you over the hills to the next camp and so on. Many times a man is not able to get a job until he crosses two or three states, until he finds some place where they have not notified the boss that he was active in organizing the union.

We ask only our rights, and our rights will clear up this proposition. I wonder if those crafts that have done us so much damage realize what they have done? Do they want us to think that they have done this on purpose? I hope they don't want us to think that they have sold us into slavery, even as Jacob was sold into Egypt. But I know this, that unless their policy in the future is changed, unless their organizers do as they should do and go out there and try to get their men instead of disrupt-

ing other people's organizations, we will be forced to believe it whether we want to or not.

I am interested in the labor movement. I am a young man and so help me God when I do get old and gray headed I hope, if I ever do, that I will still believe that the most important part of any man's life is not getting a good job for himself, with a few dollars attached to the job, but it is to leave this world a little bit better than it was when he came. I hope if that is my ambition in life, just to get a good job for myself, I hope that when I reach that time, I will be pushing up the daisies, because I don't want to become that kind of a person.

We in my organization are making some attempt to build this thing for posterity. We don't preach unionism only to the man who works underground. We preach it to his wife, to his daughter and to his son. We try to encourage the thing that we think will do more than any other one thing to alleviate distress, unemployment and the uncertainty that we have in our midst today, and unless we change some of the modes of production, shortening the hours and increasing the wages, there is no relief in sight. We know, even though we are young men, that you can't do that on three and a half million members. We know this also, that we can't do it the way industries are now organized.

We have eight thousand men that have not paid per capita tax to our organization for several months in the state of Alabama because of the thing that was spoken of here last night—unorganization in the steel industry. Those things must be remedied. I don't know how many jurisdictional battles we have had over these same eight thousand men down in Alabama that we are trying to hold together. We have raised the wages of those iron miners higher than they ever dreamed they could be raised. In my own particular state we have raised the wages of the hard rock miners to the same daily wage as they received in 1929, and we have done that without a strike. We have improved the working conditions to a point where they are better than they ever were in the three places where the crafts had never been able to get into, in the State of Utah.

In the mining towns where the men are employed in the mines we do everything possible to encourage the men of each craft, we do everything to help any organizer to get these men, but we demand that he stay out of our jurisdiction. We have been able to do these things for one reason only, because we were organized in one complete bloc.

I would like to explain to the convention just how we operate. We have several mines in the mountains around our camp. All the men working in these various mines belong to the one union and they all have equal representation on the grievance committee. Not two months ago we straightened up a fight for the electricians. The electricians presented their grievance to the grievance committee, and a committee was appointed to go before the employers and explain their troubles. But the grievance committee also went along and the grievance committee first informed the management that it is not this handful of electricians that is making the complaint nor it is not the miners working at the mines, it is the miners' union of that town and then we get results. Can anybody tell me, young as I am, that a proposition that gets results is wrong? It is the one that does not get results that I think is wrong.

Speaking about the things the Metal Trades Council does for the benefit of organized labor I have a photostatic copy of a letter written by Mr. Calvin, Secretary-Treasurer of the Metal Trades Department. It is not concerned with our interests exactly but it does concern something about organizing industrial unions, and here they say:

"The management would prefer dealing with responsible labor organizations rather than organizations which have come into being since the adoption of the NIRA by the Congress in June, 1933. Nevertheless, we cannot expect the management of any industry to advocate that their employees join our organizations, but it is obvious that the management of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company will not actively oppose our organizing efforts among their employees."

And they still can't organize them. Why? Because they are doing the same thing that happened in the state of Montana a year ago. They settled a strike for us and we did not know that they had settled that

strike until they forced the miners into a position where they had to accept conditions which were actually less than the miners had guaranteed before they stuck their nose in our business. Maybe you would like some of that yourselves. We don't. We ask that we be left alone and that we be given our jurisdiction as granted to us. If any of you people have any later evidence than this, showing that any convention of the American Federation of Labor has changed that jurisdiction, then drag it out, but until such time as you can drag that out, we demand our rights and we demand that the Metal Trades Council and the Building Trades Council or any other craft keep their hands out of our pie.

I have heard the crack at this convention several times that after this convention is over the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and other industrial organizations wanted to be on the watch, because the crafts were going out to demand their men. I give any organizer in this hall an invitation to come to my own town and try to bring organization.

I would like to have this letter inserted in the record, if you please.

(The letter referred to is as follows):

August 6, 1935.

To the Presidents of our
Affiliated International Unions.
Greetings:

On August 1st, in response to a request from the Newport News Central Labor Union, the Secretary-Treasurer of your Department left Washington for the purpose of addressing an open meeting conducted under the auspices of the Newport News organization at the High School Auditorium on Friday evening, August 2nd.

Upon arrival in Newport News, I met and conferred with Brother George Black, International Organizer for the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Welders, and Helpers of America; Brother Paul I. Topping, representative of the Central Labor Union, Newport News, Va., and other local union officials, and received first hand information relative to some of the conditions prevalent in the plant of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, which is now under contract for the construction of two aircraft carriers and one 10,000-ton, six-inch gun cruiser for the United States Government.

Following this conference, I immediately contacted Mr. J. B. Woodward, of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, who is the highest ranking of-

ficial of this company next to Homer L. Ferguson, the president.

Mr. Woodward readily agreed to confer with Brothers Black, Topping and myself, and upon our arrival at the plant of the company, we were most courteously received, and during the entire conference, a most friendly atmosphere prevailed.

We were specifically informed by Mr. Woodward, and other officials of the company, that they were not opposed to their employees affiliating with the standard craft organizations employed in the shipbuilding industry.

The company officials expressed the hope that the meeting scheduled for that night would be entirely successful, and indicated, beyond doubt, a feeling of gratification because of the fact that a representative of your Department had visited Newport News to address the company's employees.

This friendly attitude might be attributable to the fact that the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, a dual organization, with headquarters in Camden, N. J., has recently made efforts to organize employees of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, and, during the process of organization, had called a strike which resulted in approximately seventy-five employees answering the strike call. In view of the fact that some 6,000 men are employed by the company, this strike proved to be a failure. However, despite this poor showing, the management is apparently apprehensive of the possibility of intensified efforts on the part of the aforementioned union to gain a stronger foothold among the company's employees.

The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers has effectively closed the plant of the New York Shipbuilding Corporation of Camden, N. J., with a strike which has been prevalent since May 13th, and should a victory be gained by this dual organization in Camden, unquestionably the opportunity would be presented to them to organize shipyard workers in all shipyards throughout the country.

The management would prefer dealing with responsible labor organizations rather than organizations which have come into being since adoption of the NIRA by the Congress in June, 1933. Nevertheless, we cannot expect the management of any industry to advocate that their employees join our organizations, but it is obvious that the management of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company will not actively oppose our organizing efforts among their employees.

This information is sent to you with the thought in mind that you might consider it sufficiently important to warrant the assigning of representatives to the Newport News area for the purpose of conducting organizing efforts.

I am also pleased to report that several individual complaints of long standing were

adjusted as a result of my conference with officials of the company, and upon leaving Newport News, I was assured by Mr. Woodward that the latch string of the company was always on the outside for representatives of bona fide labor organizations.

Cordially and fraternally yours,
W. A. CALVIN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

We have the same jurisdiction granted to us as has been granted to the United Mine Workers of America. Why are not we permitted to exercise it? I will tell you why. Because in some unfortunate strikes we were busted a few years ago. We don't deny that. In 1933, on the first day of July, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers had received less per capita tax for the month of June than \$200. But since that time we have built up, and we are just starting. The thing that we ask is the privilege that when we get an organization built up this outfit does not come along and bust it up. We are tired of that, and it works untold hardships on us.

You know out in the West there are many mining camps just over the hill from one another. When you lose an organization in one town because they try to segregate you you can't go over the hill and organize the next town, because the news has traveled ahead of you.

The organizer that comes in here to organize these miners offers us a wonderful plan. He shows us the jurisdiction granted by the American Federation of Labor, and then a little while later somebody comes along and shows us their jurisdiction. They say they will join the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union if they will guarantee that they will not split them up. It seems to me that under the jurisdiction we have granted to us, we should be able to do that, but under present conditions I am sorry to say that we are not able to do it, because we are not big enough, we are not quite financially strong enough to keep our organizers or men who have had experience in each one of these localities when we get them functioning. We try to have a man make the rounds every thirty days, to see how they are getting along, and in the interim between the time they are there and the time they get back again is when the dirty work is done. If we could keep a man on the job all the time in each one of

these locals a lot of these things would stop.

I say to you once more, we try to be reasonable and we are willing to do the best we can, although we do not offer much. We have many young men who work forty hours a week in the mines and then probably spend twice as much time organizing as most of the paid organizers working for these crafts. We are going to build a labor movement in the metalliferous mining industry and we want the opportunity and the help of the other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I personally believe that the success of this great American Federation of Labor will lie in the ability of the American Federation of Labor to make our achievements equal to our desires. Rather we lower our desires equal to our achievements. I think we are big enough to do that. If we would all be big enough to try to elevate this labor movement, if we would all be big enough to say we want the law lived up to and that we are willing to live up to it ourselves we would get along just a little bit better.

I don't want to infringe upon any more of your time, because I am not a flowery orator, but I do say this: Give us what we demand, and we demand all those things that are ours by right of law. If you do that, next year you will see more votes in this convention from us, and in five years you will see a real organization in the metalliferous mining industry.

Delegate Franklin, Boilermakers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I have been very much interested in listening to the address just delivered by Mr. Peterson. It is really illuminating. I am particularly delighted to know that he is an exponent of observance of the law, and I join him in that wholeheartedly. That is one of my hobbies—observance of law, whether in our states, our nation, or in this American Federation of Labor, and I am particularly interested now in the compliance with law in this great American Federation of Labor.

Before going into any of the matters I want to present to you I want to read to you from the law itself, the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the fundamental laws of this organization, dealing with the authority of this convention or this organization and the Executive Council

to issue charters and dealing with the mandate placed upon the Executive Council under this law. I want to read it for you, and I want to read it so that you men who represent so-called trade unions will understand just what we are talking about and what is involved in this controversy.

I am reading Section 11 of Article IX:

"No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national, international, trade, or Federal labor union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions."

The delegate who just preceded me pointed to the provisions or the actions taken by conventions and by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. We had an interest in this matter long before the delegate who just preceded me even had an organization in existence. We have had a charter granted by the American Federation of Labor since 1882. The records of the Federation will bear that out. There was a time for a period of one year, during a period of amalgamation when there were two organizations who had voluntarily agreed to withdraw until they settled the question of affiliation among themselves, and at the very next convention, if my memory serves me correctly, they reaffiliated.

Back in the 80's we were given jurisdiction over all of the workers set forth in our constitution and recognized at the time by this organization of the American Federation of Labor. Along in 1910 or 1911 somebody comes along and says, "We want all of the boilermakers and others who follow our trade employed in mines, mills and smelters." Bless your life, we do not have any men employed in the mines. We represent the men who are engaged in the performance of our trade in the mills and smelters—a clear cut classification of work. Nobody questions that that work belongs to the boilermakers.

Then we hear the stories that all has been given to somebody else. I wonder if the American Federation of Labor has any record that the boilermakers ever conceded to the mine, mill and smelter workers the

rights guaranteed under this constitution. We have now four local unions employed in the mills and smelters of this country. We have had local unions in Arizona, New Mexico, Montana, Utah and other states for many years. Due to the fact that the copper industry was almost out of business for a time, many of those local unions went out of business because of the closing down of the mines and smelters. That does not say, because they happened to close down, that their jurisdiction went to some one else.

Much is made of the fact that two locals of the Machinists' International Union were mentioned in the decision of the action of the Executive Council. Well, we were not fortunate enough at that time to have a member on the Executive Council. We did not know this was done in the Executive Council until after it was done. But we have never granted any jurisdiction to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

We have some of the most militant men affiliated with our brotherhood in Butte, Montana, Anaconda, Great Falls, Jerome, Arizona, and we are going to keep them. They have been members for years in this Brotherhood of ours, long years before this Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization was in existence. Would any of you men, in all of that liberality of yours, turn over your membership to somebody just because they wanted them? We do not go into the mine, we do not disturb the miner. We in no way affect the effectiveness of the miners' organization. We are glad to support them, we are glad to do everything we can to be helpful to them. We are glad to do that with any trade, but we are not going to turn over voluntarily a large number of men because somebody happens to want them. These men are loyal to our membership and to our Brotherhood, and it is rather strange, if they were to be so materially benefited by joining the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization, that they would not have voluntarily done so, because there is nobody any more familiar with the workings of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers than those men who have put in all their lives in that class of work.

The law says that a charter cannot be granted giving jurisdiction to somebody else unless they get a written agreement, a letter, authority, if you please, from the

organizations that are affected. And I submit to you, gentlemen of this convention, that we have never given that authority to any one.

That is not all. I do not want to bore you members. I believe that the Council acted wisely, that they acted justly and they acted fairly in their action taken upon the protest of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. All of these organizations around here have men who may have been taken away from them by reason of circumstances or conditions under which they were employed and have gone over, some of them, to the Mine, Mill and Smelter men. Our members have remained loyal to this International Brotherhood, and I protest against this convention or any other agency under the heavens taking this membership away from us until you amend this law.

Somebody scabbed on them! That is strange, isn't it—scabbed on them, I assume, because they performed the work that rightfully belonged to them. I don't know what he refers to. Our people are not in the habit of scabbing on other people. They are not made of that kind of stuff, they are not that kind of union men. We don't want to scab on them. If we ever did, it has never come to my knowledge. We have co-operated with them, we have organized metal trades organizations in the territory where the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers are operating, and they operated in that territory for many years and I think they are still in existence.

What is all this hub-bub about the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers? It is simply this, that they want to drive every organization that has an interest in the mines, mills and smelters, particularly in the mills and smelters, where the skilled mechanics, if you please, are employed in the performance of the erection, maintenance and repairs which must necessarily be done in the smelters and mills, into their organization. It requires in many of these mills and smelters a large number of men to keep those places running, and they have been doing that since the copper industry has come into existence in the western part of the country. They are going to continue to do that, and I just ask you gentlemen to consider the request being made now in

opposition to the committee's report, which is concurrence in the action taken by the Executive Council in their decision upon the appeal to them made last year or this year, I don't remember the date. I was not present, but I think the Council acted wisely in their decision, and I say to you that as long as this law places a restriction upon the Executive Council or any other agency, as long as that law is in this constitution and the charter of the organization that has been granted jurisdiction over this work has not been revoked, you have no right to concede that jurisdiction to any other agency. I hope you will approve of the committee's report.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: I offer a substitute for the report of the committee, as follows:

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the jurisdiction of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers as decided by the Atlanta convention and explained by President Gompers in a message to the United Mine Workers of America: That all national and international unions participating or parties to the so-called Anaconda agreement of 1934 be directed by this convention to respect the aforesaid jurisdiction of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and to retire from said jurisdiction upon the expiration of the existing agreement with the Anaconda Mining Company.

I offer that as a motion.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: You have heard the substitute motion offered by Delegate Lewis. The question will now recur upon the substitute. The Chair recognizes Delegate Lewis.

Delegate Lewis: The facts will only entail a brief recital. The record of the American Federation of Labor on this subject will be equally brief, but none the less pointed, none the less convincing to those who desire to approach this question from the standpoint of rendering impartial justice to a weak organization as well as a strong organization.

In 1934, 6,600 men employed by the Anaconda Copper and Mining Company in smelters and mines of Butte and Anaconda, Montana, came on strike for a recognition of their union and improvements in their wage conditions. The strike was a complete success insofar as it impaired the

production and operation of the Anaconda Copper Company's plants. During that strike a conference was called in Washington, participated in by the representatives of some fifteen or sixteen craft organizations, composed largely of those having membership in the Metal Trades Department and certain building trades organizations. They met in Washington and made an agreement with the Anaconda Copper Company, duly negotiated, properly signed and delivered. That agreement covered 600 employees, more or less, out of 6,600 on strike in the plants of the aforesaid company at Butte and Anaconda.

The international union representing the Mine Workers on strike did not participate in the Washington conference because the representatives of that union were not invited to the conference and knew nothing of the conference. The conference was held without the knowledge of that organization or without the participation of that organization, and the Anaconda Copper Company settled the strike with organizations purporting to represent 600 of the 6,600 on strike, which causes a belief in the minds of the representatives of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers that they were betrayed while they were striking.

The representatives of the Metal Trades Department and the building trades organizations went out to Butte and Anaconda, Montana, to make their contract effective, and it was then that the striking mine workers in these copper mines knew of this agreement. Those men, members of that organization, believed that they had a right to make the settlement with the Anaconda Copper Company, because they believed that that organization had jurisdiction over all the men employed in that industry by reason of previous action of a convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and you may judge yourself of the disastrous effect upon their morale when they learned of this secret conference in Washington, which had settled the strike from under their feet in so far as it affected the 600 craftsmen supposed to hold membership in those fifteen or sixteen organizations. That organization protested that action, and in

due time it came before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council conducted extensive hearings on the subject, having present representatives of the complaining organizations and representatives of the Metal Trades Department and other organizations affected, and out of that consideration there comes to this convention the report that is printed in the report of the Executive Council contained in the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

What is the basis of the complaint of the mine, mill and smelter men? That record is fairly brief and strikingly illuminating. You heard yesterday from Delegate Frey about the Western Federation of Miners and the character of an organization that it was at one time. It was unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and by reason of representations and suggestions made by officers of the United Mine Workers of America in 1910 the Western Federation of Miners filed an application for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. That application in due form came before the convention of that year held in St. Louis. Its acceptance was urged by the delegates from the United Mine Workers of America. Its acceptance was resisted by the delegates representing the various craft organizations, who said then as they say now upon this platform that they had the unrestricted right to take their members where they find them and flit from flower to flower while they sip the honey in industry. They said it then, and then, as now, in that convention of the American Federation of Labor in St. Louis in 1910, the law of the American Federation of Labor was read just the same as it was read today, setting forth the rights of the various organizations to not have their jurisdiction impaired by any action of the convention.

The convention did not settle the question in 1910. It came up again in the Atlanta convention of 1911, after much deliberation by the Executive Council of the Federation during the intervening period, and that convention decided the question. The records of each of these conventions are quite voluminous in character and their reading need not neces-

sarily burden this convention. But the matter was left again in the hands of the Executive Council, and it was in the hands of the Executive Council in 1911 when a convention of the United Mine Workers of America convened in Columbus, Ohio. The mine workers' convention was rather discouraged at the lack of action upon the part of the American Federation of Labor to grant a charter to the Western Federation of Miners on the basis of the same jurisdiction enjoyed by the United Mine Workers of America, which was claimed in the original application and which was supported by the delegates of the United Mine Workers of America.

After due consideration the convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Columbus, Ohio, on January 19, 1911, adopted a resolution and instructed the secretary of the convention to telegraph that resolution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, then in session in Washington, D. C. I was a delegate to that convention and I voted for the adoption of that resolution. The President of the American Federation of Labor was a delegate to that convention and he voted for the resolution, copy of which I shall now read:

"Columbus, Ohio,
"January 19, 1911.

"Samuel Gompers, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

"Whereas, The U. M. W. of A., in convention assembled, one year ago recommended to the Western Federation of Miners certain steps to bring about closer relation between the men employed in the coal and metalliferous mining industry, to-wit: securing a charter from the A. F. of L. that should concede to the metal miners the same complete jurisdiction of that industry which has been and now enjoyed by the U. M. W. of A.; and

"Whereas, The Western Federation of Miners has complied with these suggestions following the course of the application for a charter from the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to the convention of that body and back again to the Council thwarted at every turn by the jurisdiction claims of craft organizations; and

"Whereas, We believe that the best interest of not only the men engaged in the mining industry, but of labor in general, would be advanced by the addition of the Western Federation of Miners to the labor movement as represented by the A. F. of L.

"Whereas, Every objection raised against the issuance of a charter on jurisdiction lines applies with equal force to the U. M. W. of A., and is a covert menace to that complete control of the industry which we believe is essential to our organization and the protection of the workers in general; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the U. M. W. of A., in convention assembled, that we protest against any further delay in the issuance of said charter or imposing any restriction upon the jurisdiction now enjoyed by the Western Federation of Miners as being inimical to our interest as well as theirs. We further pledge our hearty support and announce to all labor organizations that we are determined to form a closer compact with the Western Federation of Miners. We trust that it may be within the A. F. of L., but if the Western Federation of Miners is denied a charter or granted one with unsatisfactory restrictions; be it further

"Resolved, That the U. M. W. of A., in convention assembled, join with the Western Federation of Miners in a movement that will insure that unity and cooperation in action which has been sought in the A. F. of L.

"EDWIN PERRY, Secretary,
"United Mine Workers of America."

President Green and myself voted for that resolution with enthusiasm because we believed in it. The interpretation on the adoption of that resolution in the United Mine Workers' convention on the part of officers and delegates to the convention recommending its adoption caused it to be recognized as final notice to the American Federation of Labor that a charter must be issued by the American Federation of Labor to the Western Federation of Miners with the same jurisdiction as that enjoyed by the United Mine Workers of America, or else the United Mine Workers of America would stand with the Western Federation of Miners, independent of the American Federation of Labor. There is the record.

What was the answer to it? I will read the answer to that resolution and spread the answer upon the minutes of this convention, and let all who will then repudiate the formal action of the American Federation of Labor and repudiate the pledged word of its President, Samuel Gompers, now gone to his eternal reward. The answer came—when? On the following day, and the Council was in august session in Washington. They received the tidings from the Mine Workers' Convention. They knew the law of the American

Federation of Labor as set forth in its constitution, because individuals various and sundry had read it to them like we had it read to us this afternoon. They knew the law, because some of these men had helped write the law. In sending this action of the convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Columbus, with its 2,000 delegates in session, the Executive Council of American Federation of Labor modified the law—they modified the law of the American Federation of Labor.

The telegram and the answer read as follows:

TELEGRAM

Columbus, Ohio,
Jan. 19, 1911.

Samuel Gompers, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Whereas, The U. M. W. of A. in convention assembled one year ago recommended to the Western Federation of Miners certain steps to bring about closer relation between the men employed in the coal and metalliferous mining industry, to-wit: securing a charter from the A. F. of L. that should concede to the metal miners the same complete jurisdiction of that industry which has been and now enjoyed by the U. M. W. of A.; and

Whereas, the Western Federation of Miners has complied with these suggestions following the course of the application for a charter from the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to the convention of that body and back again to the Council thwarted at every turn by the jurisdiction claims of craft organizations; and

Whereas, We believe that the best interest of not only the men engaged in the mining industry but of labor in general would be advanced by the addition of the Western Federation of Miners to the labor movement as represented by the A. F. of L.;

Whereas, Every objection raised against the issuance of a charter on jurisdiction lines applies with equal force to the U. M. W. of A. and is a covert menace to that complete control of the industry which we believe is essential to our organization and the protection of the workers in general; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the U. M. W. of A., in convention assembled, that we protest against any further delay in the issuance of said charter or imposing any restriction upon the jurisdiction now enjoyed by the Western Federation of Miners as being inimical to our interest as well as theirs. We further pledge our hearty support and announce to all labor organizations that we are determined to form a closer compact with the Western Federation of Miners. We trust that it may be within the A. F. of L., but if the Western Federation of Miners is denied a charter or

granted one with unsatisfactory restrictions; be it further

Resolved, That the U. M. W. of A., in convention assembled, join with the Western Federation of Miners in a movement that will insure that unity and co-operation in action which has been sought in the A. F. of L.

EDWIN PERRY,
Secretary,

United Mine Workers of America.

"Washington, D. C.,
"January 20, 1911.

"Edwin Perry, Secretary United Mine
Workers of America,

"Care Miners' Convention, Columbus, Ohio.

"Your telegram delivered this afternoon. We take pleasure in advising convention of Mine Workers that at this morning's session of the Executive Council it was decided 'That a charter be issued to the Western Federation of Miners, on the basis of the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of America.' The only reservation being in respect to a few local unions of machinists in mining camps which have been in existence for many years, and which have worked in harmony with the locals of the Western Federation of Miners. The reservation in respect to these few machinists' locals can in no way affect the control of the mining industry by the Western Federation of Miners, as President O'Connell of the Machinists has assured President Moyer of the Miners that a working agreement may be entered into whereby machinists will co-operate in every way in protecting the interests of the Western Federation of Miners. The Executive Council extends to the convention of the United Mine Workers of America its best wishes for a harmonious and successful convention.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"President American Federation of Labor."

There is the record. How does it read? Can any delegate misunderstand those burning words? Will delegates rise upon the floor of this convention to challenge and destroy the words Samuel Gompers uttered in his official capacity as the spokesman for the Executive Council? There is a promissory note given by the American Federation of Labor, approved by the Atlanta convention, to the Western Federation of Miners and the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is the acknowledged and the legal successor of the Western Federation of Miners since 1916.

It is admitted by all that in the change of name which was agreed to by the American Federation of Labor there was no change of jurisdiction. So the International Union of

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers come to this convention bearing in their hands a promissory note, and they ask its redemption by the American Federation of Labor. They ask the liquidation of this outstanding obligation, and they ask that these raids against their jurisdiction by affiliated organizations be terminated and stopped—these nocturnal, surreptitious raids in secret conferences while men are engaged in a life and death economic struggle, and are then told that their jurisdiction has been raided and part of their men have been taken away from them. That is what they ask. That is what they ask, and by the record they have the right to ask it.

There are those in this convention and there are probably some who will follow me who will say that their union has been organized longer than the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers or longer than the United Mine Workers of America, or longer than the American Federation of Labor, and that they have never yielded to the American Federation of Labor their inherent right to take their members where they find them. But those men sat in the St. Louis convention of 1910 and those men sat in the Atlanta convention of 1911, and some of those men sat upon the Executive Council in the intervening years, and they knew of this action. Now, when lean days befall the Mine, Mill and Smelter workers, when the power of the Anaconda Copper Company, the Guggenheim Copper Company, the Chino Copper Company, the Hearsts in the metalliferous industry become so great that they are practically able to destroy that struggling organization, because a few of the craft organizations were able to enter into that industry and secure a few members, they want now to disregard their record on the books of the American Federation of Labor and continue their invasion of the jurisdiction of a sister organization.

What, may I ask, do the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers get out of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor except protection? For what do they pay their tax but for protection and co-operation and help? If they can't get that protection and that co-operation and help, why should they pay their tax? They come here today, pleading

for that protection—that protection that is accorded to the strong in the American Federation of Labor and should be accorded to the weak.

How are the strong protected? Well, when the President of the Metal Trades Department was a witness before the Executive Council on this question I asked him the question, why did not the Metal Trades Department make the same kind of an agreement for the craftsmen employed in the coal mines of Montana, operated by the Anaconda Copper Company. He said he did not know anything about that, that was not in issue, he didn't even know they had coal mines. Then I asked him, "In the event that you knew they had coal mines and in the event that the Anaconda Copper Company offered you the same kind of an agreement for its coal mines in Montana that it offers you for its copper properties, would you take them?" He said that he would call a meeting of his associates and they would have a caucus on it. Well, I will say they had a caucus, and the kind of a caucus they had on the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers was a different kind. They took those men. They got 600 men out of it. Some raid! Fifteen or sixteen organizations making a raid of that character, and what did they get in the form of loot? They got some 600 men, an organization of thirty-eight to forty men for each organization—marvelous loot! Thirty-eight or forty!

I told the Executive Council and I tell this convention that I regard it as a raid, as a thrust at the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of America, because if the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers can be emasculated with impunity, regardless of the record of the American Federation of Labor upon the question of jurisdiction, then the United Mine Workers of America can be raided with equal impunity.

President Green said to me that day that I did not need to be alarmed, because I knew that those organizations were not going to raid the United Mine Workers of America. I did know that before he told me that, but that is hardly a premise upon which we can justify the action of the Executive Council on a question that involves the integrity of an affiliated organiza-

tion. Some day, perhaps, the United Mine Workers of America will offer greater protection to a struggling sister organization in the hard rock mining industry, but until that day comes about, the United Mine Workers of America demand that the American Federation of Labor protect that organization according to the record, according to its jurisdiction, according to the action of the Executive Council, according to the action of the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor.

That is all there is to this question. There isn't anything else. If some gentleman challenges the right of the American Federation of Labor to take the action it took in Atlanta in 1911, then he is just twenty odd years behind with his protest, and it ill behooves him now to come here and plead that proposition that he lost in the Atlanta convention, and that President Gompers referred to in this telegram of January, 1911, to the United Mine Workers of America, which they believed—our delegates believed that when President Gompers told us.

There is justice, and there is justice—justice to the weak and justice to the strong. The United Mine Workers of America happens to be strong. It is perfectly safe. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers happen to be not quite so strong. They are in jeopardy.

We come here to this common council and here in this parliament of labor we ask that the books be brought out and we ask that judgment be rendered according to the evidence and according to the record. In the substitute motion I have offered to this convention there is every consideration to these craft organizations that have entered into their contracts. We do not want those contracts impaired. We want them to expire by limitation. The craft organizations under this substitute can continue to enjoy those contracts, if they are enjoying them, until they expire, but when they expire we want this organization to recognize the right of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to have jurisdiction over all of the employees in that industry except those that are exempted in the words of President Gompers. They yield that exception.

There is the story. It needs no argument. Upon your conscience rests the judgment. It is a question of whether you will liquidate and sustain, uphold and maintain the word which the American Federation of Labor gave to this union—what Delegate Frey calls a silent contract. Will you maintain it or will you repudiate it? I cannot, by my feeble words, affect your judgment in any way. I can only call your attention to the morality of the question. It is for you to decide whether you will render moral judgment or whether you will render a judgment based upon expediency and personal convenience, or whether you will render a judgment that will be biased on account of your affection for some of the organizations that are involved in this question.

But the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, flanked with its sister organization, the United Mine Workers of America, enters this hall today and appears before this bar and they ask for the rendition of justice. They ask for the rendition of an award here based upon this record, and not based upon quibbling nor the desire for imperialistic expansion upon the part of any successful craft organization which may have invaded that jurisdiction. We leave the judgment with you. Upon you be the responsibility.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman and delegates. Listening to the previous speaker you would imagine that all of the craft organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were a set of pirates. He has referred to records which he says are the records of the action of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case did he refer to written consents of any of the craft organizations giving to the Western Federation of Miners, when they were re-chartered in 1911, jurisdiction over all craftsmen employed by any company that might be employing members of the Western Federation of Miners.

The constitution of the American Federation of Labor clearly defines that the jurisdiction of craft organizations shall not be imposed upon when granting charters to another international without the written consent of that organization, and I defy the for-

mer speaker to produce any written consents of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America conceding to the Western Federation of Miners any of the jurisdiction of our organization.

Taking for granted that there was a written consent given, why is it that there has been no complaint on the part of the Western Federation of Miners, now known as the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, for twenty-four years? And I presume I take it for granted that that same situation applies to many of the other craft organizations. He attempted dramatically to tell you about 6,600 men being on strike and that the agreement entered into by the Anaconda Copper Company only affected 600 of those men, and then he tried to show what a wonderful loot, as he called it, was distributed among the craft organizations.

I wonder does the gentleman know that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners had local unions in the three cities particularly mentioned, in the state of Montana, many years prior to the granting of the charter to the Western Federation of Miners? In Anaconda a local of the Brotherhood was chartered in 1889; in Butte and Great Falls, locals were chartered in 1890. From that time on to the present men of our craft have been employed by this company—perhaps not steadily all the time, but at least when the opportunity was offered them for employment and the necessity of the carpenter to work for the company. When this agreement was entered into our organization became a party to it, and that agreement contained only two men of our trade, as it did the other craft organizations. Furthermore, it was understood that no one coming under the agreement with the Anaconda Copper Company would return to work until the company had reached a settlement with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. If that isn't giving support to men of other organizations, I want to know what term you would apply to it.

The former speaker referred to a jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers, but he did not tell you that the United Mine Workers, within the recent past, or within the last two years, has started to extend the jurisdiction beyond the original jurisdiction

recognized by themselves and by the other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

He didn't tell you that the Mine Workers as well as the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers are now claiming all men that are employed by any particular mining company, whether it be to work on a mine building or on a building in the city owned by those particular companies. He didn't tell you that when this protest came before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Brown, representing the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, admitted that he was laying claim to all employees of the Anaconda Copper Company, to the extent of those that were employed in uptown office buildings and theatres, if you please.

Now, just imagine the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers having jurisdiction over musicians, moving picture operators, service employes, maintenance men, and all of the various building crafts that would be required for the erection, maintenance, alteration or repair of buildings! Visualize, if you can, and say what kind of an organization he is talking about and what kind of jurisdiction he is asking this convention to assign to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

He did not tell you that his own organization, in Jenkins, Kentucky, southern Illinois and Terre Haute, Indiana, is claiming construction work on buildings because they are being erected by some mining company that is employing members of the United Mine Workers of America in their mines. Yet he endeavors to evade—not yet, but he does intend to evade the issue when he reads a telegram from former President Gompers. There is no one in this convention who has more respect and regard for the past President of the American Federation of Labor, but even though he did send the telegram I find no change in this constitution wherein it is provided that jurisdiction of that character might be given to the Western Federation of Miners.

I just want to call these few facts to your attention, and further call to your attention that the issue we had up here yesterday afternoon and last evening is only being brought again in a different form. Are we who represent craft organi-

zations going to allow this abridgment of our rights? I, for one, am not going to do it. The gentleman was very magnificent when he said in his proposed amendment to take the place of the report of the committee, that the agreements entered into by the Anaconda Copper Company might be continued to their termination. That is very kind of him to grant that privilege, but as far as I am concerned, any contract we have with the Anaconda Copper Company or any other company will continue without asking the consent of Delegate Lewis.

I want to repeat again, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that this is only another way of bringing to us the issue we decided last night, and I hope the delegates will again show their fairness and their desire to abide by the constitution of the American Federation of Labor by casting a vote for the committee's report and against the amendment, cast as decisive a vote as we did last night, so that the question will be settled once and for all.

Delegates Robinson, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: Mr. Chairman, delegates to this convention—Much has been said here this afternoon in regard to a strike that took place in Butte, Montana, in Anaconda and Great Falls, Montana. I have heard several delegates say that the ones who talked about it didn't know what they were talking about, but I think I am qualified to speak with regard to the strike that occurred in these three cities. At the time the strike occurred, on May 8, 1934, I was secretary of the Butte Miners' Union No. 1. I think that I am qualified to speak about the whole strike, everything that took place during the strike, with the one exception that I do not know what took place in the conference in Washington, D. C. I don't know what happened there.

I want to go on record here as thanking the members of the locals of the crafts involved in that strike. Those men came out with us 100 per cent. We put up a united front that was probably never equaled in the history of the labor movement. Every craft came off the hill with us at that time. But when, during the strike, we had negotiated for quite some time we were turned down. Finally negotiations ceased for a period of time. Then during the middle of

the summer it was decided by members of the entire strike committee, made up of members of the miners' union and all the different crafts concerned, there was not one craft that was not represented, that the best possible way to take care of the situation there would be to get a conference in Washington through the Department of Labor.

We were making preparations for this when we received word that the crafts were sending certain international organization heads to Butte; that they were coming there under sealed orders. None of the crafts knew a thing about it, nobody seemed to be able to find out a thing in that regard, and then finally, upon the entrance of Delegate Frey, they finally presented the crafts there an agreement. This agreement it seems had been negotiated in Washington by—I don't know who. It was negotiated with the heads of the Anaconda Coal Mining Company.

They presented this agreement to the various crafts and told them that they would have an opportunity to vote upon it; but instead of taking the vote of each individual organization and asking them whether or not they wanted to accept it or reject it, they took the sum total vote of all the crafts involved. Some of them voted unanimously to reject the proposition, some of them voted to accept it. The weaker locals, the ones that did not have any representatives, practically uninvolved in the strike, voted for it, naturally. The others that were really involved in the strike voted to reject the proposition because it did not give them much.

Up to this time we have managed to negotiate far enough so that we have a much better agreement than the agreement brought back from Washington by Delegate Frey. It wasn't due to the agreement reached in Washington that the men decided not to go back to work until the miners had negotiated an agreement; it was due to the fact that when we entered the strike early in May we had a signed agreement with all the organizations that no one organization would go back to work until all reached an agreement. Neither Washington nor the international union can take credit for that.

Finally, after this proposition was presented to the miners for them to mull over, we met with the officials of the company and they asked us to accept the same agreement that had been negotiated for the crafts. We refused. They said that no one in Washington could make an agreement we would accept. We kept on and managed to chisel a little more out of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company.

Now, I bring this to you to prove this one thing, that had we been all in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization, like the jurisdiction that was granted to us in 1911, there would have been no negotiations entered into by any one but us. We would have been the ones, we, the ones who work in and around the mines, we who go down in the holes and sweat and work, would be the ones to negotiate the agreement, not some one in Washington who probably doesn't know what the inside of a mine looks like.

We had a united front, but it was in the form of a chain, and, as you know the old saying, a chain is only as strong as its weakest link. The Anaconda Copper Company is a large company and a strong one, and they decided to find the weakest link. They looked all over for the weakest link. They could not find it in Anaconda or Butte, but they came to Washington and found the weak link, they found it where the men involved did not have anything to say about it. Then they came and took us by storm.

Much has been said here about the law of the American Federation of Labor. We agree that there is a law in the American Federation of Labor, and we agreed to abide by that law, but we all know that laws are made and that interpretations are put on them, and it is up to some high tribunal to finally put the real interpretation on them.

The law of the American Federation of Labor provides that for a charter to be granted to any organization the American Federation of Labor must first decide that that organization isn't infringing upon the rights of any other union, unless the other union agrees in writing that they are relinquishing their jurisdiction. Now I want to point out to you that we have the law

of the American Federation of Labor as laid down here, and also we have the interpretation of the law as interpreted by the highest tribunal of labor, which is the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I would like to read to you from the record so that you will know that we are not trying at this time to infringe upon the right of anybody, and that the law has been interpreted and that a certain policy has been set up. I would like to state further that this policy I speak of here was set up before the Western Federation of Miners became a part of the American Federation of Labor, before they had any voice in the matter. I want to point out also for my own personal self that this policy of the American Federation of Labor was set up seven years before I came into this world.

This is the proceedings of the 1911 convention of the American Federation of Labor. The way the discussion arose was due to the fact that the Machinists' organization at that time decided that their jurisdiction had been infringed upon, so they asked for an interpretation of it by President Gompers. The record reads:

Vice-President O'Connell of the Machinists' Union raised the point of order on Section 11 of Article IX of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor which says:

"No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national, international, trade, or Federal labor union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the consent of such unions."

Going on further, the record says:

"The question involves the point of whether a charter can be issued to the Western Federation of Miners with the claim of the delegate of the International Association of Machinists that its jurisdiction is being trespassed and that it has not given its consent to the issuance of the charter. The constitutional provision quoted as a barrier was adopted in the convention of the American Federation of Labor in the year 1900. The following year the convention of the American Federation of Labor appointed a special committee for the purpose of more clearly defining the policy of our Federation upon the question involved, and as developed by the

results of the operation of Section 11, Article IX of the constitution. That special committee reported to the convention of 1901, and that report was adopted. The declaration of the 1901 conventions contains the following:

"We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial in our movement; for without the recognition and application of these qualities any decision we may formulate will be futile. We, therefore, recommend as follows:

"As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from the fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition, the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact that in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations have jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions."

That is the policy that was set up in 1901, the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Then to go further with President Gompers' ruling:

"The declaration proceeds to state that this declaration shall not change decisions of the American Federation of Labor regarding jurisdictional claims heretofore made. That declaration of the 1901 convention has not been changed by the American Federation of Labor. It was a deliberate act of the American Federation of Labor, and, fully conscious of the existence of Section 11 of Article IX of the constitution; and in so far as that declaration is concerned, it is a modification of and a construction upon Section 11 of Article IX of the constitution.

"The Chair holds that it is for this convention to determine the limitations upon which a charter may be issued to the Western Federation of Miners, but that the point

of order as raised by Delegate O'Connell is not sustained."

That was the ruling of President Gompers. Vice President O'Connell said he was sorry to do it but it necessitated his taking an appeal from the ruling of President Gompers. So the appeal was taken and the vote was as follows:

"The decision of President Gompers was sustained by a vote of 146 in the affirmative to 48 in the negative."

Nothing like that five to four decision that was given out in Washington some time ago.

So I think—I don't think—I know that that should prove that we, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, who are the successor of the Western Federation of Miners, was granted that jurisdiction by the American Federation of Labor. We are trying to organize and go along those lines. The law has been interpreted for you. It is not necessary for this convention to make another interpretation of it.

Now I ask you to go along and give us your support on this matter. If you don't give us the support you are changing the policy of the American Federation of Labor. That was the big feature yesterday—the policy of the American Federation of Labor. Now I will give you the policy as outlined as long ago as 1901. Some delegate stated yesterday that he was afraid we were not moving along fast enough, or that we would stay with old tradition. Well, if you want to stay with the old traditions, stay with the ruling of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Tracy, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention—I arise to oppose the substitute submitted by Delegate Lewis. As a representative of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers I want to say that I take the responsibility, the entire responsibility, of bringing about negotiations upon the contracts for the craft organizations in Montana with the Anaconda Copper Company. I am not going to dodge that responsibility.

I felt it my duty to attempt to bring about that negotiation, because those that I represent were directly involved and were affected by the strike that was called by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, which my members had no voice in. After the Mine,

Mill and Smelter Workers called that strike in May of 1934, my members at Two Points hesitated to respond because of the laws of our international organization. After a complete and thorough investigation of that strike situation in Anaconda, Great Falls and Butte, Mont., I approved of the strike, and ordered the Electrical Workers in Great Falls, Anaconda and Butte to go on strike in sympathy with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

After some months of strike, and upon the failure of the committee representing the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to bring to a satisfactory conclusion that strike, my members appealed to me and I personally took it upon myself to seek conferences with the officers of the Anaconda Copper Company. Those meetings were granted with me personally, and later meetings were held with Michael McDonough, of the Building Trades Council, and John P. Frey, of the Metal Trades Council, who had authority to speak for all the Building Trades concerned in that strike.

We continued our negotiations with the Anaconda Copper Company and sold them the idea that the time had come for them to make peace with the men involved in that strike. We sold them the idea of a closed shop for all departments, both building trades and metal trades, with a substantial increase in working conditions, with an increase in wages. Even with the low price of copper at that time we brought about the closed shop agreement for the Building Trades class and the Metal Trades class. We said to the officers of the Anaconda Copper Company that we would not permit the men to go back to work until some time when they made peace with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union. The company said at that time they would never enter into a closed shop agreement with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

One of the many mis-statements made with regard to this subject was about the meetings. The statement was that the meetings were held in Washington. They were not held in Washington, they were held in New York City. The final meeting, the one in which the agreement was signed by the two departments of the American Federation of Labor, was held in Washington. They told

us in the presence of Government officials who assisted us materially in our negotiations that they would not sign a closed shop contract with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. We advised them that they had better retract that statement, that the day would come when they would be obliged to sign a closed shop contract with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers as well as with the building trades craft. We refused to allow our members to go back until they made peace with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, and we said further that every concession that was granted to the craft organizations must be granted by the Anaconda Copper Company to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and today for the first time the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers are enjoying closed shops conditions.

I have no apologies to make to anyone for the service I rendered to my own craft organization and to the other craft organizations affiliated with this American Federation of Labor. I did not attempt for four months after the strike was called to interfere with that situation. I found that the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers had an ulterior motive and that was to capture the jurisdiction of every organization in the copper industry, of which the Electrical Workers have had an organization in Butte, Montana, since 1896, an organization in Great Falls since 1908 and an organization in Anaconda since 1914.

You heard the statement that we have undertaken to take the men out of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization. Let me say to you, and you cannot truthfully deny it, that you never had an electrical worker in your organization during the year 1935 when that strike was called. I took nothing from the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and I know that no other craft organization did.

I resent the statements made here today that we scabbed on the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. I am glad to have this opportunity to bring forth to the men involved the true facts in this Anaconda Copper Company case.

I saw the United Mine Workers' hand in this picture. I knew what they had done to the craft organizations in the coal mining industry, and what they are attempting to

take away from the craft organizations in the copper mining industry the same as they have in the coal mining industry. Yes, they have done it in the coal mining industry.

Just recently in the State of Illinois some of the coal operators contracted to give an individual contractor a contract to install a coal washer. That contractor was an employer of union building trades mechanics, but he was advised by the operator that he could not use the craft organization in the installation of that washer, that he would have to employ members of the United Mine Workers. He had a closed shop agreement with my organization, agreeing to pay the building trades' wage scale in that community. He was deprived of that opportunity.

What did the United Mine Workers in that district do? They took mechanics into their organization that had never belonged to a union organization, gave them membership in their organization and put them on the job at a wage scale less than 50 per cent of the recognized building trades scale in that vicinity.

Oh, I stop sometimes and wonder what the motive behind this mine workers' representative is. I belong to one of those weak organizations in the copper industry and in the coal industry that they want to be so helpful to, but he is trying to crucify me for the benefit of someone else who might be willing to follow him in his thought relative to this labor movement.

In the Anaconda copper case the craft organization cooperated 100 per cent with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and protected their rights to their jurisdiction and passed all those benefits to them without any effort or trouble on their part, and today they are working under one of the best agreements they ever had in that industry.

Statements have been made about the secret meetings in Washington. There was nothing secret about those meetings. I did not find it necessary to advise the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of what I was doing in behalf of those I was representing. I advised my own people, and I believe every other craft organization advised their people; but when the time came to advise the

people collectively in the three points involved in Montana we told a representative to go out there and advise them as to what we had done and to give them the true facts and a true picture of the efforts and of the agreement reached.

When that representative arrived in Butte, Montana, wonderful hospitality was shown him in the way of advising him by telephone that he had better take the next train out of town, that his services and his presence there were not desired, and if he didn't they would see that he did.

Well, he didn't respond to it. He stayed there and advised and took a vote of the crafts affected and they accepted the agreement and they are working under it today, and even with the possibility—I want you to get this point—of an advance in pay. This agreement calls for an advance in pay in step with the rise of copper. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers during the last thirty days agreed to continue under the present agreement for a period of, I believe, six months, even though there has been some slight rise due to war conditions, and the possibility of a big rise in the price of copper in the next six months. So far the craft organizations have not agreed to that. We want to take every advantage of that agreement. We want our men in the copper industry to benefit by every advantage that we have been able to secure for them.

We have had our people in this industry for thirty-five years. There hasn't been any complaint about our having our members in the copper industry until the last two years. There is no question that I know of, there is no record I can find, where the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers ever complained about us having an organization in those cities. I might say that the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization was practically dormant for ten years, but we took care of our people employed in those mines.

Some of the speakers here would have you believe that the craft organizations, have been the backbone of the American Federation of Labor and have been the most helpful to the United Mine Workers, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and others in the time of their distress. Well

do I remember the pleadings of the representatives of those organizations when they were being attacked by their employers and how graciously and how freely we gave to them, and I have no regret for it. Should that come again, I would be glad to do the same thing as we did in the past for them. I am as willing to help the strong organization as I am to help the weak organization.

I wonder if we have ferreted out the real purpose of this attempt on this organization at this time. I saw a lot and heard a lot during the past two years in the halls of the Commerce Building in Washington, D. C., during the activities of the NRA. I had many who were disassociated with labor organizations come to me and advise me that the only solution for the American Labor movement was industrial organizations. I wonder why they got so interested in our welfare, why they were so willing to advise us that this was a happy solution of all our problems. Oh, yes, I saw all through those halls and in the lobby of the hotels in Washington that this propaganda had been going on for a long time. It was put to this convention in a very forceful manner, and you acted upon it in a forceful manner and I hope you will continue to so act and not be misled by false statements and dreams of what you can do for the labor movement if you adopt this industrial plan of organization.

I never heard one of the speakers recite from this platform what industrial organization has secured for its members. Now, my organization didn't benefit as much from the NRA as some few organizations that are represented in this hall today. I don't want a law to solve the problems of my organization; I want the organization itself to solve its problems, for when we resort to statutes and to law for those we represent there is no need for men belonging to organizations. If all the benefits are to be secured by law there is no need of men belonging to the union.

I say we had better put ourselves on guard, because there is something more behind this move than we see at this time, and I think we will in time see all of it.

I hope the convention will go on record in favor of the report of the committee. We haven't taken anything away from the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and we

don't want them to take anything away from us. That jurisdiction has been ours for thirty-five years. We were recognized in this industry before they were ever organized, and this body cannot take away from us that jurisdiction which was granted to us without our consent and our authority.

I wonder if you got the significance of a statement made today when the law was being read. Stop and think when it comes to affecting you how serious it will be if the jurisdiction is all given to one organization. I hope you will solve this question as you solved the question yesterday, based upon facts, and not consider the statements made here, many of which were false. We have nothing to deny about our actions. The craft organizations will well take care of themselves. They want to contribute to this organization, as they have always done, but in return we want the right that has been granted to us under our charter.

I thank you.

Delegate Bittner, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates—our time in the labor movement has not been taking up organizing jurisdictional disputes; it has been taken up in organizing these men into our trade union movement, and this is the first time that I have ever invaded the field of jurisdictional disputes and argued against fellow trade unionists whom I believe have violated the pledge of the American Federation of Labor given to these men who are officers and members of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union.

I rise to support the substitute offered by Delegate Lewis, and when I do that I am not driving back to this convention the question that was settled last evening by the delegates assembled here. I am going to try to argue this question on its merits, just as it is and just as it has been brought into this convention. There is nothing that I see that needs to be ferreted out, as Delegate Tracy wanted to do. No, but it seems to me that when these gentlemen representing the Metal Trades Department and those who represent the building trades organizations made this agreement in New York, there was something rotten in Denmark at that time.

Not a single member of any of these craft unions who were on strike were brought into the conference with the Anaconda Copper

Company at its offices in New York City. Not one of the men were there who understood the conditions existing at the plants of the Anaconda Copper Company, but these gentlemen went to New York and met the officers of the Anaconda Copper Company and made this agreement without anybody's knowledge except theirs and the representatives of the Anaconda Copper Company.

They say the miners were protected; that this agreement provided that the craftsmen would not go to work until the miners' strike was settled. Well, what kind of an agreement was that? Why did you make that kind of agreement before you knew that the miners were going to be able to make a settlement with the Anaconda Copper Company? If there has ever been a ridiculous statement made to a labor convention, it was the statement that the other crafts would not go to work until the miners settled their strike. That is the damndest, foolishhest thing I ever heard of!

Delegate Hutcheson took the law, the constitution. Who interprets the constitution finally? If this convention of the American Federation of Labor interprets the constitution of the Federation, then can the United Mine Workers of America, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, or any other union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor go out and interpret the constitution for themselves? Certainly not. When this question was up in 1911, it was, as has been told you, brought up on a point of order. President Gompers ruled on that point of order and the convention on an appeal from the decision of the Chair, rendered a verdict in favor of the decision of President Gompers. That was the final interpretation of the law. Why, there isn't a man or a woman within the sound of my voice who is a delegate who will argue with me that the convention hasn't a right to interpret the law of the American Federation of Labor.

Then they say that written consent wasn't given. And why was no complaint made over this period since 1911? The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union that received this charter had no complaint to make. They were given jurisdiction over all the men who worked around the mines and mills except those machinists. I have never heard anybody yet that has a bad case that didn't wrap the

flag around themselves and quote the constitution. That is what every Old Dealer says throughout this country at the present time.

Delegate Tracy made some pointed remarks. He said his organization was weak in the mining industry. It is not weak, Dan, in the coal mining industry, you haven't any organization in the coal mining industry, and, more than that, you are not going to have it as long as the coal miners' organization lives. You may as well understand that now as at any other time.

I have no quarrel with any craft union. The coal miners are organized to suit themselves, and we say to the electricians and the carpenters and the machinists: "You can do likewise, but when you are organized in a manner that you desire, don't intrude upon the rights of the members of the United Mine Workers of America." That is what we say to you and that is what we mean and that is what we will do.

Brother Hutcheson gets up here and almost cries about the mine workers taking his carpenters. He never had them, they never belonged to any union. We organized them. Recently he had some members that he took over after the timbermen's union became defunct, and he found them so hard to handle that he told us we could have them.

Yes, there is something the matter with this. When we began negotiations with the coal operators in February of this year, the representatives of the Machinists' union, the great fighting Wharton's union, appeared before the coal operators and offered this proposition: That they would take 20 cents a day less than the mine workers were demanding and where we had the seven-hour day, they would put an eight-hour day into effect. And then they will stand up here and declare to the high heavens for a shorter work day and a shorter work week! That is what we are complaining about.

We have no objection to the craft organizations organizing the men in the crafts. There is plenty of work for them to do. What we object to is that when we organize them and get them a wage scale, they come sneaking in like thieves in the night attempting to claim jurisdiction over

them. I told the representative of the Machinists' Union in Charleston, when he complained about the mine workers having machinists in their union, that any man, whether he has a union card in his pocket or not, who attempts to take a single member away from the United Mine Workers will be treated the same as we treat Baldwin thugs.

The machinists are the only union, at least as far as I know, in West Virginia, that has attempted to claim jurisdiction at the mines. And that is all they did, Mr. Chairman, just claimed jurisdiction. They haven't any members now and they won't have twenty years from now. There is a lot of work for them to do around the Westinghouse and other establishments. If they want to organize machinists in West Virginia, we will do the same as we did in Charleston, when the United Mine Workers put every auto mechanic in Charleston in the Machinists' Union and made a scale for them when you had no representative in that city or who would come to that city.

We are willing to help. Go down into those mining camps and for the first time in the history of such notorious non-union towns as Logan and Beckley and Montgomery, you will find the crafts solidly organized, organized by the United Mine Workers of America.

I heard my friend Shanessy, of the Hair Cutters' Union, crying around here yesterday. I remember he wrote President Green a letter complaining that no organizing is being done by the American Federation of Labor so far as these close shavers were concerned. I answered that letter some time ago, and yet in Charleston, W. Va., there is only one barber shop out of seventy that is organized; not a single representative of the barbers' organization has been there, and that organized barber shop joined the local mine workers.

You argue about the constitution. You are just twenty-four years behind the times. Just about as far behind the times as the Liberty League lawyers who are arguing the constitution. This action was taken back in 1911. This jurisdiction was given to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union in 1911, given to them not only by the Executive Council, but by the action of the convention that, by an overwhelming vote, approved the action of the Executive Council. That is the charter these men

have. That is the kind of a union which, until recently, they believed they had.

Now you come into this convention with this question. Listen to me for a moment. I will say this to you, gentlemen, you had better never attempt to make a separate agreement and divide the forces of the United Mine Workers of America. Imagine, if you will, these men on strike. Delegate Tracy said they never had any trouble before. No, because none of these craft unions ever came on strike against the Anaconda Copper Company or joined the miners when they were on strike. They all worked. That is not the kind of trade unionism my father taught me, and it is not the kind I am teaching my people, and if that is the kind of trade unionism the American Federation of Labor is trying to teach the American working man, as I said before, the responsibility is yours.

I have no fight with the craft unions, I have no fight with the American Federation of Labor; I haven't been an officer of it at all, but I have been paying my dues to it for thirty-five years, and if I didn't pay my dues along with the other labor unions who make up the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council wouldn't be sitting here and rendering decisions.

The question boiled down here is not one that was settled yesterday. You are attempting to say that because there hasn't been a single, solitary man take this floor and attempt to justify or defend his action in this raid upon the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union. These men all went out on strike together. The strike was called by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union and then a group meets in New York and says, "Well, the Anaconda Copper Company ought to sign an agreement with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union. We are getting in on the ground floor because I think we can demonstrate to the Anaconda Copper Company that it is to their interest, in order that the miners' strike might be broken, to sign with us." That is what they meant.

Delegate Lewis has plainly told you the action of the mine workers' convention in Columbus in 1910. The President of this organization—and we are proud of him, but we are not proud of the position he is in

this afternoon, attempting to defend this report—but we are proud of him as a trade unionist—he knows the action of that convention, and every other delegate to this convention of the American Federation of Labor, and these gentlemen who brought in the report will understand the question of jurisdiction so far as the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union is concerned. So, let us settle this question plainly on the narrow proposition of giving to this union the jurisdiction it has and which you gave it when you gave it a charter.

Is that asking too much? Is it asking too much to say to a convention of the American Federation of Labor, the greatest union there is in this world, with all its faults—is it asking too much when we simply submit the proposition to you of keeping the bond of the American Federation of Labor? Or are you going to say to the trade union movement, to the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, "Well, you can't believe a word we say, because we are giving you our bond today and the first opportunity we have we will demonstrate to the world that we are a pack of damned liars"?

That is strong language, but this is an occasion that demands strong language. As far as the United Mine Workers are concerned, they are not fighting for this resolution for themselves, because I say to you definitely, unequivocally and without reservation that whether you grant this request of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union or whether you don't, the United Mine Workers of America is going to keep its membership intact. We are not afraid of you. We don't take you seriously as some of these weaker organizations do.

Brother Frey, don't you know that out of three and one-half million men who make up the American Federation of Labor there isn't a fraction of them who know who makes up the Executive Council? The international unions do the work. They are the people in direct contact with the rank and file of American labor. So I say advisedly, don't take yourselves too seriously because nobody else does. I am sure I voice the sentiments of the delegates here.

The Executive Council issued an order that the building trades organizations should do so-and-so. The building trades organiza-

tions thought just as I do—"Boys, you are all right in your place, but don't be so serious about it!" The question came into the convention and it isn't settled yet. I think so far as the mine workers are concerned, we should have let those fellows eat up one another.

We took a crack at Mussolini in this convention. I know he must have trembled in his boots at that resolution you adopted. Then we put an embargo on Italy and the President of the American Federation of Labor, in the ringing tones in which he can issue declarations, stated that the great American Federation of Labor believes in the policy of Government whereby those who are governed should decide what kind of government they should have. And the delegates roared and threw their hats in the air. And then when it comes to the trade union movement at home, something we can deal with, they say, "You cannot have the kind of organization you want, you can have what we want."

A Socialist who had three pigs was asked, "Pat, don't you think this land should be divided up? And don't you think these houses should be divided up? And don't you think this money should be divided up?" Pat said, yes, he believed it.

"Well," said the friend, "don't you think your three pigs should be divided up?"

"Hell! no," said Pat. "Why not?" asked the friend. "Because," said Pat, "that is getting too close to home."

We resolved against this and against that, and then when it came down to the practical question of the trade union movement, you say you can only have the kind of organization you can vote over in the convention.

I hope the delegates will not accept this as an attempt to bring in a question that was settled.

A Delegate: I rise to a point of order.

President Green: State your point of order.

A Delegate: The electricians have already gone on strike. The mike is out of order and we cannot hear the speaker.

Delegate Bittner: I have a pretty good voice and I will talk louder.

President Green: You are not a very good mine worker if you cannot talk loud enough to make them hear.

Delegate Bittner: I say to you, Delegate Tracy and Delegate Hutcheson, that I have great respect for your unions. They are good organizations and you have fought just as hard as any one else for your unions. I don't blame you for wanting what somebody else has. That is what Mussolini thinks. If it helps the Italians, he doesn't care what becomes of Ethiopia. I don't blame you for fighting for the things here that will help you. I know something about brotherly love. We want our brothers to love us and we love our brothers when we want to.

I know something about jurisdiction strikes. I suppose we will have them long after this delegation has passed to its reward. I have nothing against the Secretary of the committee, Brother Frey, but I think he takes himself too seriously. He is a fine fellow, he has done great work for the labor movement, but he can be wrong just as well as I can. I am wrong sometimes, but he is wrong a little oftener.

I am only telling you today what you said you would do back in 1911. Now, if you are not going to do that—well, I can hardly believe that you are not—but after seeing the actions of some of these fellows it is hard to know what you would do in a pinch. I am afraid you would throw a curved ball when the signal is straight. I hope you won't do that.

The life of the organization of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers depends upon what we do here. I think, Mr. President, you have been in enough strikes in the mine workers to know that if 6,000 men were on strike and 600 of them deserted, and then another 600 deserted, it would not be long until the organization was destroyed. I believe that labor organizations are the only institutions of a human kind in this country that can bring the workers those things that they are entitled to.

I believe in organized labor. I have always been taught to belong to my union. I say to you, now this question is squarely before you, remember this: If you vote against the substitute offered by Delegate Lewis, you cast your vote to say that the word and bond of the American Federation of Labor cannot be depended upon. If you cast your vote for the substitute offered by Delegate Lewis, then you stand

four-square to the trade union movement and the world and say, "Once the word of the American Federation of Labor is given, that word is a bond as long as there is any American Federation of Labor."

I thank you.

Delegate Horn: I was rather interested in the story of the pigs. It seems to fit in this case rather well. When you are dividing up the other fellow's pigs, that is socialism, but when you are dividing up your own pigs, that is a pig of another color. I will try to keep as close to the subject as the previous speakers. I want to give you some facts with regard to the members of my organization employed in and around the mines in Montana.

I will have to go back about 28 years, to a time when I met two delegates to our Milwaukee convention. Their names were Fielding and Chancellor, both from Butte, both employed in the mines. In 1910, when I first started out on the road as a general vice-president of our organization, I visited our local unions in Montana, and I was not ordered out of Butte. I was met at the station by those same delegates that I had met three years before and while I was in the city I enjoyed genuine Western hospitality.

I visited our local unions in Anaconda and in Great Falls during the year 1910. I organized the members of our craft employed in and around the mines and smelters in Helena, in 1910. And from that day to this those men have been in continuous good standing in our organization, just exactly a quarter of a century.

In the city of Butte, I think you have as near a 100 per cent organization of our craft as any other organization could have. Most of their men are employed in the mines. All of those in Great Falls and Anaconda are employed in the mines. I call your attention to the statement that we are asking someone to give up something. How in the name of Heaven can they give up that which we have had for twenty-eight years? I am the chief executive of our organization and I ought to know what we have got.

In regard to this charter that is supposed to have been issued. Well, I don't

know anything about that, but I want to call your attention to this: That whether it was issued or not it must be a strange twist of fate that in all the intervening years since that time the members of our craft have remained members of our organization without any compulsion on our part, and when they were engaged in the strike with the rest of them, we financed that strike. When we got a telegram from Great Falls asking what our men should do, we said, "Get out with the miners." And the man who was then president of the organization has a copy of that telegram.

Now, get this plain. We have had these men to my own knowledge back as far as 1907, possibly longer. Much has been said here about what might happen if you divide up an industrial organization, even though in some cases that baby is not yet born. There have been a lot of tears shed about that, but with dry eyes and without the trace of a smile on your face you can say, "Go after the craft organizations and ask them to slice off something they have had for over a quarter of a century."

Conscious of the fact that our organization is responsible for doing what has been done for the members in our craft in this country, we haven't any apologies for it. Knowing organized labor as I do, I feel that we haven't anything to apologize for. I call your attention to a fact that I do not believe has been mentioned here. These craft organizations were successful in their efforts to have Section 7-A written into NRA and they made it possible for a considerable number of delegates to sit in this convention that otherwise would not be here. Don't forget to give the craft organization credit for bringing you here.

President Green: The hour is drawing late. Does the convention wish to recess and reconvene this evening?

A delegate moved that the rules be suspended and that a recess be taken until eight o'clock.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

At six o'clock p. m., the convention adjourned to reconvene at eight o'clock p. m., October 17th.

NINTH DAY—Thursday Evening Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 8 o'clock.

ABSENTEES

Albano, Alter, Beedie, Bendie, Bender, Billet, Bradley, Breidenbach, W. C.; Brooks, Burke, J.; Burks, J. A.; Burns, T. F.; Braginsky, Biel, Burch, Cashen, Creed, Crother, Campbell, J. C.; Campbell, W. W.; Dahlager, Dallas, Dance, David, Davis, O. E.; Dellums, Dewitt, Doane, Dougherty, Draper, Eardley, Edmundson, Evans, A. A.; Fearn, Flynn, Al.; Goff, Gorman, P. E.; Grois, Haley, Hanoway, Henderson, Howat, Hynes, W. J.; Hein, Jeffries, Kaiser, Katz, La Belle, Lentie, Lovell, Lufrano, Lumley, Lyding, McAloon, McCabe, McCarthy, M. L.; McGillivray, McCloskey, McGurk, McCormick, Mack, Malkovich, Masucci, Matchley, Maxwell, Mayer, Michelson, Miller, Mitch, Mitchell, H. J.; Morgan, E. J.; Morgan, J.; Morningstar, Mortimer, Nadelhoffer, Nafe, Ocker, Osborne, Owens, O'Leary, Palmer, Passage, Pavona, Pickler, Poe, Ravitch, Regan, Richardson, Rosqvist, Ross, Rundie, Ryan, E.; Ryan, J. A.; Russell, Sager, Saltus, Sampson, Sandefur, Schneiderman, Scully, Serra, Shave, Sigman, Slich, Slout, Smith, Stein, Sticht, Swetland, Taylor, Tighe, Turner, Wade, Walsh, M.; Weinberg, Weizenacker, Williams, Wise, Wood, Woodmansee.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees:

Delegate Hesketh: Mr. Chairman, I am one of those delegates who would like to remain until the finish of the convention, but I am not going to be able to remain here if some of the highlights of the convention are going to be allowed to talk for one or two hours while some of the other delegates would like to have two or three minutes. I have enjoyed very much the interesting talks of most of the delegates from the United Mine Workers' Union, but I do not want to sit here and have to listen for an hour or two to the prima donna who ought to be a member of the actors' union and go down to Hollywood.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

President Green: Discussion will be resumed upon that portion of the report of

the committee dealing with the section of the Executive Council's report headed, "Protest of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers."

The Chair recognizes Delegate Kennedy.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers of America: Mr. Chairman and Fellow delegates—The representatives of the organization in which I hold membership and official position have never bothered conventions of the American Federation of Labor much with regard to these jurisdictional propositions. However, this matter now before the convention, while it is in a sense a jurisdictional dispute, goes further than the mere terms of a jurisdictional settlement. It goes into the basic formation of what we considered were two industrial unions within the American Federation of Labor, namely the United Mine Workers of America and the old Western Federation of Miners, now known as the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization.

I want to say very frankly, in analyzing the various statements made from this platform in dealing with this question, that no person speaking on the other side of this question has, as yet, successfully answered or met all the issues involved in this proposition. The Secretary of this committee, in reporting to the convention yesterday on the industrial organization set-up, made his case upon the premise that the charter granted by the American Federation of Labor to an affiliated organization was a contract between the American Federation of Labor and that particular international organization. He did not refer to any section of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, but rested his case substantially upon the declaration that the charter constituted a bill of rights, guaranteed by the American Federation of Labor to such affiliated unions.

Let us take the Secretary of the committee at his word, as that being the foundation, and let us analyze the proposition from there on—not on the constitution of the American Federation of Labor which we have a right to assume was considered by President Gompers and by the Executive

Council when the charter and the bill of rights was granted to the old Western Federation of Miners in 1911.

My friends, I am one of those who knew the officials of the old Western Federation of Miners—Charley Moyer, Charley Mahoney, Guy Miller and many of the other pioneers in the old Western Federation of Miners, and if I know anything about them they would not have accepted a charter that did not give to that organization the industrial set-up within the formation of the old Western Federation. Therefore, as I said before, we have a right to assume that that bill of rights was granted to this organization, and that in granting that bill of rights, the constitution was taken into consideration, just as it was evidently taken into consideration when the original grant was made to the United Mine Workers of America many years before that time.

Some of those organizations lay down the reason that because they happened to have members of their particular craft organized in the metal mining industries they were excepted from the charter granted to the Western Federation of Miners. We can only take the written records, we can only take the reports as they are handed down to us from time to time by the various conventions and by the various meetings of the Executive Council.

The president of the Boilermakers' Organization, in addressing this convention, admitted that the Executive Council did act as they did and that the only exception noted in that bill of rights was the exception granted to the Machinists' organization, and he said in his judgment the only reason that the exception was granted to the Machinists was by virtue of the fact that the Machinists had a member on the Executive Council. Now if that is the case and it was so admitted by Delegate Franklin, then the record indicts their allegation as not being germane to the question before the house. They admit the charter was granted and that the industrial basis was established with the exception of three locals of the Machinists' organization.

The telegram to the convention of the United Mine Workers of America, forwarded by President Gompers, emphasizes and con-

firms that view. And the confirmation voted by the Atlanta convention, based upon an interpretation of the constitution by President Gompers, cements the argument fully in favor of the recording of the fact that an industrial charter was granted to the Western Federation of Miners and naturally to its successor, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union.

What has happened in a collateral way in support of that contention? Well, let me refresh the memory of some of the older members of the Council and the older delegates in these conventions. In 1897 the United Mine Workers of America commenced organization work in the Anthracite region of this country. John Fahey, of Ohio, was sent in and pioneered in that organizing work. There were unions of various crafts located in some of the larger cities of the Anthracite, such as Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Hazelton, and a few other sections of the Anthracite field. When the organization had finally reached the point in the Anthracite resulting in the 1900 strike, and again in the 1902 strike, this very question now before this convention was raised in the Anthracite against the United Mine Workers of America by several craft organizations and among the organizations raising the question, which organization was established in Scranton and Wilkes-Barre and a few other sections, was the organization of which Tim Healy was chairman at this time, the Stationary Firemen. Tim Healy, who was one of the finest characters in the labor movement, and John Fahey argued that dispute finally to where it reached the point where it was determined upon by the man who sent the telegram to the Mine Workers' convention in 1910. That was President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, and it was settled upon the basis that the charter of the United Mine Workers of America gave to it jurisdiction over all men and boys employed in and around the anthracite mines. And Tim Healy and the other gentlemen representing the different crafts in the Anthracite in those years admitted the legality and the righteousness of the ruling of President Gompers and others.

Since that time we have never had any difficulty with respect to these jurisdic-

tional disputes, aside from disputes with the Carpenters' organization from time to time and with the Machinists and other unions, all of which were settled in keeping with the policies of the American Federation of Labor. I remember and can cite an instance in the city of Hazelton when I was President of that District. I had a local union organized in one of the largest machine shops in that district, the Central Pennsylvania Quarry Stripping and Construction Company. This concern did all of the work on the stripping in that district. We had a contract with the employer embracing all of the men in that shop. Eventually the work of that shop was increased to such an extent that they commenced to take outside work. Not only did they do the work incident to their own strippings, but they were doing the machine work for many other employers in that region. When the proposition was put up to me that now we had lost jurisdiction over these machinists, I said, all right, they are out in the field at large, in the commercial field, and I turned an entire local union of machinists with a contract over to the Machinists' organization. Within six months after it was turned over there was neither a contract nor a Machinists' organization in that particular plant.

With respect to the Carpenters' organization, I remember at the Rochester Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we met there with the officials of the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers of America and the Carpenters' organization and we effected a temporary understanding. That understanding was amplified and crystallized into an agreement at the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor. In case after case, including the shops of the coal companies in the Panther Creek Valley, where all of the crafts are organized, we have assisted and co-operated with them to maintain their contacts and their organizations.

And so I say, my friends, that having done this we believe as representatives of the United Mine Workers of America, that we are in this court of equity with clean hands, and we are endeavoring to protect the bill of rights given to us by the American Federation of Labor, and equally so in the case of the Mine, Mill and Smelter

Workers' Union, and that bill of rights provides that we shall have jurisdiction over the employes working inside and outside and around the mining industry in this country.

Now, my friends, go into any international convention of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, go into any convention of the American Federation of Labor. Examine the record and you will find that there never has been any opposition declared against the known bill of rights guaranteed to these two organizations. I am not surprised however, that the Metal Trades are attempting to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization. We had some little experience not so long ago with representatives of organizations composing the metal trades. It happened in the city of Washington when we were fighting with our backs to the wall in an effort to pass the Guffey-Snyder Bill to stabilize the bituminous coal industry. We were opposed by some of the greatest financial interests in this country; in fact, by the greatest financial interests. We were opposed by the railroads of this country. We were opposed by the Chamber of Commerce, by the Manufacturers' Association, and by every group that could be gotten together in opposing the legitimate aims of the United Mine Workers of America, as represented in that legislation.

While we were thus fighting the Metal Trades organization endeavored to secure from the Congress of the United States what they had failed to secure from the American Federation of Labor, namely, jurisdiction over the various crafts in the mining industry, and they presented amendments which were read on the floor of the House of Representatives when delay was dangerous to the success of that bill. They presented these amendments which in substance gave jurisdiction to the various craft organizations over their respective crafts in the mining industry, such as they had not secured and never hoped to secure from the American Federation of Labor. We defeated their amendments in the House of Representatives. Those amendments were presented by a Congressman from New York. We passed the bill through the Lower House and it went to the Senate. We

only had a short time to go in order to insure the passage of that bill before final adjournment. What did we find in the Senate? They were not satisfied with the licking they got in the House. They endeavored to have a Senator from Missouri introduce some amendments in the Senate. They were not introduced by that Senator, but they did induce that Senator to waver in his pledge that he would vote for the passage of the Guffey-Snyder Coal stabilization bill.

Then, my friends, according to the best information we can obtain, they endeavored to have Senator Norris handle their amendments and the Senator refused to handle them. The position taken in the Lower House and in the Senate was that the convention of the American Federation of Labor was the place to obtain jurisdictional rights and not in the Federal Congress of the United States.

And so I say that I am not surprised, after having gone through this situation in Washington, that those various trades that endeavored to crucify and to destroy our chances for that legislation did practically the same thing with respect to the making of these agreements with the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. All the way through, Mr. Chairman and delegates, this effort on the part of these organizations for the past few years has been a consistent although a subtle one, and they have been endeavoring to secure now, either by encroachment directly upon these organizations or through the Federal Congress, jurisdictional rights that were never accorded them by the American Federation of Labor.

These are some of the reasons why the United Mine Workers of America is interested in this particular case, and in the words of the Secretary of this committee, Brother Frey, it is a question of whether the bill of rights or the agreement or the contract shall be enforced in this case as it has been enforced in the other cases. That is the question before this convention.

I want to say that reading one, two, or all of the sections of the constitution does not set aside the rights guaranteed by the charter given to this appellant organization

in this controversy now before this convention. I assume that we want to settle this matter in accordance with the dictates of justice and in good conscience. My friends, those of us who do, and we all do, honor the name and the reputation of Samuel Gompers would certainly not be living up to the ideals of the labor movement and the principles which Gompers enunciated if, in this year of 1935, we had so far forgotten the principles and the teachings of Gompers as to repudiate not only his spoken words but his written words and the records presented in this convention bearing upon this subject.

Some person has raised the question as to whether or not this convention would have a right to settle this matter. Unquestionably it has the right, and unquestionably a right to settle it upon the proper basis and if we have been wrong and the Council has been wrong and there is no question but that they are wrong—then the only thing and the manly thing to do is to admit our mistakes, retrace our steps, get back to basic principles and adjust the matter on the basis guaranteed to this particular organization.

I have endeavored to analyze the proposition as I see it in the light of not only the proven record, but the practice in the mining industry as adjusted from time to time by the American Federation of Labor. And I want to say in passing that I admire a man who fights for the principles that are involved in these great problems, and I as well as my colleagues endeavor to discharge my obligation in handling these matters on a basis of fact.

I am sorry that Delegate Tracy, in discussing this proposition before the convention, strayed from the field of logic and made a gratuitous reference to the time that the United Mine Workers of America were in a life and death struggle and the American Federation of Labor appealed to its affiliated units for aid and for relief in that great fight. I don't think any of us measure our unionism by the amount of aid or relief that we give to those in distress. I have no idea that that is the real conception of the principles of unionism, but if it is, Mr. Chairman, let me give you some figures for the benefit of Delegate Tracy in that con-

nection which might be somewhat of a revelation to him.

In the 45 years that the United Mine Workers of America have been organized as such, our records, meager as they are with respect to our contributions and donations to the labor movement, show that they amounted to \$64,000,000. That is our contribution in our proud history of forty-five years. We are not bragging about it. We were glad to give it because we believe in the old adage that it is better to give than to receive.

Speaking about the amount raised by the last appeal of the American Federation of Labor in our great strike in 1925, 1926 and 1927, the records show that the American labor movement raised in that drive, which was referred to here by innuendo today, the amount of \$488,524.44, among over three or four million members of the American Federation of Labor. Out of that amount one organization, the Bricklayers' International Union, gave practically one-fifth. I only mention this in order to clear up the record and simply to say that on that basis, if we want to measure it that way, we will measure up with the best organization in the American Federation of Labor.

My friends, I am going to conclude by making the statement that the substitute proposition offered by Delegate Lewis as a basis of settlement of this controversy is the legal, the proper and the honorable solution of it. Let the American Labor movement tonight render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's and give to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers that bill of rights and that guarantee of jurisdiction over every person in that industry to be embraced within a jurisdiction of that organization. Do that, and we will discharge our obligation, we will do justice and we will have stood by the record and the name and the reputation of the illustrious Samuel Gompers.

I thank you.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the committee in its report recommends adoption of the action of the Executive

Council, which is to the effect that the claim for jurisdiction under discussion was unsound. The amendment offered was that the convention should change the action of the Executive Council. That is the question. During all of the debate it has been evident that many questions having nothing whatsoever to do with the question before the convention were being dragged in.

Before making it clear that the convention up to this time has been deliberately confused as to the facts, I want to clear away a little underbrush, and perhaps relieve some personal feeling. During the year and particularly since January of this year, a newspaper discussion of this question has been taking place. The merits that we are considering tonight that are involved in a difference of opinion over jurisdiction between certain unions have been discussed through the press by leading representatives of the American trade union movement. A newspaper man who received the story from one side came to me, and I refused to discuss through the newspapers a question which properly belonged in this convention. This is my opportunity to declare what my understanding and my convictions are.

One more personal reference so that we may understand each other clearly. At the convention last year the President of the United Mine Workers of America took offense because a delegate in discussing something which interested him referred to that delegate by name. He raised a point of order and the Chair very properly ruled that point of order well taken.

I want to read from Roberts Rules of Order to sustain the decision which the Chair made:

"Speakers must address their remarks to the presiding officer, be courteous in their language and deportment and avoid all personalities, never alluding to the officers or other members by name where possible to avoid it."

Yesterday, and particularly today, I have not only been referred to by name but the inference of the speaker was that I had done something which was dishonorable, something which was a reflection upon my

loyalty to trade union principles, something that was a challenge to my integrity. I knew what the rules were. I merely want to call your attention to the fact that I prefer to let the speakers say anything they want to about me rather than make use of a rule which would have compelled them to change the methods they adopted in this convention.

Now let us have some facts, because they will decide this question, rather than innuendo and insinuation and veiled insults. The Western Federation of Miners did not exist until 1893. That is the year in which it was organized—remember the date. Some years afterwards it affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and it remained in affiliation for 18 months. It never paid any per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor during that period and then it withdrew because it was dissatisfied with the form of organization we had, and it desired to organize a rival union or Federation of unions to take our place.

Now these crafts which are more of an industrial union in some respects than some of those who claim to be industrial had organized themselves long before 1893, and I want the record to show when they were organized. The International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers organized their union in Butte, Montana, on April 15, 1893. It has had a continuous existence since then. They organized their union in Anaconda, Montana, on June 10, 1892. They have had a continuous existence since then.

The Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union organized their union in Butte, Montana, in 1891. That union has been in continuous existence ever since. They organized their union in Anaconda, October 24, 1894. That union has been in continuous existence ever since. They organized their union in Great Falls, Montana, April 14, 1891, and it has been in continuous existence ever since.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America organized their union in Butte, Montana, in 1890, three years before the Western Federation of Miners was born. They organized their

local union in Anaconda in 1889, one year previous. It has been in continuous existence ever since. They organized their local union in Great Falls, Montana, in 1890 and it has had a continuous existence.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers organized their local union in Butte, Montana, in 1896; they organized their union in Anaconda in 1901, and their union in Great Falls, Montana, in 1900, and all of those local unions have had a continuous existence ever since.

The International Union of Operating Engineers organized their local union in Butte, Montana, in 1902; they organized their local union in Anaconda in 1915, and they organized their local union in Great Falls in 1913. The two latter unions have had a continuous existence ever since.

The International Bridge and Structural Iron Workers organized their local in Butte, Montana, in 1904. At that time it covered both Butte and Anaconda. Later they divided the union between Butte and Anaconda and those unions have been in continuous existence ever since.

The International Association of Machinists organized their local union in Butte in 1890; their union in Anaconda in 1900; in Great Falls in 1892. These local unions are still in existence.

The International Molders' Union organized its local in Butte in 1890; its local union in Great Falls in 1900; its local union in Anaconda in 1892. All of these unions have had a continuous existence up to the present time.

The United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters organized their local union in November, 1899 in Butte; their local union in Anaconda in 1915; their local union in Great Falls, Montana, in 1904. These unions have had a continuous existence ever since. So that it becomes apparent that these local unions have been there all of the time.

I am giving this statement as a part of the record.

LOCAL UNIONS IN MONTANA

Name of Organization	Date of Organization in Each City		
	Butte	Anaconda	Great Falls
Int. Broth. BLACKSMITHS, Drop Forgers and Helpers	Local No. 456 About Sept., 1904 Continuous	Local No. 237 October, 1906 Continuous	Local No. 233 October, 1906 Continued until July 1932 and was reorganized June 1934
Int. Broth. BOILERMAKERS, IRON SHIP-BUILDERS and Helpers	Lodge No. 139 April 15, 1893 Continuous	Lodge No. 80 June 10, 1892 Continuous	Lodge No. 602 June 21, 1913 Continuous
BRICKLAYERS, MASONS and PLASTERERS' Int. Union	Union No. 1 Bricklayers Union, Jan. 9, 1891 Union No. 8, Stonemasons Union May 8, 1899 Consolidated with Union No. 1 March 27, 1900 Continuous	Union No. 2 October 24, 1894 Continuous	Union No. 3 April 14, 1891 Bricklayers Union Union No. 5 Dec. 18, 1891 Stonemasons Union October, 1898 Union No. 5 Consolidated with No. 3 Continuous
United Broth. of CARPENTERS and JOINERS	Local No. 112 In 1890 Continuous	Local No. 88 In 1889 Continuous	Local No. 286 In 1890 Continuous
Int. Broth. of ELECTRICAL WORKERS	Local No. 65 November, 24, 1896 Local divided and No. 623 chartered July 22, 1908 Both continuous	Local No. 200 August 24, 1901 Continuous	Local No. 122 April 26, 1900 Continuous

LOCAL UNIONS IN MONTANA

Name of Organization	Date of Organization in Each City		
	Butte	Anaconda	Great Falls
International Union of OPERATING ENGINEERS	Local No. 138 August 1, 1902 Suspended, July 31, 1905. Reinstated October 21, 1909 Suspended July, 1914	Local No. 587, July 24, 1915 Charter returned July, 1923 New charter issued July 5, 1928, known as Local 927 Continuous ever since	Local No. 547, October 17, 1918 Suspended January 2, 1929 New charter issued and known as Local 377, May 11, 1934 Continuous
Int. Assn. of Bridge, S. & O. IRON WORKERS	Local No. 81, covering both Butte and Anaconda, April 21, 1904 Local No. 107 for Butte alone, July 21, 1907 Both locals continuous		Local No. 410, November, 1926 Local inactive during past two years due to lack of work Charter has not been recalled
International Association of MACHINISTS	Lodge No. 88, May 12, 1890 Lodge No. 859, July 30, 1917 and consolidated with No. 88, May 17, 1921	Lodge No. 29, August 20, 1900 Lodge No. 91, May, 1890, disbanded July, 1895, reorganized June, 1896, disbanded March, 1899	Lodge 287, June 7, 1892, disbanded April, 1896, reorganized October, 1898, and disbanded February, 14, 1930 Lodge 869, August 7, 1916, consolidated with No. 287, April 23, 1923 Lodge No. 901, July 23, 1912, and disbanded May 31, 1913 Lodge No. 1046, May 15, 1919
International MOLDERS' Union	August, 1890 Continuous	January, 1892 Continuous	February, 1900 Continuous
United Asso. PLUMBERS & STEAMFITTERS	Local No. 41 November, 1889 Local No. 316 April 20, 1935 Continuous	Local No. 672 December 11, 1915 Local No. 673 December 11, 1915 Continuous	Local No. 139 September 5, 1904 Local No. 712 July 21, 1917 Continuous

What experience have these locals with their continuous experience had? The majority of them have been organized long before the Western Federation of Miners came into existence. After a number of years, not as a result of any strike, not because of an attack by the mining corporations, but because the members became dissatisfied with their organization and stopped paying dues, the unions of the Western Federation of Miners in these cities passed out of existence. For some time there was no organization among the miners, and then a group of men with a newer philosophy of perfection in form of organization came into that territory. It was the Industrial Workers of the World, and they organized the three mining camps, so that they became I. W. W. camps.

During all of that period that the Industrial Workers of the World were in there, with their violent attacks against the trade unions, all of these local unions that I referred to maintained their existence and secured conditions of employment satisfactory to them, or acceptable to them.

After the I. W. W. had passed out of Montana—because it, too, had been unable to protect the welfare of its members—these craft unions became anxious to have the miners organized. And they felt it their duty to assist these miners in becoming members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and it was these crafts who have been so stigmatized and insulted from this platform today who two years and a half ago went into their local treasuries and created a fund to carry on an organizing campaign which would bring back the unionism to the unorganized miners in Butte, Anaconda and Great Falls. So that the organization which the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers have at the present time in these three camps was begun by the craft unions themselves.

I want to clear up this question of jurisdiction if I can. A man for whom I have an affection perhaps beyond anyone I have ever known, the late President of the American Federation of Labor, sent a telegram to a convention of the United Mine Workers of America that, properly, has come into the record. The United Mine Workers of America were interested, and properly so, but the record as to what the

convention did in 1911 is perfectly clear. I do not intend to weary you with reading lengthy documents, but I have here the official proceedings of the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1911. I want to read to you one paragraph in the report of the Executive Council of that convention relative to the charter granted to the Western Federation of Miners. This is what the Executive Council reported:

"After comprehensive correspondence and extended conferences with representatives of all the organizations in interest, the Executive Council, having in mind the statements made to the St. Louis convention of the A. F. of L. and to the Executive Council by the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, which were substantially that the Western Federation of Miners had for years not interfered with mechanical workers, not members of the Western Federation of Miners and who were members of international unions, and that they could see no reason for such interference in the future, urged that the policy of the Western Federation of Miners as indicated by the declaration of its representatives would be continued, and therefore directed the issuing of the charter."

It is evident from this report of the Executive Council to the 1911 convention that the Executive Council had conferred with the officers of the international unions who were disturbed because of the past policy of the Western Federation of Miners. And that the Western Federation of Miners impressed upon the Executive Council that they had not interfered with these craft unions and had no intention of doing so. And if this convention desires conclusive evidence of the fact that the Western Federation of Miners never for a moment believed that they had any jurisdiction over these crafts that have been referred to today, the evidence is in the record of the American Federation of Labor since 1911. That record indicates that never once in any convention did the Western Federation of Miners make a claim to any of these craft unions in Butte, Anaconda and Great Falls that have been read to you a moment ago.

And may I add that never once during all of those years has the United Mine Workers of America raised a question as to the right of our craft unions to continue to exist in these mining camps.

I don't want to take up too much time of this convention, but I might add that

when I went to Montana a year and a half ago in the interests of the agreement between the Anaconda Copper Mining Company and the Building Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department, I met and conversed with the national officers of the Western Federation of Miners, and they assured me that they had no intention or no desire of interfering with or questioning, in any way, the jurisdiction of our local unions in those three camps—31 in number. This year the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers desired to organize a State Council, which would include all of those crafts and their own local unions. But as this organization has made a claim for jurisdiction as referred to in the report of Executive Council upon which your committee reported, the crafts were fearful and the officers of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers assured the crafts that they would join with them in organizing a State Council, if they would guarantee them that as soon as that State Council was organized they would write into its constitution and by-laws the statement that the craft unions had every right to continue to exist, and that the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers would protect them in the right to maintain the organizations they organized before the Western Federation of Miners ever came into existence.

Now with every other delegate here I regret that in connection with the discussion threats have been made. A delegate said that if organizers of one organization went to the mining camps to organize those that they felt he had no right to organize, that organizer would be treated by the miners in the same way that they treated Baldwin-Feltz operatives. How are we in our conventions to reach a conclusion upon any important question if involved in it is a threat that certain things will be done? And now I find it necessary to add to the threat which was made by the President of the United Mine Workers' union. Yesterday I referred to an article which had been published in the New York Times in which, in diplomatic language, there was a threat involved in the solution of this question by this convention. I wanted to become familiar with what the United Mine Workers of America had done at their convention of 1911. I secured a copy of the proceedings

of their convention for that year and on page 197 I read the resolution which the President of the United Mine Workers read to you today, but I doubt whether the delegates grasped the full intent of that resolution. I want to read to you the last three paragraphs:

"We further pledge to the Western Federation of Miners our hearty support and announce to all labor organizations that we are determined to form a closer contact with the Western Federation of Miners. We trust that it may be within the American Federation of Labor, but if the Western Federation of Miners is denied a charter or granted one with unsatisfactory restrictions, be it further resolved, that the United Mine Workers of America in convention assembled join with the Western Federation of Miners in a movement that will insure that unity and co-operation in action which has been sought in the American Federation of Labor."

What does that language mean? Many interpretations can be placed upon it. I think that I found the proper interpretation because on page 205 of the convention proceedings of the United Mine Workers' convention in January of 1911, I find that the President of the United Mine Workers, Mr. Tom L. Lewis said in part in discussing this resolution:

"This resolution as at present worded means two things. Stripped of all unnecessary language and reduced to what it really means, it means, first, that we demand that the American Federation of Labor grant a charter to the Western Federation of Miners, or that the United Mine Workers will withdraw from the American Federation of Labor and join with every other labor union we can to organize a new labor movement in this country."

That is what it means. The resolution shortly after that was adopted by a rising vote. I don't believe any delegate here is of the opinion that the convention or Tom L. Lewis meant that in reality if the Mine Workers could not have their way in a convention of this organization they would secede and organize a rival Federation of Labor. I am inclined to think that in that convention some of the boys were happy and they thought, "Well let's give old Sam Gompers and his Executive Council a

bluff. Let's just serve notice that when we want anything we want it very much."

But the fact remains, however, that instead of deciding that they would come into a convention of this organization and present their case and argue its logic and be governed by the trade union principle that the vote of the majority determines the policy to be adopted, in a braggadocio way, perhaps, they served notice on the world that if the Executive Council did not do what they wanted them to do they would secede and they would organize a rival Federation of Labor.

Now it is because of statements made during the year by outstanding representatives, through the press and in other places, that there is in the minds of some delegates a question of what lies behind it all. And to me the question resolves itself to this, that some questions are to be settled in this convention not upon the facts in the case, but upon the fear of the dire consequences that may follow if we do not agree with those who want something that we cannot possibly agree with.

The craft unions in the three mining camps referred to took no members from the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen. They have never tried to take these members. They have no desire for them, but they do demand the right, after having existed for forty years, to continue to exist free from the fear that their right to belong to their respective International Unions will be taken away from them by threat. That is the question, boiled down.

Something has been said, not very complimentary, relative to the agreement which the Metal Trades Department and the Building Trades Department negotiated with the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. Delegate Tracy has very accurately explained how it came about, how the conferences were held. May I add this, as a possible means of helping you to understand what was done? Long previous to any negotiations with the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, the Conciliation Department of the Department of Labor and Senator Wagner, who was then serving as Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, had their representatives in Montana for several months endeavoring to find some way of settling that strike. There

was a conference in the office of the Secretary of Labor at which the Madam Secretary was present and at which Senator Wagner was present and at which representatives of the Building Trades and the Metal Trades were present, at which the Director of Conciliation of the Labor Department was present, and the president of the Anaconda Mining Company and its vice-president. Up to that time the officers of the Copper Company had refused to meet with the strikers and discuss any question with them.

When the negotiating committees of the two Departments had worked out a basis of agreement acceptable to them, they felt in duty bound to make the Labor Department and the National Labor Relations Board acquainted with what they had done, and after agreement had been reached in Washington the representatives of the two Departments of this organization insisted that before they went any further, the entire membership of the National Labor Relations Board should be called in and the whole question presented to them. One was absent from the city. The other two sat in, and with the officers of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company present and the negotiating committees of the two Departments present, the entire agreement that had been reached in toto was discussed for two hours. There was no secrecy about that. There was that honorable, careful method of procedure which practical men will always take.

So before any representative of the two Departments went to Montana the Secretary of Labor and the National Labor Relations Board were fully acquainted with all the terms of this agreement which settled the strike or which settled the question of terms of employment for the crafts after the strike had been on for many months. That agreement provided for all of the conditions that Delegate Tracy referred to, but there was one more to which I want to call your attention. Not only was it understood that the crafts would do any work of a repair character until an adjustment had been reached with the striking miners, but the agreement also provided that every condition the Anaconda Copper Company had given to the crafts must be given to the miners. And one thing more, it provided that immediately

representatives of the two Departments went to Montana, the company must immediately agree to meet with the miners' committee, and it did.

Delegate Lewis, Mine Workers: Will you yield to a question?

Delegate Frey: No. Those were the conditions under which the agreement was negotiated. I will take up none of your time by mentioning personal experiences. I received a typical reception in a mining camp when a person is disliked. The effort was made to drive me out, by daily threatening to bump me off if I did not go. There seemed to be the opinion that there was something which we were unwilling to disclose, that somehow we had concocted a plot that we did not dare let anyone know anything about, and that we were trying to put something over, not only on the members of our craft unions, but upon the miners themselves. I am subject to persuasion. I am subject to logic. Constitutionally, I am not subject to threats, and when men threaten me I like to let them know it does not influence me. I made up my mind I would face that strike committee of approximately 60 men. I was warned by my friends that it was a dangerous thing for me to undertake, that feeling was running so high against me, among other things there was no telling what might happen. When I made up my mind I would go some of my associates said, "We will go with you, John." I said, "No, I will walk in and I will face that committee and I will do that alone. I will tell that committee how that agreement was negotiated. I will tell them what our motives were. I will explain to them the benefits which we believe our efforts would be to them." I stayed with that committee for an hour and a half, and then with that same customary western courtesy a motion was made that I be put out of the room. They had not listened to logic for so many years and were so acquainted with nothing but appeal to the emotions that the first time they were called upon to think seriously and to concentrate upon a subject and analyze it for an hour and a half it was more than they could stand.

I have tried for many years to play a constructive part in this trade union movement. I don't think that I have been altogether a spirit of reaction. Sometimes the

policies I have advocated have been a little ahead of those who were associated with me, but I want to say to you men now in all sincerity that nothing which I have ever done in the trade union movement gratifies me more than the little part I was permitted to play in bringing that agreement into existence. It is the most constructive, it is the farthest step forward in collective bargaining that has ever occurred. This agreement is not between any individual national or international union and the employers. Let me read the first article and see what it covers:

"Articles of agreement, entered into between Anaconda Copper Mining Company, a corporation of the State of Montana (hereinafter referred to as the Company), and the Building Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor on behalf of said Departments and the national and international unions hereinafter mentioned and affiliated with one or both of said Departments (hereinafter referred to as the Departments), covering rates of wages, hours of labor and working conditions of all building trades and metal trades mechanics and helpers who are members of unions and are employed in the crafts subject to the jurisdiction of said national and international unions."

We believe in combining our forces. We believe in united action, and when this agreement was negotiated it meant that some of the largest unions in the building trades and some of the largest unions in the metal trades agreed that they would jointly enter into an agreement covering all of their members. That agreement provides for another constructive step forward in the practice of collective bargaining. It provides that in each of the three camps, the local unions whose international unions are covered by their Departments shall meet and elect a committee of five known as an Industrial Relations Committee, a grievance committee, and that grievance committee is to take up with the management in the city where they are employed every grievance for all of the crafts when the men in the shop have failed to settle it with their foreman or superintendent. It provides further that when this local grievance committee, the permanent committee, has failed to secure an adjustment in fifteen days with the company, it is automatically taken out of the hands of the local management and goes directly to the president

of that company and to the Building Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department. It provides that the business agents or the representatives of any of the crafts shall be free at all times to represent the members of that craft in taking up grievances.

So that in addition to the customary practice of having the business agent or national officer take up a grievance, it adds to that the collective strength of all of the crafts in that city and it adds to that and has behind it the combined strength of the Building Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department. If that is not progress, if that is not constructive effort, then I don't know what they are.

It is the policy of the Metal Trades Department to bring about a similar condition in every locality where the members of the International Unions are employed so that everywhere, instead of the members of a craft in manufacturing establishments being left entirely on their own resources, all of the resources of the International Unions in the Department will be brought to bear for their protection. And in a number of manufacturing industries handling metal in this country, the unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department cover every type of employe from the laborer who sweeps the floor to the technical engineer. We have brought this about and we have agreements along that line without for one moment losing the value that our craft organization is to us, or disbanding the International Unions that have been organized.

So-called unionism along industrial lines, which has been advocated here, has not yet come into existence. I come to you to inform you that it is in existence under agreements for the International Unions in the Metal Trades Department, and it is their policy to continue that.

One word more—personal references made while I was in Montana, personal references made while I have sat on this platform, have not influenced me in the least. They have not caused me any feeling of animosity toward those who made them. Some of them were made because the speaker did not know any better. Some were made because the speaker was carried away with his interest in the subject that he was discussing.

When I was in Montana a year and a

half ago, I endeavored to prevail upon the national officers and the local representatives of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to enter into a compact with the Building Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department so that jointly we would negotiate all general agreements for the strength of those mining camps and all crafts in the mines, mills and smelters.

I spoke to the President of that organization in the convention last year. I spoke to him about it since and I want to say to you now that it is the well determined policy of the Metal Trades Department, if possible, to be able to join with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers so that the Anaconda Copper Mining Company will have to deal with all of the unions collectively.

One more word now and I bring my remarks to a close. I think I have indicated to you very clearly, first, that our craft unions were organized in Montana years before the Western Federation of Miners came into existence. Secondly, I have made it clear from the record that the Executive Council reported that in their conferences with the officers of the Western Federation of Miners these officers said we never have interfered with these craft unions in the three mining camps, we do not intend to interfere with them, and with that understanding, the Council adds, we have granted a charter. The record is very clear. For twenty-four long years our crafts have been functioning, entering into agreements for their own protection with the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, and during those years never in this convention did the Western Federation of Miners raise the question of jurisdiction or challenge the right of our local unions to exist. It comes now after twenty-four years. Why? Well, because, perhaps, a constructive step taken by the two Departments in negotiating agreements disturbed somebody. But the jurisdiction, first of all, was established. It has been maintained, and there is the report of the Executive Council. As I close I want to read that to you again so that there can be no misunderstanding:

"After comprehensive correspondence and extended conferences with representatives of all the organizations in interest, the Executive Council, having in mind the statements made to the St. Louis convention of the A. F. of L. and to the Executive Council

by the representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, which were substantially that the Western Federation of Miners had for years not interfered with mechanical workers, not members of the Western Federation of Miners and who were members of international unions, and that they could see no reason for such interference in the future, urged that the policy of the Western Federation of Miners as indicated by the declaration of its representatives would be continued, and therefore directed that a charter be issued."

That is the report of the Executive Council. The report of that Executive Council was approved by the convention. Where were the Western Federation of Miners then if they did not understand it? What were the United Mine Workers of America, who were in the convention, doing if they failed to understand it, because they voted to approve that report of the Executive Council?

Delegate Lewis, Mine Workers: Will the gentleman read the rest of the report?

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Tobin.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I know the hour is getting late. I know it is difficult to ask you to exercise a little patience with me, because this is a very important question we are now discussing. We have six delegates, representing 150,000 members in this convention, and the six of us combined have not taken up but three or four minutes of the time of the convention since we came here. We therefore ask your indulgence for a few minutes.

We are party to this agreement which is now being discussed. We have a number of drivers employed by the Anaconda Copper Company. We are deeply interested in the question before this convention, because if industrial trade unionism prevails—and that is the intent and purpose of the substitute offered—it will destroy this organization that I have the honor to represent, as we touch every trade and industry in the nation.

Now I happen to be one of the delegates who attended the convention in St. Louis in 1910, and I know something of the controversy surrounding the question of affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners. That is twenty-five years ago next November. I was elected by that convention twenty-five years ago as a representative of

the American Federation of Labor to attend the next British Trades Union Congress which was held in Newcastle-on-Tyne. I was pretty active in that convention. I had my ear pretty close to the ground and I knew what went on. I also had serious controversy pertaining to our organization in Columbus, Ohio, in January, 1911, two months after the St. Louis convention, and as the convention of the United Mine Workers of America is somewhat of an open convention and it was then in session there, I attended the sessions of that convention. I heard the arguments and the discussions and I was almost personally acquainted with every delegate in the convention.

Let me say to this convention—and I will not take second place to anybody, except perhaps the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America, whom I love and regard and to whom I have offered my helpfulness, in my humble capacity, whenever possible. Considerable bitterness obtained in the deliberations of that convention. The President of the United Mine Workers of America at that time, who afterwards, by the way, was driven out of the organization and finally ended by leading the non-union employers of West Virginia against the men who elected him president, directed the deliberations of that convention, and he was so blinded with bitterness and prejudice against the then President of the Federation that I believe his feelings and his prejudice had something to do with the action of the mine workers' convention in Columbus, in 1911. That is my personal opinion from observation. I may be wrong, but that was the opinion of a good many delegates.

I also attended the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1911. This was the convention, as you have been told, that acted on the application for affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners. In that convention there were representatives of all those international unions involved. I am satisfied that the threat of withdrawal by the United Mine Workers of America officials did not influence the convention any more than it would now if it was offered, but I have knowledge and I have absolute proof in my own mind, as I attended the

conferences, that a satisfactory agreement was reached between the officials of the Western Federation of Miners and the officials of the international unions that protested their admission. The then President of the Western Federation of Miners, Charlie Moyer, stated most emphatically in my presence—because there were about 300 drivers in Butte, Montana, that were members of the Western Federation of Miners—stated most emphatically and clearly, as did his associates, that although he could not place it in writing because of the feeling of his organization, he would not interfere with the craft unions and that he would relinquish jurisdiction and transfer from membership any one properly coming under the jurisdiction of the craft unions. When he made that statement they were admitted to affiliation in the American Federation of Labor. I think there are enough of you here to know that I would not make any mis-statement about those men who have passed to the Great Beyond. If you desire an analysis of this statement, let the facts answer for themselves.

Two months after they were admitted the Western Federation of Miners turned over to our international union, Local No. 2, of the now International Brotherhood of Teamsters, containing a membership of 235 members that were in affiliation with the Western Federation of Miners. Moyer kept his word with us and with many of the other trades. That is the reason they were admitted to affiliation.

You men of understanding, can you believe in your own minds that the President of the carpenters, that old fighting war horse of the machinists, Jim O'Connell, who is yet alive, do you mean to tell me that the President of the electrical workers would sit idly by in a convention and admit to affiliation an organization that still retained or stated that they would continue to retain in membership men who properly came under the jurisdiction of those organizations? You know they would not. They were not that kind of men, and that is the secret, that is the answer to this letter read by Delegate Frey, which was read to the convention, containing some of the facts—and as a matter of honor, for the protection of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners, it could not contain the whole facts.

Now, then, I do not hold, as do the delegates from the United Mine Workers of America, that this is the same question as the United Mine Workers of America. But let us assume that it is. I don't believe it is. The United Mine Workers of America have been chartered for a good many years, and their charter rights were observed. The Western Federation of Miners had been assailing this Federation in the most damnable language, through its editor and its publication. The editor then was James O'Neill, and there never was an employers' association that attacked the American Federation of Labor or the men who led its organizations as this Federation was attacked by that organization and its representatives and its press. They would send organizers out into every place where they could organize locals. They had admitted to membership men who drove laundry wagons in many places in the state of Montana. And, by the way, the present organization is taking into its membership truck drivers that are not at all engaged in mining work.

I remember attending another convention of the United Mine Workers of America in Indianapolis, when the question was discussed. About that time we did accomplish something toward amalgamating into one union the different organizations working at the same crafts or materials. For instance, we created one organization of the pipe trades, merging the steamfitters and the United Association of Plumbers. A year or two before that we created one organization of the woodworking crafts, taking in the old woodworkers' organization which at one time was a powerful institution, merging it with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. It was the desire of the American Federation of Labor and the desire of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners that there should be one organization of the mining trades in America affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the United Mine Workers of America, anxious to protect its men, did not desire the affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners. Some men who have worked in coal mines have advised me that they have worked in the metal mines, and that usually the men who can work in one

can work in the other. How true that is I do not know. But we feel, although there never was a specific recommendation made, there was a failure of organization because of the refusal of the United Mine Workers of America to accept the Western Federation of Miners into affiliation.

Yesterday I listened very attentively to nearly everything that was said. I listened to the splendid address of the President of the United Mine Workers of America. I do not blame the United Mine Workers of America to protect themselves and guard their organization, to love their organization. You have to admire them for that, but the same privilege should be accorded to us in our respective organizations. We love and cherish and admire our organizations. We have fought and will continue to fight for our rights, for our jurisdiction, and for the protection of our membership, just the same as the United Mine Workers of America.

I heard it said by President Lewis, said in all sincerity, that the question under discussion was not merely the adoption of the resolution. That is true, and I quite agree with him. There is more behind this thing than just what appears on the surface, in my judgment. There is an attempt being made to destroy the very foundation upon which this Federation has been built and upon which it has succeeded for years.

The miners themselves were one of the cornerstones in the foundation of this Federation. This man who is presiding here tonight is not the first man from the miners' union to be President of the American Federation of Labor. There was another mine worker president, John McBride, away back in 1892. He believed at that time, judging from his writings, that with the exception of the miners who worked underground, the right of trades to govern themselves and have their own autonomy was the only solution of the trade union movement for all of the workers of America. Industrial trade unionism is not new. It has been tried in nearly every country in Europe and it was tried in this country under the guise of the Knights of Labor. There are men in this convention who were pioneers and fighters in the Knights of Labor. They know its history, with ma-

chinists and musicians sitting beside the laborers and teamsters, all mixed up in one muddle, trying to make a wage scale, and those who had the greatest number of votes controlled the minority. Such destruction and demoralization took place that the old Knights of Labor, which gave us so many pioneers in the American Federation of Labor, died on account of dissension and distrust and jealousy.

Who are the men who formed the American Federation of Labor? Every one of them were members of the Knights of Labor, a form of industrial trade unionism. One of the founders, Pete McGuire, a carpenter of Philadelphia, and one of the greatest fighters we ever had then or now in the trade union movement, Jim Duncan, of the Granite cutters—do you think he did not know the trade union movement and its philosophies? Gompers, the Jew, who was driven from London, the greatest American citizen that this labor movement has ever produced. He struggled in the Knights of Labor for recognition and decided it was a failure, and he laid the foundation for this Federation of Labor. And so on down the line, with Frank Foster, the printer of Boston, and with innumerable others whose spirits must writhe in persecution and misery listening to the charges and counter-charges that have been made that this Federation of Labor has twenty-five years of continuous failure.

I never heard or read of any group of employers assailing the officers and the work of this Federation as I have heard here within the last day or two. Surely we have the right to disagree. Surely from our disagreements has come our progress. But this is an open forum. The press is here represented from every section of the country, and it is pitiful to listen to the half truths, mostly untruths, that have been spoken here in derision of the splendid work of this Federation. In all the whole world today, in any country where civilization prevails, with all of our miseries, there is no class of workers on the face of the globe that enjoys the conditions of the American workers, brought about very largely by the work of this Federation of Labor.

I am sure there is no one here outside of the miners themselves who know Delegate Van Bittner better than I do—and I realize

that Roberts' Rules of Order permit you to name a delegate when necessary. I know of his work in the miners' union. I know what he has gone through, I know the tough spots in which he has been placed, but I hope and trust and feel that he is not speaking his mind, he is not speaking for the United Mine Workers of America in some of the remarks he made this afternoon when he charged that if the miners would be let alone, they would run their own affairs and that they would have machinists and electrical workers and carpenters and stone masons, no matter what we do to the contrary. "Twenty years from now," he said, "you will not have one of these men." I am sure he does not mean that. None of us know what will happen in the next twenty years. Other men in other days will take our places, and they may undo many of the things that we in our wisdom have attempted to do. He also said you must not divide the mine workers. I don't think there is anybody in this convention who would permit the mine workers to be divided. What we ask and what we claim and what we desire, what we demand, is that the United Mine Workers of America will not divide and destroy us.

Let me say this: After thirty years of service in this movement, if there is any one going to destroy the mine workers it is not this Federation, but if they become intoxicated with their own success and defy the labor movement, they may destroy themselves, to the pity and to the misery and the misfortune of the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor, but especially to the miners.

There has been a great many extravagant remarks made here, in my judgment. We have not time to disprove them from statistical reports. But I consider it extremely extravagant to say that there are forty millions of organizable workers in this country. I suppose if you take in all the housewives and the Army and the Navy and the doctors and clergymen and bootblacks, that might be true. But to speak of organization of forty millions of people between the ages of 16 or 17 years and under 60, that is too foolish to try to disprove just now.

Delegate Kennedy, whom everybody loves and proved their love for him by their election of him, because it was the workers

who returned Delegate Kennedy to the high office which he holds in the government of Pennsylvania, makes another statement about the contribution of the United Mine Workers of America, and I would like to have the figures set out in rotation so that I can understand them. The figure he referred to is staggering to me, when he says that the contribution of the United Mine Workers of America to the labor movement was \$64,000,000. I don't know what he means by that, but if it means per capita tax to the Federation of Labor, I know he is about \$63,000,000 wrong. Maybe he means dues and assessments paid in by the rank and file of the miners to the United Mine Workers' office and the contributions given to other organizations. I would like to have those figures enumerated for the record, as Al Smith says.

I was somewhat electrified by the statement that he made that during the 1922 strike of the miners they received in contributions from the labor movement—I assume through the American Federation of Labor—the sum of almost \$500,000. Remember that 1922 was one of the years of starvation following the war, when large groups of workers were out of employment and when many organizations of labor were driven to the wall because of the inability of their membership to pay their dues. In addition to that, I am informed by someone here that many carloads of clothing, shoes and provisions were also contributed to that wonderful strike of the miners, those men who were fighting for the life of their organization and the preservation of their homes and families. Instead of belittling that amount, I think it stands out as one of the greatest tributes to the generosity of the workers to help others who are struggling and battling for the right to live.

I don't know that our national union has ever received from the American Federation of Labor and other international unions any help. I know our national union has not received such help in my time in twenty-nine years in the office in Indianapolis. But it is not the value in dollars and cents that we receive that should be counted—it is the substantial benefit that we receive from the sympathetic help and assistance and co-operation that counts in the progress of this labor movement.

I remember very clearly that during the years of the depression, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, and 1932, the mine workers were hit about as hard as any group that was ever organized by this or any other labor organization in our country. They were hit so hard that they were up against the wall, not knowing where to turn, financially and numerically. That was not the fault of the officers, that was not the fault of the membership. No men could have fought harder under the most unspeakable circumstances to hold themselves together than did the officers and membership of the miners. But it was due to a condition somewhat within their own organization—secession, disruption, destruction and Communism, if you please, which prevails today in Illinois to the extent that the organization is divided in half. That is one of its strongest districts, or was at one time. Then there was the industrial stagnation in the industry, due to the changing over of fuels and the demoralization of the railroads.

I have heard a good many people find fault with the National Recovery Act and I have heard thousands of people laud the things that it has done for them. Personally, and as an organization it did nothing for us where we had men organized, but where men could not organize it gave them some courage and it helped the honest employer to continue rates which were dragged down before the establishment of the National Recovery Act. But if there is any one organization in America, aside from the textile workers, that the National Recovery Act helped substantially, it was the United Mine Workers of America, and the American Federation of Labor, through its influence, its power and its determination, was responsible for placing the National Recovery Act on the statute books of the United States, and by the placement of that Act, saved and brought back to new life the United Mine Workers of America, to the happiness and rejoicing of all of us.

Then, again, here recently when the United Mine Workers of America had voted to go on strike, with the coal mines loaded with coal and coal piled up outside, when it looked like it was impossible to prevent a strike and when the Guffey Bill, with which you are all acquainted, was pending—and the Guffey Bill, of course, was prepared by

a Senator who was friendly to the miners, and undoubtedly the mine workers' officials helped in the preparation of that legislation which meant so much to them. But you remember the vote in the committee. It only won out in the committee by a majority of one vote. It was practically an accident or a stroke of good luck and hard work on the part of the United Mine Workers of America that the bill got out of committee at all. Then when it came up before the Senate it won out in the Senate by a few votes.

Every effort that the President and the Secretary of the Federation could render was rendered toward the passage of that bill, and if the Federation or its associated officers had given the slightest encouragement to some of those Senators who were looking for an excuse to back away, the bill could not have become a law. In the first place, the Executive Council unanimously endorsed the bill—the same Executive Council with which one of our members from the United Mine Workers of America is so much dissatisfied. If they refused by a majority to endorse that bill in the beginning, do you think for one moment that with the narrow escape it had it would have become a law? Not on your life. I know some of those Senators that voted for it. It is true there was some little discrimination on the interpretation of some of the sections of the law later on. But fundamentally, the Council continued its helpfulness in the passage of that bill and never withdrew its assistance or endorsement until the day it was signed by the President of the United States. And the passage of the Guffey Bill, helped of course by the United Mine Workers of America, but backed up by all the forces of the American Federation of Labor, again prevented two or three hundred thousand miners from being thrown out on strike indefinitely.

Those are the things that ought to be remembered when there is some disagreement, when there is some misunderstanding, because if we expect to progress we must disagree, and if I have been right or if the Federation has been right, nine times out of ten when it has gone along with you, I think it is poor policy on my part, that it is a sign of ingratitude for me to condemn the Federation when the Federa-

tion in its Council interprets a decision of the convention contrary to my interpretation.

Now the Western Federation of Miners with which this substitute is dealing went down and out practically. I sat on the Council when there were appeals from everybody that we take away its charter. It had gone down to such an extent that it could not pay the salary of one organizer. Those are facts. Still we maintained within that organization the charter of an international union that only this convention could revoke. That charter could not be revoked except by a two-thirds vote of this convention, and it could not be suspended except by a majority vote. The Council was appealed to by even former members of the Western Federation of Miners and by some members of many other trade unions, some within the United Mine Workers of America, who were honest and sincere, not national officers, and who believed the only hope and salvation for the metalliferous miners was in the revocation of their charter and give them a chance to start over again.

I remember in one meeting of the Executive Council the President of the Anaconda Copper Company, Con Kelly, appeared before the Council and guaranteed to the American Federation of Labor that if we would send organizers in there and reorganize under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, he would guarantee there would be no obstacles placed in our way. That was after the ending of the war, when the organization was demoralized in the industry and the Executive Council again refused to even recommend to this convention the revocation of that charter, which was practically only a charter in name. In all of those years, when this organization that you are now discussing was in this pitiful condition, driven to it by persecution of the copper mine owners and driven to it by dissension and rebellion and other conditions that obtained among their own officers and membership, even then this Federation of Labor and its Executive Council that has been denounced would not recommend to the convention the revocation of that charter, even though they were paying no tax, because they could not pay anything for two or three or four years. So they were extinct. All the trades that are now battling

for the preservation of their organization remained fully alive and were fighting to maintain their agreements, every one of them, including our organization in the city of Butte, Montana. The same is true of the carpenters, the plumbers, the electrical workers, the machinists, and many others who maintained their organizations and did business in the same old stand.

Now that new life has been injected, because of the NRA and other influential causes, this organization wants to do business again in the same old manner. They forget the struggles we endured to preserve our unions. They want to tip the boat over and start over again, and we will not stand for it. It can't be done, gentlemen, it won't be done. This convention won't permit it to be done.

There is a distinct difference between the United Mine Workers of America and this Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, which was a new name under a new charter that this organization obtained when it practically went out of existence as the Western Federation of Miners. You want to know these things, many of you new delegates and some of you older ones who have forgotten. This Federation of Labor for years rendered every service that it was humanly possible, and the same is true of its affiliated organizations, not only to the United Mine Workers of America but to the Western Federation of Miners.

What a revelation it was for me to hear Delegate Tom Kennedy state to this convention that the bricklayers contributed over \$100,000 to the United Mine Workers of America and then to here and now have it stated to me by the bricklayers that the United Mine Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners are admitting to membership bricklayers and electrical workers and machinists and engineers.

Now, then, about the men in and around the mines. Do you men know that there have been office buildings erected, as fine as could be built in any city, in close proximity to the mines, and the men that worked on those office buildings, I am told by some of the trades, are all members of the United Mine Workers of America? I mean the men that erected those buildings. I can't believe that. I have been told that by some of the trades. But the point is this: We are not

going after the miners, we are trying to save ourselves. They are encroaching on us. That is the answer. We are fighting in self defense to hold them in the mines, and we are having a very tough time of it when there is so much unemployment, to hold the autonomous rights of our several trades.

I knew there were in every large organization some trimmers, but I did not know that they had hair trimmers in the mine workers' union until I heard Van Bittner say so today. He said they take in barbers down there in West Virginia, that there are no organizers of the barbers' union there. That is what Van said.

Do you mean to tell me if, over in Illinois, where there is a fight between the miners, a group in one of the towns where we are organized said, "We won't belong to either faction, we don't care for the United Mine Workers as they are," saying as they have said to me on more than one occasion, "We will never go into the United Mine Workers of America while so-and-so is in the organization, but we will join your organization," do you mean to tell me that I am justified in accepting those kind of members who do not come under my jurisdiction? Certainly not. It is taking advantage of a pitiable situation that exists. In the same sense the United Mine Workers of America are not justified in admitting hair dressers and hair trimmers and bootblacks into their organization, as has been stated.

It is the principle underlying these things that is involved, not the membership entirely. Each man standing in his shoes as an international officer should respect the rights of the other when that other has no chance to defend himself, and even if there is disagreement, as there is and always will be while we are acting for this movement, there is honor and principle and manhood underneath, or those qualities should be underneath that agreement.

Mr. Chairman, one of the greatest organizers the world ever produced since the beginning of Christianity was the lowly Nazarene, and He said to one of His people, "Upon this rock I will build My Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

To us was given a charter—a charter from the American Federation of Labor,

and Gompers, McGuire, Duncan, Foster, and the other men said: "Upon the rock of trades autonomy, craft trades, you shall build the church of the labor movement, and the gates of hell nor trade industrialism shall not prevail against it."

I hope and trust this convention will reject the substitute and take into consideration all the other craft unions whose lives are at stake, because while it appears simple it is the entering wedge. I hope that you will vote to sustain us, who have also been on the firing line for thirty years, trying to make conditions for the people who have trusted us by electing us to office.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Lewis.

Several delegates called for the question.

Delegate Davis, Boilermakers: I rise to a point of order. I think Delegate Lewis has had the floor on this question.

President Green: Delegate Lewis has asked for the floor on a question of personal privilege.

Delegate Lewis: Affecting my organization.

President Green: Please be in order. There is a lot of confusion in the rear of the hall. There is no necessity for that.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman, I hold Daniel J. Tobin in the highest personal regard. I believe he is a great figure of a man, patterned after a Roman gladiator. He has had a great career and has led with distinction a great organization in the American labor movement. He has done things throughout his lifetime of which he has good reason to be proud, and I yield unto him that admiration for his accomplishments which he deserves.

As an authority upon the affairs of his own organization, I think he is without a peer. As an authority upon the affairs of the United Mine Workers of America, I don't know any one who knows less. And so with every personal deference to him, with every appreciation of his great abilities, with a personal affection for him as a man, I say that he would fare better and go further if he undertook to exhibit less of his lack of knowledge of the United Mine Workers of America. Perhaps that is a fault on his part. Perhaps it does not

detract in a great degree from his other outstanding qualifications. Nevertheless, I assure him that it is no contribution to the United Mine Workers of America or its membership and no contribution to the American labor movement.

I don't know what the affairs of the United Mine Workers of America have to do with the question of the adoption of the substitute resolution bearing upon a raid of certain organizations upon an organization in Montana. I don't know what the various conventions of the United Mine Workers of America have to do with this resolution. Neither do I know what the motives of men, some of whom have gone long years ago, have to do with the question before the house. The question before this house is whether the American Federation of Labor will redeem a bond. The mine, mill and smeltermen hold a bond and it is signed by a President of the American Federation of Labor and ratified by the 1911 convention. That is the question before this house.

The question of the arithmetic in the figures of the minority report of yesterday, as to whether the number of workers in this country who might be organized is 45,000,000, as the minority report says, or 25,000,000, as the President of the American Federation of Labor has said, is beside the question. If it will gratify Delegate Tobin or any other delegate in this convention, I would be willing to strike out the 39,000,000 in Charlie Howard's report and insert in lieu thereof the 25,000,000 used by the President of the American Federation of Labor. But that won't change the equity involved in this substitute resolution before this house. The question whether the United Mine Workers of America gave \$64,000,000 or \$64,000 to the labor movement in the years of its existence has nothing, after all, to do with the question now before this convention. Those figures were submitted by Delegate Kennedy for the United Mine Workers of America because some men in this convention seemed to measure their unionism by the degree of their contributions or the amount of money they had paid out at some time. We make no boast of it. We mention it only in passing, but it is beside the question now to submit that as a reason why the American Federation of Labor should not

redeem an outstanding promissory note to the mine, mill and smeltermen's organization. They have the note and they are presenting it for payment. What are you going to do about it? Are you going to liquidate it or are you going to repudiate it? Belgium had a bond to the German nation in 1914. Germany repudiated it. You know what the world thought of Germany, do you not? You know the price you paid, as men and as citizens because of that repudiation, do you not—that scrap of paper of which you have heard so much and for which so many men died?

What are you going to do with this question? Do you liquidate or do you repudiate? The question of whether the President of the United Mine Workers of America has a concealed motive about his person is beside the mark, when the convention must consider, as it now must, how it will discharge the equity in a resolution pending in this forum.

As a matter of fact, if it will do any one any good to know, the President of the United Mine Workers of America has no motive except what is supposed to be the righteous motive of trying to make a contribution to a cause in which we are all interested. No proponent of the minority report yesterday and no proponent of the substitute motion today has ever denied the accomplishments of the American Federation of Labor in so far as those accomplishments go. I am merely pointing out that there are yet some things which the American Federation of Labor might do with greater efficiency and with greater benefit to its membership.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, I don't wish to be unfair to any delegate, but I understand Delegate Lewis asked for the floor on a question of personal privilege. He is only repeating what we have heard before, and I can't see where there is any personal privilege to that.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Mr. President, I rise to a point of order. I find in Rule 5 of the rules governing this convention the following:

"A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so."

President Green: The point of order is well taken, when a delegate rises to speak

upon the question being considered by the house for the second time, but parliamentary law provides that a delegate is entitled to be heard on a question of personal privilege.

Delegate Lewis: I am perfectly aware that you are wearied and burdened with this proposition, but you also must be personally aware that the United Mine Workers of America are being made to carry the brunt of the responsibility of this situation, that the burden of criticism has fallen upon the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America and upon that organization, that the motives of that organization have been questioned, and that the motives of the representatives of that organization have been questioned upon this floor, and to that degree you must know that I am perfectly in order in undertaking to dispel those criticisms and those illusions. I propose to be as brief as possible under the circumstances. I have certainly been as patient as the rest of you in listening to the speakers on the opposing side.

I shall close in just a moment. I shall omit any further reference to the criticism of the United Mine Workers of America. I say again that has no bearing upon the question of responsibility which this convention must discharge. The mine, mill and smelter workers are here accompanied by the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America, asking for the rendition of your judgment at this bar. You have heard the facts. You may now decide. Whether you abandon morality in your decision or whether you permit equity and good conscience to prevail rests with you. Upon you be the responsibility.

President Green: The Chair has promised to recognize Delegate Wharton on a question of personal privilege.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I shall indeed be very brief. My organization does not happen to be vitally concerned in this particular question, because throughout all of its existence we have maintained organizations in the metalliferous mining industry without the interference on the part of the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen's organization or the Western Federation of Miners when it was in existence.

But reference was made to my organization in a manner which I did not believe to be right. In my brief utterances be-

fore this convention I have refrained from dealing with personalities. A gentleman from one of the large organizations seated in this convention referred to my organization in a manner which I feel needs a response. In the little town of Omar, West Virginia, where there are situated a number of mines, the United Mine Workers of America had an agreement at the time this particular instance that I am about to relate took place. But in making the agreement they did not cover the machinists employed in a machine shop at least three and a half miles from the nearest mine, and the machinists in that shop served not only that nearest mine, but several other mines covering an area from three and a half to seven and a half miles from the shop. These men did not leave the shop. The work was brought to them. The repairs were made in the shop and the material as finished was delivered to the mines. The mine workers in those mines prior to suggestions from mining officers, communicated with the local lodge of our organization at Huntington, West Virginia, and suggested the desirability of organizing the machinists at Omar into the International Association of Machinists. We accepted the invitation. We sent a representative there, and with the assistance of the members of the United Mine Workers of America working in the mines, who knew all of the conditions and circumstances, we organized the machinists.

The next thing we sought to do was to negotiate an agreement. About this time an officer of the United Mine Workers' organization appeared upon the scene, and the officials of the mining company who had advised the committee of the machinists working in this shop of their willingness to enter into an agreement with the machinists' organization then advised the committee that they could not negotiate an agreement with our organization unless it met with the approval of the Mine Workers' Organization, as they did not desire to become involved in trouble with that organization.

I presented this situation to the President of the United Mine Workers of America and he said he would look into the matter and he felt confident that it would be straightened out to our satisfaction. Be that as it may, but the next

thing we knew was the receipt of a letter from the secretary of our local advising that they had been notified that if they did not become members of the United Mine Workers of America on or before a certain date—and the date was specified—that they could no longer work in that machine shop. As a result and without any further information from the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America, these men became members of the United Mine Workers of America.

The reference to an agreement being submitted to the owners of this shop, providing for the eight-hour day and the forty-hour week with less than the rate established by the United Mine Workers of America for that section of the country for this type of men, is one of which I have no knowledge. The men in our organization prepare their own agreements. We deal with thousands of employers and we leave that work to the discretion of the men in the localities, advising them when we are asked for advice. I never even saw the proposed agreement. If it was presented and it was as represented by the speaker of the Mine Workers, that may be true. I give you the circumstances of how it happened that the machinists made a raid, if you please, upon the great organization of the United Mine Workers of America.

The same delegate notified the convention that the Mine Workers organized the auto garage mechanics at Charleston and secured an agreement for us down there. We publish information of that kind, but in publishing that kind of information, if the agreements do not measure up to the usual standards we seek to establish for the members of our organization, we simply state that an agreement had been reached and that the conditions were satisfactory to the members of the organization. If you will look over our journal you will find reference made to an agreement signed with our organization at Charleston and the garage owners of that city, but there is no reference to wages or hours. It was the first agreement of the kind and possibly is below standard. I want to express my personal appreciation for this magnificent contribution of the miners in that vicinity. They have a very splendid organization. We always try to co-operate with them and we are certainly appreciative

when they go out of their way to the extent just mentioned.

Since coming to this convention I received information that the organization which I represent and those associated with it has just eliminated another company union on a railroad—the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis Railroad. I also received information from San Francisco that the representatives of our local of auto mechanics in that city, Local No. 1305, negotiated an agreement with the Garage Owners' Association, representing 400 garages, establishing a minimum rate of 90 cents an hour, with an increase of 5 cents in ninety days, and an additional 5 cents increase in the next ninety days thereafter, establishing a minimum of \$1 per hour. There are 400 garages there. The miners did not happen to help us in that case, but we were making progress just the same. We have 500 men on strike with the auto dealers in that city, attempting to establish the same conditions.

I am not going to make any reference to starving machinists. Our organization attempts to take care of them. Reference was made by a representative of one of the large organizations to a limited number of its members on strike, and the only reason I can ascribe for its being mentioned was for the effect it would have on the delegates, that striking miners in that particular locality were starving. If we had 400,000 members I would not want to mention that fact. I think we could take care of them. We try to do it.

I want to mention just one thing to show the attitude of our organization toward the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization. They were down and out in Butte, Anaconda and Great Falls. We have a business representative in Butte. He has been there for a great many years. Any one familiar with Butte knows Jim O'Brien. He was the chairman of the organizing committee who helped to re-establish the mine, mill and smelter workers in that city, and from all accounts, he did a very splendid job, with the assistance of the other craft organizations, to the extent of building up an organization of something over 6,000 in Butte. My organization as well as some of the other craft organizations has maintained continuous contractual relations with the Anaconda Copper Company since 1890. The statement was made that the

mine workers went on strike, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and the crafts stayed in. I have consulted with several men who are quite familiar with the conditions there and I asked them if they had any knowledge of any strike that had ever taken place in the Anaconda Copper plants, mines, mills or smelters where the crafts stayed in. The answer was no. I just simply place those facts before you to show that so far as the records of our organization go, the relations between the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization and these craft organizations were harmonious until some one injected a different idea into their minds.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate McCabe for a moment.

Delegate McCabe, Flat Glass Workers: Mr. Chairman, the making of flat glass, building glass and window glass is far removed from the mining industry, and I would not attempt to take advantage of your patience by asking for the floor this evening except that speaker after speaker has challenged any one to show where any industrial union has made any advancement. At least that is the way it looks to me. I represent what I think can be termed an industrial union. In the flat glass factories we cover every type of flat glass used in building construction—automobile glass, window glass and other kinds of glass.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I rise to a point of order.

President Green: State your point of order.

Delegate Connors: The speaker is not speaking on the question. I don't see any use in taking up more time with a discussion of glass or anything of that kind.

President Green: The point of order is well taken. The delegate must confine himself to the substitute offered by Delegate Lewis, which provides that the jurisdiction of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' union be regarded as the same as the United Mine Workers of America. We cannot go into a discussion of the abstract question now. You must discuss the question.

Delegate McCabe: I have tried time and time again to get the floor when the members were not impatient, when I had a right

to defend this question, and I think what I have to say bears on this question directly, because it is a question of industrial unionism.

(There were insistent calls for the question.)

Delegate McCabe: I realize the delegates are very impatient, because I am impatient, but I think we have a right to present our views. In view of the question that is raised, if you will give me the opportunity to defend our organization and make answer to the challenge that has been made on this question time and time again today and tonight, I will retire.

President Green: Your organization has not been attacked.

Delegate Lane, Amalgamated Meat Cutters: Mr. Chairman, the organization that I am here speaking for is vitally interested in the question before the convention at this time, particularly so as it affects Butte, Montana, and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization. I want to leave this in the minds of the delegates, that some thirty-five years ago the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, or Western Federation of Miners, organized everything in that country within their scope, including butcher workmen and meat cutters. In the city of Butte, Montana, after that old Western Federation had gone out of existence and most of these organizations came into the American Federation of Labor, our International Union spent thousands of dollars to bring that butchers' union into our International Union. After many years of trial and expense, we succeeded, with the help of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' organization in Butte. But let me remind the delegates of this fact, that up to that time, about five years ago, that local organization of butcher workmen and meat cutters was seated in the central body, and in the state federation with all of the privileges of any American Federation of Labor organization and with objection from nobody. When we succeeded in getting them to come over—they were not in yet, they had not got their charter yet—we were approached by a business agent of the Teamsters and he asked, "What are you going to do with the drivers in that packing plant?" I said, "Brother, if there are any of your members there it is your place to

see to them. Don't come and ask me about them, because we haven't even got our own people yet."

I don't expect that what I am saying is going to sway the vote of this convention, but at least I am going to leave with the convention, if it is my privilege, my knowledge of what has not been done by former processes of organization. Let me leave that with you for your consideration.

Delegate Ernst, California State Federation of Labor: I most respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that you ask Mr. Lane whether he is in favor of the amendment or not. He is speaking about everything except what is before the house.

President Green: The delegate asks me to inquire whether you are for the substitute or against it.

Delegate Lane: And I might ask the Chair, did you call yet for a vote on the question before the house? In the interests of our worthy officers and in behalf of the Federation, I am going to retire and let it go at that.

Delegate Weber, Musicians: I move that the previous question be now put.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: Are there a sufficient number of delegates who support that motion? More than thirty delegates have voted in the affirmative. Now it requires a two-thirds vote to order the previous question. All those in favor of the motion that the previous question be now put, hold up your right hand. Contrary, the same sign. It seems to be unanimous. The vote in favor of the previous question is unanimous, therefore, the previous question will now be put.

Several delegates requested a roll call.

President Green: Are there a sufficient number demanding a roll call? It appears to me that there are more than fifty-one delegates who have requested a roll call. Does the convention concede that?

A large number of delegates responded in the affirmative.

President Green: Then the roll call will be ordered. More than fifty delegates have asked for the roll call.

Just a moment, please, until I state the question. The question as submitted to the convention for vote now is the substitute resolution offered by Delegate Lewis. The

Resolutions Committee recommended approval of the Executive Council's report. Delegate Lewis offered a substitute, which is understood by the convention. The vote will be upon the substitute. Those who favor the substitute will vote aye. Those who are opposed to the substitute will vote no.

Secretary Morrison called the roll, with the following result:

ROLL CALL VOTE

YES—Hamilton (E. G.), Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Koch, Obergfell, Kugler, Zusi, Hillman (S.), Schlossberg, Chatman, Miller (A.), Catalanotti, Rissman, Feeney, Milton, Taylor (M.), Lucchi, Dubinsky, Margolies, Snyder (A.), Zuckerman, Nagler, Hochman, Deati, McCabe, (G. W.), Kennedy (J. H.), Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' Delegation (107 votes); Leonard (L.), Beardsley (S. E.), Williams (L.), Gorman (P. H.), Lane (D.), Maxwell, Kelly (M. J.), Peterson (P. M.), Robinson (R.), Cashin (A.), Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Kennedy (Thos.), Green (Wm.), Bittner, Brennan, Fagan, Kmetz, Fremming, Coulter (J. L.), Schafer (B. J.), Long (J. C.), Burns (M. J.), Barry (F. P.), McHugh, McGrady, Armstrong, Wilson (Wm.), Sigmund, Burke (J. P.), Bayha, Sullivan (H. W.), Lowry, Hanson (F. C.), Davis (Geo.), McMahon (T. F.), Gorman (F. J.), Smith (Wm.), Kelly (W. F.), Rieve, Schweitzer, Typographical Union Delegation (611 votes); Ernst, Tiller, Lewis (J. C.), Hughes (F.), Nord, Patterson (D. E.), Crose, Easton (E. J.), Ross (J.), Nance (A. S.), Mayer, Owens, Bamford, Morgan (J.), McCormick, Komaroff, Townshend, Yourishin, O'Leary (J.), Harvey, Campbell (J. C.), Heimbach, Bower (A. P.), Day (P.), Sweeney (S. A.), Edmundson, Brach, Buckingham, Merrill, Shipley, Addes, Soltis, Killen, Mortimer (W.), Kles, North, Davis (E.), Goff, Baron, Templeman, Martocchio, Lawrence (H.), Strunk, Tucker (J. R.), Merritt, Lee (A. P.), Clark (W. B.), Rand, Dahl, Burks (J. A.), Bellows, Marek, Costello, Masucci, White (F.), Heymanns, Sanders, Finnegan, Hanlon, O'Gorman (M. A.), Taylor (C. S.), Kuehnel, Nelson (J.), Lilly Krauss, Gerhart, Fine, Henderson (H.), Ratkin, Randolph (A. P.), Webster, Schillinger, McCloskey, Nicholson, Carey (J. B.), Eagle, Thompson (W. W.), Dalrymple, Shacklette, Matlin (I.), Garrison (O. L.), Dodge (A.), Rasmussen, Braun, Joblon, Jenkins (S.), Harper, representing 10,897 votes.

NO—Dullzell, Mullaney, Shanesay, Birthright, Robinson (J. B.), Reagan (P. H.), Merlino, Horn, Powlesland, Franklin, Davis (J. N.), Walter, Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Mara, Lawson (G. W.), Spahr, Bates, Gray, Price, Stretch, Moran (W. J.), Morrin, Brice, Dempsey (J. J.), Ryan (Edw.), Horan, Nelson, Scallie, Bambrick, Knight (F.), Holmgren, Macrorie, Fitzgerald (J. J.),

Hutcheson, Duffy (F.), Williams (J. W.), Flynn (T.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Hanson, Mulcahy, Van Vaeerneyck, George, Hyatt, Hewitt, Collins (W. A.), Smith (H. W.), Harrison (G. M.), Jackson, Ulrich, Desepte, Coulter (C. C.), Deckard, Doyle (J. J.), Rosemund, Tracy (D. W.), Bugniazet, Paulsen, Bieretz, McDonagh, Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay, Gramling, Walsh (W. P.), Imhahn, Vols, Woll, Schmal, Baer, Kane, McNamara (J. F.), Clinton (J.), Conway (J.), Kelley (J. L.), Rickert, Adamski, Gordon (A.), Hashkins, Houck, Maloney (J.), Warren, Gillooly, Babcock, Glass, Daniels (J.), Hatters', Cap and Millinery Workers' Union Delegation (107 votes); Moreschi, Marshall, Rivers, Etchison, D'Andrea, Flore, Hesketh, Kovesleski, Lane (C.), McSorley, Moore (G. T.), Case, Gainer, Finnan, Gorman (W. J.), Swartz, Duffy, Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck, Ryan (Jos. P.), Sampson, Wharton, Robinson (W. F.), Fry, Alifas, Henning, Haggerty (Dan), Fljodzda, Milliman, Carroll (T. C.), Vogland, McCarthy (W.), McInerney (J. A.), Hynes (J. J.), Ryan (J. J.), Moriarty, Close, O'Keefe, Towers, Barnett, Weber, Canavan (E.), Weaver (C. A.), Bagley, Kapl, Field, Lindelof, Swick, Madson, Meehan, Kaufman, Kelley (Jos. F.), Lynch (G. Q.), Collieran (M. J.), Rooney, Donlin, McDonough (M. J.), Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Anderson (C.), Fallon, Britton, Duffy, (J. M.), McGillivray, Grafton, Windsor (J. H.), Mahon, Kehoe, McLellan, McLaughlin (M. J.), Broderick, Sterling, Jones (G. W.), Gavlak, Furuseth, Olander, Browne (G. F.), Dempsey (F. J.), Green (T. V.), McCaffery (M.), De Vese, Sumner, Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen (P. J.), Cashen, Connors, Reznicek, Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Goudie, McLaughlin (J.), Beck, Manion, Leighty, Powers, Evans (E. L.), Lentie, Typographical Union Delegation (123 votes); Hatch, Graves (E. E.), Frey, Ornburn, Soderstrom, McCurdy, Cunningham, Meany, Arthur, Egan (B. M.), Campfield, Keenan (J. D.), Doll, Brooks (W. E.), Kennedy (J. G.), Le Bow, Rivin, Egan (J. V.), Topping, Quinn (J. C.), Hirschberg, Campbell (W. W.), King (C.), Heber, Duncan (J. A.), Doyle (F. E.), Musgrave, Borchardt, McMahon (B. R.), Myles, Fitz-

gerald (I. J.), Flynn (M. J.), Groner, Nick, Raisse, Marzocca, representing 18,464 votes.

NOT VOTING—McCarthy (Wm.), Dannenberg, Brooks (W. C.), Bryan (W. E.), Scully (J. J.), Morningstar, Hannah (E. L.), Lawson (J. C.), Evans (A. A.), Kaiser (E. W.), Billet, Jewell, Mitch, Noxon, Egan, (J. J.), Rosqvist, Fritz, Morgan (E. J.), Watt, Wade, Brandt (W. M.), Graham (J. D.), Hollopeter, Lawrence (R. R.), Donnelly (T. J.), Palmer, Osborne, Iglesias, Crawford, Taylor (J. A.), Shave, Handley, Burr, McAloon, Biel, Mitchell (A.), Slout, Smith (D.), Flynn (Al.), Reinhart, Lenehan, Nadelhoffer, Jeffries, Weizenecker, Breidenbach, Matchley, Soutter, Cushing, Passage, Downie, Mitchell (H.), Katz, DeWitt, Eardley, Riley (W. H.), Crother, Slich, Regan, Dahl, David (P. T.), Hanoway, Maney, Sweetland, Michelson, Friedrich, Nevil, Pickler, Draper, Lyding, McCarty (M. L.), Cahir, Howat, Sager, Woodmansee, Russell (H. A.), Wood (R. T.), Dahlager, Hymes, Walsh (M.), Saylor, Sandefur, Salatus, Bender, Johnson (T. S.), Gormley, Long (J. A.), McGurk, Pavona, Rundle, Caraway, Ravitch, Doane, Wise, Ross (A. J.), Dance, Sierman, Dallas, Sticht, Hannah, Bradley (H. A.), Burke (M. J.), Weinberg, Lovell, Barr (M. P.), Beedie, Burns (T. F.), Serra, Dougherty, Malkovich, Turner (G. L.), Zander, Makman, Taylor (J. C.), Lufano, Ocker, Fearn, Mack (J.), Ryan (J. A.), Conley (A.), Naesmith, Haydon (J. A. P.), representing 385 votes.

President Green: The convention will be in order and the Secretary will announce the result of the roll call.

Secretary Morrison: Yes, 10,897; no, 18,464.

President Green: The substitute is lost. The question now recurs upon the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 11:45 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, October 18.

TENTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.,

October 18, 1935.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

ABSENTEES

Albano, Alter, Armstrong, Beedie, Billet, Borchardt, Bender, Bradley, Breidenbach, Brooks, W. C.; Burke, J.; Burns, T. F.; Bambrick, Braginsky, Brown, Biel, Burch, Booth, Cahir, Cashen, Creed, Crother, Cushing, Campbell, J. C.; Dahlager, Dallas, Dance, Danz, David, Dellums, Dewitt, Doane, Dougherty, Downie, Draper, Eardley, Edmundson, Evans, A. A.; Fearn, Flynn, Al.; Fulford, Gormley, H. J.; Haley, Hanoway, Horan, Howat, Hynes, W. J.; Hein, Iglesias, Jefferies, Kaiser, Katz, Lenhan, Lentie, Lovell, Lowry, Lufrano, Lumley, Lyding, McAloon, McCabe, McCarthy, M. L.; McCloskey, McGurk, Mack, Malkovich, Mayer, Michelson, Mitchell, H.; Morgan, Morningstar, Masucci, Mortimer, Nadelhoffer, Nafe, Nicholson, Ocker, Osborne, Owens, O'Leary, Palmer, Passage, Pavona, Pickler, Poe, Sager, Saltus, Sampson, Sandefur, Sealise, Scully, Serra, Shave, Sigman, Slick, Slout, Smith, D.; Stein, Sticht, Swetland, Taylor, J. C.; Tighe, Wade, Walsh, M.; Weinberg, Weizenecker, Williams, Leon; Wise, Wood, Woodmansee.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

"Will it be possible for Raymond Lowry, American Federation of Teachers' delegate, to be excused from the convention? He was called home late today."

The communication was signed by George Davis, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers.

The request was granted.

President Green: The Chair desires to submit a supplementary report of the Executive Council which contains the report of Fraternal Delegate Schmal to the British Trades Union Congress which was held at Margate, England, on September 2.

REPORT OF HENRY F. SCHMAL,

Fraternal Delegate to the Twenty-Seventh Meeting of the British Trade Union Congress

The 27th Congress of the British Trade Unions, which convened at Margate, England, September 2nd, 1935, was attended by 575 delegates, representing a total of 3,888,810 Trade Unionists, a recorded gain of 94,229 members during the year.

The first matter of importance to be brought to the attention of the Congress was the report of President William Kean. In his Presidential Report Mr. Kean very forcefully called attention to the fact that the Congress was again meeting in the shadow of war and that world peace was imperiled. He denounced the policies of dictatorship, adding a warning against unrestrained aggression under such policies.

The General Council's Report, submitted to the Congress for consideration, consisted of a very extensive review of the activities of that body during the past year, combined with many constructive and well advised recommendations offered for the guidance of the Congress and its affiliated unions.

Many resolutions reflecting the objective of the Trade Union Movement in Great Britain were adopted by the Congress. Among them a resolution calling for the introduction of the 40-hour work week with no reduction in weekly rates, with drastic restrictions on overtime. This resolution also protested against the Government's action in opposing an international convention and instructed the General Council to approach the Prime Minister and request the introduction of the 40-hour work week in all Government establishments.

On the subject of Fascism the Congress declared "That this Congress reaffirms its profound sympathy for the oppressed and persecuted Trade Unionists and political and racial victims of Fascism and its unrelenting opposition to all forms of dictatorship." It requested the General Council to continue to take all practical steps to combat this menace to liberty and democracy. It urged the General Council to bring these activities prominently to the notice of all affiliated unions, so that the Trade Unionists may be fully informed as to the way in which they can individually help in the all-important task of destroying Fascism and re-establish personal and collective freedom.

Considerable time was devoted to the discussion of the subject of Communism and other destructive elements in the trade unions, resulting in the Congress upholding

the action taken by the General Council in that regard. These and other additional equally important resolutions were adopted by the Congress, supplemented by pronouncements and declarations of policy proposed in the General Council's report.

While the method of procedure followed by the Trade Unions Congress in carrying on its work is unlike that of the American Federation of Labor, its objective and ideals are in no sense different with those of our Federation.

In the course of its sessions the Congress was addressed by many leaders in the labor, political and other forms of collective activity in Great Britain, all of them transmitting encouraging, constructive and educational messages to this meeting of trade union representatives.

The following is in part my address to the Congress:

Mr. Chairman, delegates and friends of the Trade Union Movement—For two score years, with but few interruptions, our two great bodies of English-speaking organizations of trade unions have been sending their delegates across the sea to exchange fraternal greetings and to deepen that bond of fellowship in labor which has been one of the privileges of our long association. As I stand today here before this great Congress of the British Trade Union movement, I am deeply mindful of both the privilege and the responsibility which is mine, to present to the officers and members of this Congress the fraternal greeting and good wishes of the men and women who constitute the American Federation of Labor.

I come to you this year with a message which few delegates from our Federation have been able to bring to this Congress, merely because of the two amazing years through which we have lived in the United States. It would be impossible for me to summarize for you in brief compass all of the events that have taken place in these two years under the New Deal. Indeed, time alone will make it possible for anyone to properly assess the projects which have been launched and the departures which have been made in governmental procedure and the trends which have become evident as a part of our whole economic development. It is my own deep conviction that experimentation in the field of economics and industrial problems is not the special possession of any single nation, but should be shared with all people. In spite of the trends of nationalistic sentiment which one sees on every side, it behooves the man of labor, true to his deeper loyalty to the men and women who work for wages the world over, to share his experience with all those men of labor who are seeking to fashion a new way of life.

For us the year that has passed has been characterized by events of widespread importance which anyone who is familiar with the American scene would be bound to recognize. In the first place, the National Industrial Recovery Act, which was passed and projected in June of 1933, soon thereafter began to disclose elements of serious

weakness. These elements were in large measure the result of our discovery that the point of weakness was more particularly in its administration. No person can doubt the extraordinary accomplishment of securing the agreement of 90 per cent of American industries to a standard of code regulations under the NRA. It was an heroic task and represented a great achievement, but the very situation which made its development so noticeable during the organizational period proved to be one of the serious defects of it as it moved from the organizational stage into the purely administrative stage. As we moved into this secondary stage, the carrying on of the whole activity on a somewhat less picturesque line became a signal in many quarters for a breakdown in the local administration of the Act. Compliance officers here and elsewhere about the country either openly winked at violations or else were half-hearted in their prosecution. It was clear to anyone that some kind of test case to determine the constitutional validity of the Act must be tried before we could get full measure of enforcement. The National Labor Relations Board tried desperately to set up standards of industrial practice that would insure effective compliance. Regional Labor Boards about the country rendered conspicuous service in adjusting labor difficulties. As one looks back upon some of these activities, the surprise is not that they accomplished so little but that they accomplished so much under these circumstances.

And yet the very basis of our whole political scheme, the final determination of the constitutionality of the Act, did serve to defer if not paralyze action. When in May of this year the Supreme Court by unanimous decision decided the NRA unconstitutional, it proved to be a final and definite blow at the whole scheme of industrial government as set up under its provisions. The effect of the decision was in many respects devastating. At once there were evidences aplenty that widespread wage-cutting and hour-lengthening was going on and that a chaotic condition would inevitably result, but it is more accurate to say that the Supreme Court by its decision sealed the breakdown which had already taken place in the NRA rather than actually producing its breakdown.

But the secondary results of a decision of this kind are sometimes as important as the primary results. By that I mean that the action of the Court in connection with the NRA proved a great spur to the forces of labour in pressing for the enactment of the Wagner-Connery Labour Disputes Bill. This Act, which is based frankly upon the British Trades Disputes Act, seeks to equalize the bargaining power of labour with the employer. It constitutes a very notable step in advance in American industrial relations and seeks to clarify and make more explicit the principles of the so-called Section 7-A in the old NRA. This labour Disputes Act provides for some new and significant policies in industrial re-

lations, which I am bound to say must await Court decision before we can determine whether or not they will be a permanent part of our industrial practices.

No authority is vested in the board provided for under the Act to fix either wages or hours, but the Act does guarantee the right of workers to bargain collectively. Machinery is set up providing for a National Labour Relations Board to be appointed by the President who, however, is not to have the power of removal.

The powers of this National Labour Relations Board under the provisions of the Act are going to be similar to those of the Federal Trade Commission in dealing with unfair trade practices. If an employer fails to conform to cease and desist orders that are issued by the Board, the Board can go to the Circuit Court for a restraining order and may even compel the payment of back pay, together with a fine, as a device for securing compliance. It should be added that the rights of the employers are not abridged under the Act; it does not interfere with the normal hiring and discharging of employees though it does prohibit discrimination against employees for union activities. Furthermore, it does not interfere with any closed shop agreements. While the Act provides that majority rule shall prevail, minorities may present grievance to their employers at any time. In a word, the purpose of the Act is to provide for an equalization of bargaining power and to enable the process of industrial relations to be conducted in a more orderly and systematic way.

But I am prompted to say also that no person can examine some of the implications of this Trade Disputes Act without some misgivings. We have had, as most of your members know, a deep concern that at times has expressed itself in a real fear of the possible consequences of compulsory arbitration in the United States. We are opposed to it in principle and practice and are persuaded that compulsory arbitration in the long run tends to weaken and not strengthen the position of organized labour. While the Act does not provide for compulsory arbitrations, it is an extension of the Government into the whole field of industrial relations.

Second in importance only to the Wagner-Connelly Labour Disputes Act are the provisions of the so-called Guffey Act which seeks to make bituminous coal a public utility and provide for a scheme of national regulation. The Guffey Act marks a new development in American industrial practice that I am bound to believe marks the beginning of a very important new policy in connection with the whole program of American economic life at least in so far as our national resources and basic industrial activities are concerned.

The third significant development that has taken place has been the enactment of the Social security legislation. After extended hearings and extended debates, the Government of the United States has decided to

provide a measure of economic security for its work-people. Under the provisions of the Social Security Act the three great types of occupational hazards are dealt with. First, unemployment insurance, for which provision is made to set up a program of a remission of taxes to industries that come under state schemes. This Federal-State program is one which represents a long tradition in our own free economy in our country but nevertheless is a very important step in advance. In addition to providing for a program of unemployment insurance under such grants in aid, provision is made in the second place for old age pensions. For those who have reached the age of 65, provision is for a non-contributory pension on a basis of one-half by the States, with a maximum of 30 dollars a month as the allowance for pensions.

As a second part of the old age pension proposal there is the scheme for a contributory basis, which follows the practice of contributory insurance in Great Britain. It is estimated that the cost of this old age pension legislation will represent about 140,000,000 dollars with mounting obligations until the year 1980, and while the amount of money is large to carry on this program in the United States, public sentiment is so overwhelming in support of it that there is no question as to its meeting a popular need.

The third aspect of the social security program deals with help to widows and to dependent children. This widows' pension law, which was a part of the pioneer social legislation in the United States, has lacked adequate funds for its enforcement in several states. This discrepancy is provided for in the new legislation. Thus we can see that in the Wagner-Connelly Labour Disputes Act, in the provisions of the Guffey Act to make coal a public utility and in the social security legislation, some far-reaching advancements have been made in the whole field of social legislation in the United States.

Another of the secondary results of the two years under the NRA has been the effect upon the structure and character of the organizations which make up the American Federation of Labour. During recent years new methods of production have developed. This has brought about a change in the nature of work performed by millions of workers in industries, which it has been difficult or impossible to organize into craft unions. The systems of mass production are comparatively new and are under the control of great corporations and aggregations of capital which have resisted all efforts at organization. The provisions of the National Recovery Act, protecting the employees in their rights to organization and in selecting representatives of their own choice without interference on the part of employers or their agents, had the effect of freeing the flood of organization sentiment that existed among so many of our workers who had previously been prevented from or intimidated from joining our trade unions by reason of employer opposition.

This demand quite naturally required the American Federation of Labour to formulate policies which would protect the jurisdictional rights of existing trade unions and yet enable the organization of employees in mass-production plants or industries on a larger or broader plan of organization. Out of this necessity there evolved quite a discussion regarding the relative merits or demerits of craft as distinguished from the industrial form of organization of wage earners. This discussion is still current. However, it is fair to say that the American Federation of Labour has at no time attempted to dictate the form and structure of any of its affiliated organizations. Neither is it committed to any definite form of organization. Embraced in the Federation are unions of the widest possible industrial latitude, also those built upon the narrowest possible craft or trade lines. Changes have taken place from time to time; some organizations of large industrial character have been divided into narrower industrial or craft lines, while on the other hand organizations built upon more restricted craft or trade lines have merged with one another into a union of a larger industrial scope. In this movement the American Federation of Labour has not only aided the organizations directly concerned, but often times has taken the lead, as indicated at the last Convention of the Federation which delegated authority to its Executive Council to issue separate national charters to workers engaged in the automobile, cement and aluminum industries without prejudice to the jurisdictional rights of existing National and International Unions.

In some quarters this decision has been interpreted as a change of policy on the part of the American Federation of Labour and as indicating that the Federation favoured the industrial or vertical form of organization as against the craft or horizontal form of organization. That is untrue. It is true to say that developments in our productive processes and methods of manufacture do now, as heretofore, impel us to follow that form structure and character of organization as best suits the purpose of wage earners at any given time, to use their collective powers for the attainment of essential and desirable ends. It is equally true to say that the NRA accentuated this situation but did not result in the disparagement, much less the repudiation, of our existing forms of organization. As a matter of fact, the American Federation of Labour is at present utilizing the benefits of four distinct types of unions, seeking the best that is in each and deliberately experimenting in the two of them. The four are:

First—Trade Unions.

Second—Industrial Unions.

Third—The Council Type.

Fourth—For want of a better name, the Anaconda Type.

Trade and industrial forms of unions have existed within the American Federation since its inception. The Council type developed in more recent years. It is the forming of a

Council of the several craft unions whose members are employed in an industrial plant and where the Council is authorized to act in behalf of all. The Anaconda type is an enlargement of the Council plan in that it embraces an agreement between National and International Unions and several Departments of the American Federation to have a pre-determined Committee represent all organizations and act in their behalf as a separate and distinctive group—thus combining every advantage of a most extensive industrial form of organization while maintaining at the same time their individual and separate craft identity.

During the year also there has been another very notable development under the New Deal, to which I am especially pleased to make reference. I refer to the official action of the President of the United States in affiliating our Government with the International Labour Office in Geneva. In June of this year the first official American delegation took part in this conference. I am reliably informed that the contribution which was made by the American delegation, including the representative of American Labour, was a notable one. This support by American Labour and by the American Government of this agency of international co-operation is one that is meeting with an increasing measure of satisfaction in the United States. Because of the long interest of the British Trades Union Congress in the work of the International Labor Office, I can only add that we feel a real measure of pride to be associated with the British Trades Union Congress in supporting this significant instrument of international co-operation. I have also learned something of the great help rendered by the delegates of the British Trades Union Congress to the American Labour delegates and I am sure that I express the wish of the American Federation of Labour in acknowledging that assistance and in specifically thanking the Congress for that aid.

In the field of relief in the United States we have, of course, had a tremendously difficult problem with which to deal. More than 22,000,000 persons have been on the relief rolls and the cost alone of relief has so vastly increased the tax burden and the burden on the Federal Exchequer that there are grave questions raised as to the effectiveness of the methods which we have employed up to the present time.

Such then, in a word, are some of the more important matters which have come up during the past year, and which have held the attention of organized labour in the United States.

As one looks upon the future of American Labour in the year that is approaching, one is bound to make two general observations. In the first place, we shall be approaching our quadrennial election in 1936; before another Trade Union Congress has assembled, the candidates of the two great political par-

ties will have been nominated. In one sense there will be an agreement among the American people as to who is to be the standard-bearer for the next four years. Labour, with all of these new developments and new legislation is bound to re-examine its policy and practices with reference to political action. I do not presume to say that labour in the United States will go into party politics; I do say that American labour is bound to increase its political activity or political pressure in the light of the new trend toward governmental action which is disclosed in the three bills to which I have particularly referred.

In bringing you the greetings of the American Federation of Labour on this occasion, I should like to remind you of the far-reaching changes we face at the present time and how necessary it is in meeting these changes that labour should keep its position clear and should rally to its support all those workers who feel that in organization they have an instrument through which they can articulate their desires.

In submitting this report, made brief by the pressure of time, I desire to express sincere appreciation and thanks to the delegates of the 54th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor for having elected me as one of the Fraternal Delegates to the British Trade Union Congress and trust my efforts to fill that position of honor, trust and responsibility have merited the confidence of the delegates as reflected in my election last year.

President Green: This report will be incorporated into the proceedings of today's convention.

Delegate Moore, Lathers: Mr. President and delegates to this convention—There are many of us here that do not know how long the convention is going to meet. Many of the delegates left last night and others are leaving this morning. We have just listened to an announcement by the Secretary to excuse a delegate. Many of the delegates will have to be at their homes Monday morning. I move that we set aside the regular order of business and have the election of officers at three o'clock this afternoon.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following letter from the President of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; also a letter by the same officer, addressed to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Building Trades Department.

St. Louis, Mo.,
October 17, 1935.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Ambassador Hotel,
Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I am enclosing you copy of a letter I have sent to Secretary O'Neill of the Building Trades Department, approving the agreement reached in the recent Building Trades controversy, which I would request that you have read to the Convention and incorporated in the proceedings as recording the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, as being in favor of and accepting this agreement.

I regret exceedingly that I have not been able to attend the Convention and participate in its work, as this is the first one I have missed in many, many years, but for reasons with which you are very familiar neither myself nor associate International Officials are able to do so, without the possibilities of jeopardizing their interests, and that of our International Union.

With best wishes, I remain,
Fraternally yours,

P. J. MORRIN.

General President, International Association
of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron
Workers.

October 17, 1935.

Mr. William C. O'Neill,
Secretary and Treasurer,
Building Trades Department,
American Federation of Labor,
Ambassador Hotel,
Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your letter of October 15 was received last night, in which you enclosed a copy of the agreement reached by the two Building Trades Departments, and approved by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I am writing to advise you that this agreement is acceptable and agreeable to our organization, and you are hereby authorized to record the International Association of the Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers as being in accord with this agreement.

On account of circumstances beyond my control, with which you are familiar, I regret exceedingly that I have not been able to attend the Convention personally and participate in their deliberations.

With best wishes, I remain,
Fraternally yours,

P. J. MORRIN,

General President, International Association
of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron
Workers.

President Green: The letters will be incorporated in the proceedings of the convention. May the Chair inquire if the Committee on Adjustment is ready to report?

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men: I rise at this time to call attention to the rules of this convention and to ask that we observe them in the future. There are some five hundred delegates in here; we all have rights upon this floor, yet in the speeches that have been made men have consumed all kinds of time. The rules limit the speakers to ten minutes. Some of us are here wanting to get through with the work of this convention. I would insist that the rules of the convention be carried out in the future and the ten-minute rule enforced so that we can get through in a reasonable time.

President Green: The delegate, in accordance with his right as a delegate, requests that the ten-minute rule be enforced. The Chair announces that unless there is objection in the convention it will be the duty of the Chair to enforce the ten-minute rule during the balance of this convention. Are there any objections to that course?

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: I very uniformly agree with President Green and I agree that debate should be limited, yet I think it is unfair to some of us who have listened for hours to discussions here who wish to discuss matters that are of the greatest importance to this country.

Delegate Mahon: If something comes before the convention that we want to hear a speaker on we can extend his time.

Delegate Kuehnle, Federal Labor Union, Hartford, Connecticut: I protest at this moment against applying the ten-minute rule. Up to this time a majority of the delegates have not had an opportunity to express their opinions until unlimited time had been given the other speakers on important matters that we have passed on. I think it would be very unfair to them to enforce the ten-minute rule now.

Delegate Shipley, Automobile Workers, South Bend, Indiana: We do want the privilege of our problems coming before this convention in the proper manner.

President Green: The convention possesses the power and the authority to extend the time of any delegate who may wish to address the convention.

Delegate Case, Lathers: I would not be a party to any gag rule toward anybody, but we have got to have a limit on speeches if

we are to get through this week. I heard "1911" nineteen hundred and eleven times last night and I hope we won't have that today. If there is any reason why we should give a speaker more time to present his case, I will agree to it, but we want to cut down the time of the convention.

Report of Committee on Organization

Vice-President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee, read the following report:

PROGRESS OF ORGANIZATION IN MASS PRODUCTION INDUSTRIES

Under this caption the Executive Council reports the terms and conditions under which the International Union United Automobile Workers of America was organized in compliance with the orders of the 1934 Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in San Francisco, California.

The new International Union was formed at a convention held in Detroit, Michigan, on August 26, 1935.

A number of delegates in attendance at this convention from Federal Labor Unions of Automobile Workers appeared before your Committee when a lengthy hearing was held, principally on the best manner to continue organizing this class of workers which they claim numbers 500,000.

Your committee is in hearty accord with the request of these workers, and we therefore recommend that the Executive Council devise ways and means to inaugurate, conduct and carry on an intensive organizing campaign among all auto workers, with the cooperation of this new International Union known as the United Automobile Workers of America.

In the hearing it developed that this new International Union is now drafting a constitution which when completed will be sent to the Executive Council for approval.

Your Committee congratulates this new International Union on its formation and admission to the fold of organized labor—the American Federation of Labor. We wish it success in the great task it has undertaken to organize the automobile workers into one great International Union.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Under the above general caption the committee reported on the following under the sub-heads, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Aluminum, Radio, Cement and other miscellaneous workers as follows:

RUBBER WORKERS

Your Committee is pleased to learn that the Executive Council organized The Rubber Workers' International Union at a convention held in Akron, Ohio, on September 12, 1935, in accordance with the directions of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in San Francisco in 1934.

It has been reported that this International Union has drafted a constitution for its government. Your Committee recommends that a copy of this constitution be sent to the Executive Council for approval.

We also recommend that organization work among this class of workers be continued to the end that this new International Union become a permanent fixture in that industry.

We congratulate the Rubber Workers International Union on its organization and admission to the American Federation of Labor. We wish it success, and hope that it may prove beneficial to the workers of that industry.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ALUMINUM, RADIO, CEMENT AND OTHER MISCELLANEOUS WORKERS

The report of the Executive Council shows that careful consideration was given to these workers, but with all the efforts put forth they were not sufficiently organized to warrant the granting of International charters at the present time. In this your Committee concurs with the hope that in the near future the Executive Council may be able to fully carry out the orders of the San Francisco convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

IRON, STEEL AND TIN WORKERS

On account of internal differences among the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers the Execu-

tive Council was unable to carry out the orders of the San Francisco Convention,—

"To inaugurate, manage, promote and conduct an organizing campaign among the iron and steel workers at the earliest possible date."

The delegate representing the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers at this convention appeared before your committee and assured us that the internal differences had been healed and that his organization was ready and willing to assist and cooperate with the Executive Council in inaugurating an organizing campaign in the iron and steel industry.

We therefore recommend that the orders of the San Francisco convention be put into force and effect at the earliest possible date.

Your Committee recommends that part of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Progress of Organization in Mass Production Industries" be approved.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Leonard, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers: I desire to state in reply with the report of the committee, the conditions that existed in our organization—brought about by a number of local lodges who had refused to abide by the laws that govern our organization which compelled the Executive Board of our organization to expel these lodges—have been removed through the aid of Brother James M. Wilson, personal representative of President Green, and we are now ready to go ahead and do whatever we possibly can, with the assistance of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the labor movement as a whole, to bring about organization in the steel industry.

You can rest assured that the organization I represent has all of the facilities necessary for organization. Of course when we say "all the necessary facilities" I want it understood that that does not include finance, which, of course, is the important end of it; but we are going to do whatever we possibly can to bring about the organization of the steel workers.

I might say for the benefit and the information of the delegates in this convention that the company unions in the plant of the American Sheet and Tin Company, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation, have, according to the information at hand, rebelled against the domination of their company union by the company and have made a demand for a 15 per cent raise in wages. We expect to immediately contact the representatives of those company unions.

The International Executive Board of our organization at no time felt that their action in any way interfered with the resolution adopted by the 1934 convention of this American Federation of Labor to organize the steel workers, and we want it in the record that we are not in accord with that part of the Executive Council's report which reads: "It was impossible to secure full and complete cooperation of the officers and members."

That, fellow delegates, is not, in my opinion, correct, and it is a comfort to the worst enemy of labor in our country, the United States Steel Corporation, and I want it recorded that the officers of our organization at all times, regardless of internal strife that existed, never for a moment let up their efforts to try to protect the organization that had been built up during the life of the NRA.

We don't want it to go out of here that we took an autocratic position, because that is not the case. In fact, the officers of our organization have the right to talk to the steel workers. Heretofore we were unable to light in those towns and we felt quite sure, in fact, I stated upon numerous occasions in public that we would have the steel workers before the year 1933 had expired. We believed that because of the experience our organization had had in trying to bring about the organization of the steel workers. Having been denied in all of the important steel centers of our country the right to exercise our rights as citizens, year in and year out, naturally when our government stepped in and said we had a right to go in and talk to those people, we at once took advantage of it and are ready now to continue where we left off, so to speak. The impression has been left here that that was not done. We are ready now

to redouble our efforts to bring that about.

I want to express the appreciation of our organization to all the labor organizations that have assisted us and we ask them to continue that assistance.

Delegate O'Gorman, Federal Labor Union 18887, Philadelphia: Mr. President, Brother and sister delegates—In the union for which I have the honor to act as president it takes you about ten seconds to get the floor. It has taken me two weeks here. I was very glad to meet one I consider a friend, although I never spoke to him, Brother Leonard. I have a letter at home signed by him. I represent Federal Labor Union 18887, employees of the Midvale Steel Works in Philadelphia. In the 24 years I have worked for them and in the ten years preceding that when I worked in the textile industry I was never once approached by anyone to join a labor organization and never had it discussed with me at all.

In September, 1933, a few men whom I did not know held a meeting for the purpose of organizing our plant. In the week following a man came to me and told me of the attempt they were making to organize and that they were to have a meeting on Saturday night. It may be that out of curiosity I went. They were bent on immediately going to the management and asking for an increase in wages. That meeting was composed of about thirty men from two departments. Well, I'm Irish, and the trouble with the Irish is not to get them to say anything but to keep them quiet! I got the floor and opposed asking for an increase until we had a foundation to work on.

I went back to the plant and talked to the men I worked with and the men in other departments. We had a meeting the following night and on the next six Saturday nights.

Someone who thought he was wiser than others arranged with the representative of another organization not favorable to this wonderful body we are privileged to be members of, and another who also thought he was wise asked the American Federation of Labor to send a representative to our meeting. We formed a committee consisting of a member of each department, and these two gentlemen were given the

privilege of addressing our members. An argument occurred between the two, Mr. Hines, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Hill. We decided then and there to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor organizer handed us blanks and then walked out of the hall. We took in more than four hundred members.

We thought that a large enough number to warrant us in going to the management. We deal with no one except the president and the vice-president of the plant in which we work. Let me say for them that that door is always open and never once have we been refused an audience with them, and in the six or seven times we went up for an increase in wages and better shop conditions we never came back empty handed. We never lost one minute of time. This is the answer to Brother Tracy's talk yesterday when he asked, "If there is an industrial union that has gained anything for its members I would like to know it."

We have never once called for outside assistance in framing our letters or taking up any matter with the management. We feel we have intelligence enough and have horse sense enough to do it ourselves. You cannot organize people unless it is in their hearts to be organized. I heard the remark in the San Francisco convention, and yesterday a man opposite me, not speaking to me, referred to us as parasites. I resent that.

What is the reason for the lack of progress that we should have made? It is the lack of co-operation on the part of everyone. I sat in every session of this convention, I have never been late and I have resented the lack of respect you have shown the President of this organization. I am holding a position in my organization, against my will, I don't want it. I am in love with my family, I have four children ranging from 10 to 22 years of age. I've earned enough to put one through high school, one is in college now, and one is in the lower grade school. I have done that in the steel industry.

Immediately after we were organized I received a letter from Mr. Tighe, wanting to know how we got our charter. I thought

he might go further and find out. On another occasion when we were going up for more money I wrote and asked him for the rates on the different jobs in their plant. His answer, signed by Mr. Leonard, was that there was no comparison in the machinery or the jobs in that corporation.

I will say this, regardless of what is done, I will carry a union card, regardless of the organization it is in, regardless of the attitude of other members as long as there is breath in my body and my finance will allow it.

I heard the story of the two pigs that was told last night, and was reminded of the story of the two half pigs that were hanging in a butcher shop. A fellow grabbed one half and ran. The butcher ran after him and said, "The damned Democrat!" A man asked the butcher, "How do you know he is a Democrat?" "Well," the butcher said, "if he was a Republican he would have taken the other half!"

It is my honest belief that if we would come into these deliberations with the spirit that we should there is no question that we would reach the goal of our objective. We may be taking different lanes, but we are all heading for one point.

My final word is this: That as good American citizens and as good trade unionists it is our duty to make this world a better and a happier world to live in, and give our whole-hearted and unselfish devotion to this great organization.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Manion, Secretary of the committee, continued the report, as follows:

ORGANIZATION DRIVE IN AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate Tom S. Johnson, United Automobile, Federal Labor Union No. 19374, Detroit, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The automobile workers of this country, particularly since the abolition of the NRA, have been and are now subject to constant attacks by the employers on wages, hours and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, In their efforts to organize to resist these aggressions of the employers

the automobile workers are forced to encounter and overcome the most efficient labor spy system maintained in any industry, as well as the several varieties of company and semi-company unions fostered by the employers to prevent the organization of the industry by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The whole future of organized labor in America depends in the last analysis on the ability of the American Federation of Labor to organize the basic mass production industries of which the automobile is an outstanding example; and

WHEREAS, Despite all the difficulties with which they are faced the automobile workers have demonstrated their determination to build a powerful union in their industry by the organization of several local unions with shop control and membership ranging upward into the thousands and by the recent formation of their own international Union, the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reiterate the decision of the 54th Convention to launch an aggressive organization campaign in the automobile industry and does hereby instruct the Executive Council to immediately work out plans for providing adequate financial and organizational assistance to the United Automobile Workers of America for a nation-wide union drive in the industry during the coming production season, backed by the full power of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair will take the liberty of interrupting the report of the committee for just a moment. We have with us a very dear friend, a charming man, a friend of labor and a representative of a great church. I was associated with him in the National Recovery work, on the National Labor Board, on the National Labor Relations Board and other boards. During my association with him I learned to love him, to love him as a friend of labor and a friend of man. I refer to our friend, your friend, the friend of men and women wherever they may be, Reverend Father Haas. I want the record to show that the committee who escorted him to the plat-

form is composed of Brothers William McSorley, Sidney Hillman, and Robert Heaseth, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

REVEREND FRANCIS J. HAAS

Mr. President, Delegates to the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor: President Green was very gracious in introducing me. I think you know I am deeply interested in the work you are doing, but I should prefer, instead of the over-generous statement he made that he had said, "The Chair now recognizes Delegate Haas."

For the last two days the American press has been carrying stories about what has been taking place in this convention. It is not necessary to tell you that the stories are that there have been in this convention very decided differences of opinion. It has been said that there was sharp conflict. The press has not used "fight," but it has come close to using that word.

To me, delegates of the convention, the report of what has been taking place here is not something to regret, but it is something to rejoice about. It is proof that the American Federation of Labor is for freedom of speech, freedom of expression, that it has the willingness to exchange ideas, that it is prepared to openly, frankly and courageously come to grips with the great problems that are facing the American working people.

May I say that the industrial Tories of the country are not pleased about what is taking place here; they would far prefer to have you go on for these two weeks saying kind, sweet nothings, rather than to discuss in a manly and courageous way the real problems now before the people. To me what has taken place here is nothing less than a proof of growing pains in the American labor movement. The American Federation of Labor is growing, and with its growth there goes pain and suffering and some bruises. I sympathize with those who have suffered during these days, but I know that you, officers and delegates are not unacquainted with suffering and bruises, and if the American labor movement requires your suffering, you are ready and willing to take it, because that is the cause that you as labor representatives have chosen for yourselves.

There is no need of my telling you that the purpose of the American Federation of Labor is to bring freedom and liberty to the working masses of our country. When I was a member of the old National Labor Board it used to strike me forcibly at times, after writing out an agreement and then having it typed, that a copy of the agreement went to some big corporation, and the carbon copy went, perhaps, to some poor struggling Federal labor union. There was the beginning of freedom, of the right of the workers to pick out for themselves those they wanted to represent them.

The American Federation of Labor is for freedom for all; its purpose is to extend freedom to every working man. How different it is from the pseudo freedom of the American Liberty League, which seeks to get more liberty for the little handful that now has too much. Your discussions these days prove that it is your purpose to bring freedom and liberty through the equalized labor contract to all.

Need I tell you that you are facing very serious and critical problems in our country? Need I remind you that at this moment there are not less than 11,000,000 unemployed in this country and that the Government is feeding through the dole 17,000,000 people? Need I tell you that with the abolition of the NRA hours have gone up in many establishments? It is only a few weeks ago that I had the opportunity to see in one section of the country, an industry which up to May had a forty-hour week, but now has hours in the factory at 48 to 56. A few weeks ago I saw another industry where the hours were 70, ten hours a day, seven days a week. I am happy indeed to know that you are discussing these problems frankly, courageously, and manfully.

We have, of course, new laws. We have the present administration in Washington to thank for such outstanding pieces of legislation as the National Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act, the Guffey Bill, and others. However, these laws, necessary as they are, are not going to bring freedom and liberty to this country. It is true that the National Labor Relations Act provides that the employers deal with properly elected representatives of the workers; that unemployment insurance is to be paid, but we know that in that great undertaking of the Social Security Act, epochal as it is, there will have to be organization of the American workers in unemployment exchanges. And all of these things are a challenge to you. I repeat that I rejoice in the fact that

you have been in travail and pain during these two weeks in an effort to work out the problems that are challenging you as workers.

To many people the term "closed shop" is very offensive. It is not to me. I am prepared to defend the proposition that there should be compulsory closed shops. To me every worker who enjoys the benefits of organization should contribute his part, he should pay his dues, he should be a part of that organization that makes benefits possible to him. But are we going to get this by law? No realistic man or woman thinks so. The field is inviting you; the unorganized workers are stretching out their hands to you. I am happy that during these two weeks you have discussed these questions as becomes men who have devoted themselves to a cause which every day involves pain and suffering, self-denial, bruises, and, perhaps, heartbreaks.

During these last two weeks you have come with a mandate; you have met with a mandate under the direction of the people whom you represent. The great masses outside are also looking to you. The challenge has been made to the American Federation of Labor. This convention has respected freedom of discussion, liberty of speech; it has respected the opinions of others. I am sure that, going back to your central labor bodies and state organizations, you are going to take the message of labor, stronger in your resolve to meet the demands, the challenge of the twenty-five or thirty million workers that are seeking to enjoy the benefits that the people enjoy whom you represent.

President Green: I merely want to thank Father Haas for his visit and for his inspiring address this morning. You have shown your deep appreciation of his visit and of his address.

There is a friend on the platform that I feel you want to know. I will merely introduce him to the convention. He has rendered a noble service in liquidating the Federated Bank & Trust Company and re-established it into one of the strongest institutions in the United States, President Jeremiah McGuire, of the Federated Bank & Trust Company of New York.

Mr. McGuire: It is my sincere hope that your convention will bring to you all the great results you all so sincerely hope for your cause.

Secretary Manion continued the report of the committee, as follows:

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNEMPLOYED

Resolution No. 191—By Delegates Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union Local No. 19306, Chicago, Illinois, and Frank Marek, Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Illinois.

WHEREAS, Unemployment on a mass scale has reduced many millions of former wage earners to a state of destitution and dependency; and

WHEREAS, The jobless can maintain themselves and their families only to the extent that they are provided with relief in the form of employment on public projects or in outright grants; and

WHEREAS, The living standards of the unemployed and relief workers are conditioned by the amount of relief granted to them or by the wage rates and amounts paid in return for their labor on public projects; and

WHEREAS, This in turn becomes an important factor in determining the living and wage standards of workers employed in private industry; and

WHEREAS, Relief as now provided is uncertain, irregular, inadequate to the point of degradation and to whom it is given are subject to many forms of abuse, discrimination and humiliation; and

WHEREAS, The victims of mass unemployment, as all workers can safeguard their interests and improve their standards only to the extent that they are united in organizations of their own choosing for vigorous action in support of their own demands and programs; and

WHEREAS, Such organizations have been formed and have proved beneficial to both the unemployed and to the organized trade union movement as a whole; now; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor records the wholehearted endorsement of organized labor of the efforts of the unemployed to organize and better their conditions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the national and international unions, the State Federations of Labor and Central Bodies and their affiliated local unions to lend every encouragement and support to efforts of the unemployed to organize and win adequate relief and decent wage standards on such projects as are established in connection with public or other unemployment relief programs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we authorize and urge all our affiliated organizations and locals to form unemployed sections to facilitate organized action on the part of our unemployed brothers and to cooperate in such action with the unemployed organizations of their localities.

Your Committee gave a lengthy hearing to the introducer of this Resolution as well as to Representative McCullough, of the Workers' Alliance of America. We find that both are advocates of organizing the unemployed, but are not in accord on some matters.

Your Committee is aware of the fact that National and International Unions and the American Federation of Labor organizes all classes of workers irrespective of creed, color, nationality, sex or politics, whether employed or unemployed. National and International Unions have different ways and means of taking care of, relieving and assisting their unemployed members. Some pay out of work benefits and pensions, others exempt unemployed members from paying dues, others give "out-of-work stamps," others pay the dues of unemployed members and keep them in good standing, entitled to the rights, benefits and privileges of their organizations, others find employment or part employment for those out of work, others divide the work with those idle, others give preference of work to those unemployed, and several other methods and systems are used in looking after and taking care of those out of work.

Unemployment organizations can not do as much for them, therefore your Committee nonconcurs in this resolution and urges all National and International Unions, City Central and State Bodies, as well as Federal Labor Unions, Local Unions and individual members to be as generous, liberal and helpful as they possibly can to those out of work and unable to secure it.

Delegate Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union, Chicago: I am an introducer of this resolution. I believe the committee missed the whole spirit of the resolution. While it is true that there are many international and national unions that do take care of their unemployed as far as dues are concerned, and by out-of-work benefits, as has been enumerated by the committee, we know that many internationals do not do that; and the truth of it is that in every locality there are thousands of good union men who have been members of their organizations a lifetime who, because they are out of work and haven't the money to keep up dues, lose the privileges of union membership.

When I spoke to the committee I was referring primarily to the question of keeping those members in good standing. Primarily I spoke about the question of endorsing the efforts of the unorganized to organize themselves, to fight for better conditions, to fight for more relief, to fight for union wages on public relief projects, to fight against cuts in relief.

And we must recognize that there have been times in the past twelve months in some states in the United States, among them Illinois, that for weeks had no relief at all, and even if a man belonged to a trade union and even if they paid his per capita tax, that would not take care of his relief.

I suggest two things. First, that the convention go on record endorsing the efforts of the unemployed to organize to better their condition; second, that the American organized labor movement cooperate with them in the localities through the central labor unions and the state federations of labor as well as the whole body nationwide. This is the spirit of it. The question of out-of-work benefits is taken care of in another resolution, and I am opposed to the mishandling of these questions which involve the lives of 11,000,000 people and their families.

Delegate Meany, State Body, New York: This resolution evidently deals with WPA work. I want to speak in favor of the report of the committee. These unemployed workers' associations, no matter how laudable they may be, cannot replace, nor can they help organized workers in these fields. Of course it is a fundamental truism of organized labor that the unorganized should be organized, but I think we should take into consideration that workers on WPA relief projects are not workers in the full sense of the word. The employer and employee relationship does not exist on a WPA project.

As relief workers in November, 1933, in New York, 55,000 men were registered as bricklayers for relief work. The total of organized bricklayers in that city was 16,000. The men who registered as bricklayers were anything but that. The unemployed bricklayers did not amount to more than 2,000. This Workers' Unemployed Alliance charges 10 cents a month dues.

We talked to their representative and discussed the matter for hours, and came to the conclusion that the organized labor movement must carry the brunt of this fight for decent wages and for a reclassification of workers on relief that will bring the proper man into the proper place. And while we felt the intentions of the Workers' Unemployed Alliance was laudable, they should not be given the stamp of approval for what the organized workers have been doing for years.

Delegate North, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Because of the experiences the Grand Rapids Federation of Labor has had in this matter, we have an unemployed organization in our town that has been directly subsidized by the Grand Rapids Federation of Labor and is being utilized as an instrument to spread the question of unionism among the unemployed workers in our vicinity. Through this instrumentality the local unions have been in a position to recruit many organizable workers into their respective unions, which otherwise would not have been the case. I for one believe that if the American Federation of Labor goes on record that the localities in which central bodies are located take this action, it will spread trade unionism among the unemployed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Harper: I wish the minutes to record that my union is opposed to this report of the committee.

ORGANIZING WORKERS ON RELIEF PROJECTS

Resolution No. 207—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Congress of the United States has appropriated large sums of money to be expended in an effort to provide employment so that the working people of this country will have an opportunity to be gainfully employed; and

WHEREAS, It is the express intention of certain branches of the Federal Government to have men and women work for specified periods for maximum monthly allowances; and

WHEREAS, The expenditure of this vast sum of money will put thousands of persons to work, and many of those not now members of organized labor will be in the ranks of these workers; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this State Federation of Labor go on record as demanding on any work performed by the Federal Government, or work let to contract, that not less than the prevailing scale of wages shall be paid on any of this work; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this State Federation of Labor recommend to the American Federation of Labor and to the various international unions that they make a determined effort to institute an organizing campaign which will bring into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor all of those workers not now members.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this Resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Manion: This completes the committee's report. Your committee is composed of:

FRANK DUFFY,
Chairman;
E. J. MANION,
Secretary;
JOHN P. BURKE,
J. SID TILLER,
PAUL DULLZELL,
PATRICK H. REAGAN,
J. O. JACKSON,
GEORGE MEANY,
OSCAR F. NELSON,
FRANK B. FIELD,
ANDREW J. KENNEDY,
A. C. D'ANDREA,
CHRIS LANE,
EDW. G. HAMILTON,
HENRY KOCH,
JOHN J. SCULLY,
JOHN B. PREWITT,
Committee on Organization.

Secretary Manion moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Committee on Labels in its report submitted just a few days ago recommended that the President of the Union Label Trades Department should submit a report of the work of that Department to the convention. That recommendation was unanimously adopted. The Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department is here at this moment, prepared to carry out the instructions of this convention and submit his report. We will be pleased to receive it now, and in calling upon him to speak it seems appropriate and proper for me to say that no man ever connected with the Union Label Trades Department has rendered more dis-

tinguished and valuable service to the cause of the union label than has the Secretary of the Department, who will now address you.

We all appreciate the fine service that others rendered. They did their work well. The Secretary of the Department has maintained the standards they set, and has popularized the label and the work of the Department. Personally, as President of the American Federation of Labor, I appreciate more than words can express the fine service he rendered. You feel the same way, I know. We are glad to hear his report—Secretary Ornburn, of the Union Label Trades Department.

REPORT OF I. M. ORNBURN

Secretary, Union Label Trades Department

We think we have the best department in the American Federation of Labor. At least we know that harmony and peace prevails in the department, so that we have no difficulty on that score. We are all able to work together. However, we are not altogether responsible for that. It has been the co-operation we have received from every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that is responsible for it.

I have been instructed by the 28th Annual Convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, which met in this city on October 3rd and 4th, to make a report to this convention of the progress of our Department during the past year. It gives me pleasure to report, and I know you will be glad to hear, that there has been a greater demand for the Union Label, Shop Card and Button in this past year than there has been in any other year since the Union Label Trades Department was established in the American Federation of Labor's Convention in 1909.

At the outset, we want to express our deep appreciation for the loyal and hearty support that the Union Label Trades Department has received from President Green, Secretary Morrison and all the Executive officers of the International and National Unions, the State Federations, City Central Bodies, Local Unions, The Women's Auxiliaries, Union Label Leagues, a host of volunteer Union Workers and their friends. We also desire to express our gratitude for the splendid co-operation the Department has received from the editors of the weekly labor newspapers, the official monthly labor journals and many independent newspapers for their generous display of publicity for the Union Label, Shop Card and Button.

It is unnecessary for me to tell the delegates of this convention the advantages of Union Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons. They are the insignia of the greatest cause

in all human history. It is the struggle of the toilers for a square deal.

The American Federation of Labor is the greatest movement since our forefathers organized and fought to gain political independence in 1776. The American Labor movement has been fighting for 55 years and is still fighting to win economic freedom for the toiling masses of America. It is the only movement which has battled for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. It is the only force that has fought for the American standard of living, the benefits of which are now enjoyed not only by the organized workers but by the unorganized workers as well.

The Union Label is the trade-mark of this American Federation of Labor. It is the emblem of this great cause.

The Labor Union stands for collective bargaining. The Union Label stands for collective buying. Unless we combine these two great forces which are at our command, we shall not win this all important victory of economic freedom and industrial justice. We will combine them. We will win—if you men and women will pledge to carry this crusade on to every member of your unions and their friends.

Today America is the greatest nation in the world. It can be made even greater if the workers will make use of their two most effective weapons. They are, organization into labor unions for collective bargaining, and collective buying under the Union Label, Shop Card and Button.

The Department has inaugurated an additional and popular feature of advertising the Union Label, Shop Card and Button in the form of cartoons and posters which have been widely displayed throughout the Labor Press as well as in Labor Temples and public places.

Each month the Union Label Trades Department has also prepared an editorial and some short paragraphs for all the weekly labor newspapers as well as all the monthly journals. We have had a splendid response.

Cuts of the cartoons have been used in directories, on blotters and in other literature issued by locals throughout the country.

The Department obtained time over the National network of the Columbia Broadcasting System for a discussion of the Union Label, Shop Card and Button, on April 22, 1935. Numerous requests came for copies of the address. Many others have informed us that they listened in on the program. Honorable Gerald P. Nye, U. S. Senator from North Dakota, placed the remarks in the Congressional Record and has mailed out 45,000 copies of the speech.

On Labor Day we obtained time over the network of the National Broadcasting Company. This address likewise was well received. The two national hook-ups, one of the Columbia and the other of the National, have created widespread interest not only

among members of the labor unions, but also among their friends and sympathizers.

WTIC, Hartford, Connecticut, has given time for a series of Labor talks and the Union Label is always mentioned. In Washington, D. C., WJSV has a Trade Union Hour and the Union Label, Shop Card and Button are featured in these talks. WCFL, Chicago, broadcasts all of the publicity material sent out by the Department. Our New York representative, Charles E. Sinnigen, has addressed the radio audience on numerous occasions.

There are a great many locals and state union label leagues that deserve special mention for the very fine work they have accomplished in their communities.

At the request of the Union Label Trades Department, many women's auxiliaries have been formed for the express purpose of organizing the purchasing power of the ladies of the household. It has been reliably estimated by advertising agents that the ladies spend 85 per cent of the family budget. No stronger force could possibly be enlisted in the support of the Union Label, Shop Card and Button. The Union Label Trades Department will endeavor to federate all of the women's auxiliaries in the near future, through conference.

During the past year, the number of manufacturers and business establishments which display Union Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons has increased to such an extent that it is impractical to print up-to-date lists of firms which are fair to Union Labor. It would require a directory as large as the New York City telephone book. We shall, however, issue a Union Label Directory of all the Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons, telling how they are displayed. These facsimiles of the Union Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons will give consumers an opportunity to familiarize themselves with all Union Labor insignia.

Owing to the expense of printing and mailing, the only practical way to issue the names of fair firms is through local city directories. This will also make it easier to make the changes necessary for new industries which become unionized and others which become unfair. This increased demand for lists of fair employers is a healthy sign and one which shows the growing popularity of the only emblems which stand for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. It is a victory for the American standard of living. It is the challenge of Union workers and their friends to the open-shoppers and wage chiselers!

The Union Label Trades Department has negotiated a reciprocal arrangement with the National Farmers' Union, through E. E. Kennedy, the Secretary-Treasurer of that organization. The agreement is that the members of the Farmers' National Union will buy Union-made goods and Union services, and in return, members of the Labor Unions will buy locally grown Farmers'

Union Products, wherever possible. It is a splendid arrangement and should work out to be of mutual benefit to both the organized farmers and Labor Union workers.

The Farmers' Union has a Shop Card which assured customers that the merchants "Cooperate with the Farmers' Union." This card is similar to the shop card of our own trades. It should be demanded wherever possible by all members of Labor Unions. Surely other friends of Labor Unions will be inspired to demand the Union Label, Shop Card and Button when they see the farmers doing so.

Five billions worth of foreign-made products are now flooding the United States. These imported goods, made under the most depressing and unsanitary labor conditions, are increasing the number of unemployed American workers, which is now placed at eleven millions. It is truly time to make America safe for Americans and stop buying these unfair and non-union products of Oriental and European cheap labor.

Union-labeled goods are always American made. They are not made in filthy sweat shops and under unsanitary conditions which also prevail in non-unionized industries in our own country. Tell your neighbors to buy Union-made as well as American-made goods.

Some of the goods in our own country also are made in prisons. Union Labor is opposed to allowing these products to compete with law-abiding and free American workers. The Union Label does not appear on goods made in State or Federal penal institutions.

We must urge all of the friends of Union Labor to ask for the Union Label, Shop Card and Button. The payrolls of all workers will increase in just the degree that they buy union-made goods. The Union Label is the greatest assurance of quality. It is the best insurance for Labor Unions. Only through collective bargaining can labor obtain definite results in the industrial field. Only through collective buying can labor make its purchasing power effectively felt in the market place.

Let us then renew our faith in Labor Unions. Let us pledge ourselves, together with every member of our families and friends of Union Labor to demonstrate in a practical way our loyalty to the American Federation of Labor. This is the pledge: "I promise to buy only from firms which display Union Labels, Shop Cards and Working Buttons."

In my Labor Day address I asked my radio listeners to take this pledge and thousands have signed it and mailed it into the Department.

Private concerns spend millions of dollars to advertise their trade-mark or labels. Union men and their friends can advertise the Union Label by merely asking for it. The combined purchasing power of Labor Unionists and their sympathizers is equivalent

to a capital investment and it will pay dividends in better wages, if they will buy under the Union Label, Shop Card and Button.

The history of the Union Label reveals that many Labor Unions doubled their membership soon after they decided to use this unique craft symbol. In other ways, Union Labels have been a valuable aid to the Unions which have adopted them. At this time I desire to welcome into the Union Label Trades Department all non-label unions which are planning to distinguish their goods or services by a Union Label, Shop Card or Button. We believe that owing to the progress we are now making, that all the unions which now have the insignia will desire to become affiliated in the near future.

We shall print a new directory and also a union label poster before November 1st. We hope that all unions which are interested in labels will get in touch with our department at once. It is embarrassing to the Department when dealers ask for the Union Label on products of trades which have either dropped the use of a label or have not adopted one.

The Union Label Trades Department is the clearing house and publicity bureau for all unions, which designate their products and services by Union Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons, and we ask for your cooperation and support.

In the same degree that we hope to obtain the right of collective bargaining in every industry, we should strive to establish our collective buying power in the market place. Buying from firms which display the Union Label, Shop Card and Button is the best assurance of prevailing Union Wages. It is a perpetual strike against unfair employers and a continuous boycott against unfair business places. Every dollar spent for union-made goods and union services is a vote for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. It is the surest way to retain the employed union man on his job and to make it possible for the unemployed worker to obtain a job.

Labor Unionists spend \$140,000,000 a week. This makes over \$7,000,000,000 of purchasing power each year. If this union-earned money were spent for only union-labeled products it would put every jobless Union man to work within one year.

We must depend on the delegates of this convention and the International and National executives of the various unions of the American Federation of Labor to carry the enthusiasm of this convention back home. We hope that you will instruct all your members to urge their friends to buy union products and union services. The local union leaders should serve notice on all business firms that the time limit has passed for them to unionize and to sell union labeled goods.

The high quality of products manufactured by industries which establish fair

relations with their workers is one of the best arguments to use in urging friends and sympathizers to buy union-made goods. We should also emphasize the fact that our products are made in America.

The public has become label-conscious. This is the psychological time to promote the Union Label because consumers have not forgotten the Blue Eagle. During its short reign, every housewife was educated to look for the NRA label and the Blue Eagle Shop Card. The Union Label stands for more sanitary conditions, higher quality and greater value of merchandise than did the Blue Eagle. Labor agreements carry better provisions for hours, wages and conditions than any of the codes of the National Recovery Administration. This is a great opportunity for Union Labor to continue the campaign of the NRA by urging workers to join a Labor Union and buy union-labeled goods. Surely, when the U. S. Government advocated a boycott of merchants which did not display a label, it is a safe and sane policy for Labor Unionists and their friends to boycott firms which do not display the Union Label, Shop Card or Button. A great advantage to our cause is the fact that no Court can declare a labor union unconstitutional nor can a Judge issue an injunction against an official Union Label of any craft in the American Federation of Labor.

The record of the Union Label Trades Department for the past year reveals steady progress and definite achievement. But all that has been accomplished is small compared to what the workers could obtain in higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions, if they would use to the fullest extent these two powerful weapons—the Union and the Union Label. They are so simple and easy to use that it seems almost incredible when Labor Unionists fail to take advantage of them. All that is needed, after the worker joins a Union, is always to ask for the Union Label. The dealers will soon carry the word to the manufacturers, and the manufacturers will be anxious to fall into line—if the demand is great enough—and it can be made great enough if every member of the Labor Unionist's family and their friends will help those who help them.

If this pressure of Union Label buying power were exerted to its fullest extent, organization of non-union firms would become much easier. Through its own inner power, that is, its buying power, Labor could increase union membership; and having increased buying power, its strength would become greater and greater.

From an individual standpoint, the worker should buy Union goods and services because it is the only way for him to raise his own standard of living. Through Labor Unions and the Union Label, he will find the only practical method of increasing the contents of his pay envelope. If self-preservation is the first law of man, then buying under the Union Label should be the first law of a union man.

But there is a greater cause than a selfish one. It is buying union-made goods from a humanitarian standpoint. In industries that are unionized, there is no child labor, no sweat shop conditions. Conditions are fair for both men and women.

Last, but most important from a labor union standpoint, there is no better way to show your loyalty to your brother unionists than to demand the Union Label, Shop Card and Button. Union Label buying is the best way to obtain the fullest benefits of all Unions. It is the best insurance for a powerful and lasting American Labor Union Movement. The great reforms which the American Federation of Labor advocates can be more easily accomplished by greater organization and Union Label buying. Collective bargaining and collective buying are the only methods yet discovered to raise wages, shorten hours and better the conditions of the workers. In just the degree that workers and their friends buy under the Union Label, Shop Card and Button, they can obtain "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

I desire at this time to call the attention of the convention to some glaring examples of how certain manufacturers are trying to deceive buyers of Union Labeled Goods. The W. L. Douglas Shoe Company has been an open shop firm for the past two years, but it still stamps "Union-Made" in its shoes. This is not sufficient. Buy only shoes which bear the recognized Union Label of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Sears Roebuck Company and Montgomery Ward print their catalogues in non-union shops. Labor Unionists should encourage their friends in cities and on the farms to write these mail order concerns and demand the Union Label of the printers on all of their printing. We must make every effort to wipe out this non-union competition. If these concerns can obtain business through correspondence, we may be able to obtain our rights through the U. S. Mails! At least we can stop trading with these concerns.

The best grades of cigars and cigarettes are made by independent companies which recognize the Tobacco Workers' International Union and the Cigar Makers' International Union. No Labor Unionist nor sympathizer should smoke cigarettes manufactured by the so-called "Big Four," which are non-union and pay their workers as low as 12 cents per hour. Although the head of one of these unfair concerns was the Chairman of the NRA he held out for one and one-half years before accepting a code. At the same time that these monopolistic cigarette industries were paying sweat shop wages, they were making unconscionable profits.

In a ten year period (1924-1933) the Big Four had net profits of \$779,000,000. In 1931 and 1933, their profits were higher

than the total outlay for wages and leaf tobacco from the farmers combined. In 1934, the profits of only one of these companies was higher than the wage bill for the entire tobacco industry, exclusive of cigars. The Big Four companies produce about 85 per cent of all the cigarettes, thus constituting a virtual monopoly. They change the wholesale prices on the same day and these prices are the same from Coast to Coast.

We believe, so far as members of Labor Unions are concerned, that coolie-wage cigarettes are not being smoked because we have received reports that in many union meetings not one member smokes cigarettes without the Union Label on the package.

In the tin-can manufacturing industry we find another virtual monopoly, another open-shop outfit. Their net earnings on capitalization during the six-year period from 1929 to 1934 average 20 per cent annually, ranging from 14 to 27 per cent per year, including the depression years. Wages are low, though not as low as in the cigarette industry.

Two companies, the American Can Company and the Continental Can Company, do 70 per cent of the business. They have the same habit as the Big Four in the cigarette industry of having identical trade terms and prices.

We hear much of the high price of food. In 1934, in the value of canned tomatoes, the tomato cost was 24.8 per cent, empty cans 42.3 per cent, direct labor 14.9 per cent, overhead 15.5 per cent. In other words, cans cost three times as much as labor wages and 75 per cent more than the food contained in the cans.

Since January, 1934, the price of cans has been the highest since 1929. Little wonder that American Can is the favorite of the stock market.

These companies are now manufacturing cans for beer, which compete with the Glass Bottle Blowers. We urge all Labor Unionists and their friends not to purchase their beer in tin cans.

I could cite many cases wherein industries have recognized Labor Unions and use the Union Label. We have demands for Union Labels for everything, from the cradle to the grave. Recently a farmer wanted to know where he could buy tombstones with a Union Label on them.

When Americans buy imported European products they are helping the dictatorships which are so rapidly spreading in the Old World, whether it be Hitler, Mussolini or Stalin. By sending American dollars abroad our citizens are enriching the nations which support Nazi-ism, Fascism and Communism!

When Labor Unionists spend their union-earned money for goods and services of firms which are fair, they not only help

themselves individually and collectively, but they also assure the fair manufacturer that Labor Unions carry out their part of the contract entered into with unionized industries.

The crusade for Union Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons has started in earnest. We must not stop until we wipe Ol' Man Depression off the map. We must not give the "chiselers" another "breathing spell."

We thank you for your co-operation in the past and hope that the coming year will be another banner one for the Union Label Trades Department.

President Green: The Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department has delivered a most instructive and educational address. It will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's convention and in the permanent record of the convention. I ask that the men and women of labor read this address and refresh your memories with regard to the value of the Union Label and of the Shop Card.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Leonard. For what purpose do you arise, Delegate Leonard?

Delegate Leonard, Iron Steel and Tin Workers: With reference to a remark concerning the report of Brother Ornburn. I just want to say that the organization I represent fights very hard for the union label and believes 100 per cent in it and in the effect it has, but in the speech that was just made, if it is carried out as requested it will react to the detriment of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. We have thousands of tin workers who are working under signed agreements. You are asking the members of organized labor to buy goods in bottles with the Capital "C" on the bottom, because they are made by union men. We are also trying to organize and have to some extent organized the can workers that are employed by the Continental Can Company who signed an agreement with our organization. We are 100 per cent in accord with the efforts put forth by the Glass Workers but at the same time we are not in accord with a movement that will throw union men out of work.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee on Adjustment.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON
ADJUSTMENT

Chairman Rickert: The Secretary of the Committee will read the report, which has practically been agreed upon by all who were interested in the resolutions which were before the committee. Secretary Maloney will read the report.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Maloney, of the Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Maloney, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee considered jointly Resolutions Nos. 212 and 230 which are as follows:

UNITED BREWERY WORKERS

Resolution No. 212—By Delegate Wyndham Mortimer, F. L. U. 18463, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The International Union of Brewery Workers has been deprived of the jurisdiction over the teamsters and chauffeurs in the delivery of their product by a ruling of the convention of the American Federation of Labor and said jurisdiction granted to the International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In many parts of the country the members of the International Union of Brewery Workers have refused to work with members of the Teamsters' Union who were taking their rightful jobs, said Brewery Workers being on strike; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs are furnishing strike-breakers in all departments of the breweries and furnishing them with a card sponsored by the International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our allegiance to the righteous cause of the International Union of Brewery Workers in their fight for jurisdiction over all employees in and around and about a brewery, including the delivery of their products; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this dispute between the International Brewery Workers and Teamsters and Chauffeurs be referred back to the Executive Council for reconsideration, and solution, to the end that this disgraceful situation be brought to a solution.

BREWERY WORKERS VS. TEAMSTERS

Resolution No. 230—By Delegates Joseph Obergefell, A. J. Kugler, A. E. Zusi, International Union United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The Jurisdiction fight between the Brewery Workers and the Teamsters has reached the stage where it has seriously affected many local and state labor movements, dividing the workers and creating utter confusion among the public in general; and

WHEREAS, Such divisions are becoming more pronounced as the fight drags on with no end in sight, creating bitterness and disunity instead of a labor solidarity so essential for the growth and progress of our movement; and

WHEREAS, Central Labor Unions in several localities have issued fake Union Labels to breweries that have locked out the brewery workmen, and who are employing scabs and professional strike-breakers, which action is making a mockery of our movement; and

WHEREAS, The brewery workmen contend that the Executive Council's action in April, 1933, reversing the 1913 Seattle Convention decision in this jurisdictional dispute, was in direct violation of the laws of the Federation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this jurisdiction dispute be referred back to the Executive Council with instructions to endeavor to reach an understanding between the contending organizations and put an end to the destructive conditions which have followed in its wake.

Your committee finds that this question has been decided by a previous convention and a succeeding convention has approved the previous convention's decision, so, without changing same, your committee believes the Executive Council should call a conference of the representatives of all of the International Organizations involved and endeavor to adjust this controversy and we so recommend.

We are glad to advise the Convention that the International Unions involved in this controversy have agreed to this recommendation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COOPERS VS. CARPENTERS

Resolution No. 147—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Coopers' International Union of North America has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for forty-four years and has always had jurisdiction over cooperating and issuing of Charters to the men and women engaged in the various branches of the cooperage trade; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America during the past eight months have taken into their organization 1,000 men and women engaged at coopering, namely in Seattle and Tacoma, Washington; Portland, Oregon, and Eureka, California, under the guise of Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Officers of the Coopers' International Union of North America have tried to adjust these encroachments on their Trade with the Executive Officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at Indianapolis Indiana, and Atlantic City, New Jersey, without success; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor order the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to turn over all men and women that are engaged at coopering to the Coopers' International Union of North America within sixty days of adjournment of this Convention.

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and adjustment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRINTING TRADES VS. LITHOGRAPHERS

Resolution No. 199.—By Delegates International Typographical Union, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, Brotherhood of Bookbinders, International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union and International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor—upon report of a special committee, after thorough investigation—by convention decision in 1916 and since reaffirmed, defined the jurisdiction of the International Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association, and declined to embrace in its charter of jurisdiction, pressmen and plate producers engaged in offset work which it rightfully determined belonged to the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America and the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America; and

WHEREAS, With the passing of time and the failure on the part of the Lithographers' Association to comply with the foregoing decision, the difficulties experienced at the time of the original complaint have been multiplied, and do now embrace the well being of all the Printing Trades Unions; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' Association has, during all this time, and is at present engaged in promoting a so-called "Union Label" not recognized by the American Federation of Labor, which activity is causing chaos, misunderstanding and irrep-

arable injury to the Printing Trades Unions in the furtherance of the Allied Printing Trades Label, jointly owned and controlled by the Board of Governors of the International Allied Printing Trades Association, consisting of the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the Brotherhood of Bookbinders, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union and the International Photo Engravers' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to bring all parties directly concerned into conference at the earliest possible moment for the purpose of securing observance of the decisions reached at previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, or to negotiate such understandings and arrangements as may prove mutually acceptable, and in the event no such agreement or understanding be reached within a period of six months after the adjournment of the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council of the Federation be and is hereby authorized to suspend the charter of the International Lithographers' Protective and Beneficial Association—also known as the Amalgamated Lithographers of America—until the previous decisions of the American Federation of Labor are observed, or to take such other and further action as will seem to the Executive Council best suited to bring about the desired result.

This dispute was first brought to the Convention of 1913, in Seattle. Many conferences have been held since that date. At the 1915 Convention, the committee recommended that a special committee be selected by the Executive Council to make a thorough and searching investigation of this entire case. This special committee, composed of James Wilson, President of the Pattern Makers' League of North America; Jacob Fisher, Secretary of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union; and James P. Holland, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, during the period of their investigation visited such offices as were designated by the representatives of the printing and lithographic trades. The trades at interest were satisfied that they had seen the different systems of work performed and the different methods used. This committee recommended the amalgamation of the trades involved, which recommendation was approved by the 1916 Convention and in accordance with instructions given at that time, the Executive Council decided upon the terms of the amalgamation. Same were approved by the 1918 Convention which

directed that any organization failing to carry the decision into effect by September 1, 1918, would stand suspended.

The matter has been held in abeyance since that time and although several conferences have been held, no agreement has been reached.

After going into this matter at great length and hearing all parties, the committee is of the opinion that there must be some definite, decided and final disposition of this matter and, therefore, recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Kennedy, Lithographers: Mr. Chairman, on the resolution I wish to state first, that the resolution provides that conferences shall be held in order to reach a mutual understanding; secondly, that failing to reach such an understanding, the Council shall be authorized to suspend the Lithographers within six months or take such other action as they may desire.

The record as submitted by the committee is substantially correct with respect to the decisions that were made years ago. We believe that the lapse of time since those decisions were made calls for a review, but we do not desire to take up the time of the convention here by going back to these old records. We do believe, however, that a truly satisfactory agreement, as asked for in the resolution, would be more likely to occur if the section pertaining to the suspension of the organization was not contained in the resolution.

We, therefore, desire to report our opposition to that part of the committee's report on the resolution.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

The committee considered Resolutions Nos. 236 and 241 together. They are as follows:

PROTEST AGAINST HOD CARRIERS, BUILDING AND COMMON LABORERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION TAKING IN WORKERS THAT DO NOT COME UNDER THEIR JURISDICTION

Resolution No. 236—By Delegates M. J. Colleran, M. J. McDonough, John E. Rooney, John H. Donlin, Operative Plasterers

and Cement Finishers' International Association.

WHEREAS, The membership of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union is entering into agreements with Road Building Contractors in the State of Illinois, which provide that they perform the work which has always been done by the mechanical trades in affiliation with the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The members of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union is trespassing on the jurisdiction of the mechanical trades, including the membership of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association; and

WHEREAS, It is the desire of the executive officials of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association to maintain harmony among those employed on road construction in the State of Illinois; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, take an action which will bring about the harmony desired, which will develop trade union organization in this industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention notify the officials of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, that they have their membership cease encroaching on the jurisdiction of the Cement Finishers and the other mechanical trades failure to observe the mandates of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the constitutional penalty be imposed.

PLASTERERS VS. HOD CARRIERS

Resolution No. 241—By Delegates M. J. Colleran, John H. Donlin, John E. Rooney, M. J. McDonough, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union is infringing upon the jurisdictional rights of the Cement Finishers on projects at Hammond, Indiana, by performing the patching, rubbing and grinding of concrete walls and surfaces, which work has been ceded to the Cement Finishers by the Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These disputes are causing strikes which are affecting all of the Building Trades workers on these jobs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled direct the officers of the Hod Carriers

Building and Common Laborers' Union to have their members cease doing the work of the Cement Finishers.

The introducers of these two resolutions have advised your committee that, in the interest of harmony in the Building Trades, it is their wish and desire to withdraw the same, with the understanding that such action on their part shall in nowise be construed as a relinquishing of their claims, as it is done with the hope that both organizations may reach an agreement and understanding.

Your committee recommends that the Convention consent to the request of the introducers of the resolution to be permitted to withdraw the same.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Maloney: This concludes the report of your Committee on Adjustment, Mr. Chairman, and it is signed by the full committee.

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman
JAMES MALONEY, Secretary
ROY HORN
JOHN F. McNAMARA
J. B. ETCHISON
CHARLES L. BAGLEY
PHILIP MURRAY
W. D. MAHON
F. H. FLOZDAL
GEORGE E. BROWNE
J. P. McLAUGHLIN
M. F. GREENE
D. W. TRACY
C. E. LEIGHTY
JOHN BARNETT
W. F. ROBINSON
GEORGE W. LAWSON

Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Maloney moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Law for a partial report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Chairman Tobin: We have prepared a partial report on many of the matters submitted to us. Some of the other matters will have to lay over until later on. We are reporting now on those matters on which we have taken action, so as not to waste any of the time of the convention.

The secretary of the committee will now read the resolutions or amendments to the laws on which we have acted.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Volz, secretary of the committee.

Delegate Volz, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates—Your committee on Law has had referred to it for consideration two recommendations of the Executive Council, one to amend Articles IV, V, VI and VII of the Constitution by consolidating the office of Secretary and the office of Treasurer, thereby creating the office of Secretary-Treasurer, and the appointment by the Executive Council of a Finance Committee, also an additional amendment to Section 5 of Article IV further defining the qualifications for recognition by and representation in the Federation.

In addition to the foregoing your Committee has also had referred to it six resolutions numbered 19-20-100-123-130 and 151. One of these proposes changes in basis of representation in local Central Bodies, another proposes placing Federal Unions in certain described localities under the control of a council composed of the President of the Central Labor Union, three delegates named by him and three members of the Federal Union. One proposes permitting Federal Unions to fix the amount of monthly dues within certain restrictions below the \$1.00 per month now prescribed and three propose a reduction in the per capita tax of Federal Unions.

Your committee has combined the last three for consideration and action by the convention.

PROPOSING ADMINISTRATION OF FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS AND VOLUNTEER ORGANIZERS BY CENTRAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate G. L. Swetland, Central Labor Union, Marion, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The organization during the past several years of federal labor unions has caused much misunderstanding and strife within the craft unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Unqualified persons have secured credentials as organizers of the American Federation of Labor and used such with selfish motives, and to further

political rackets, the officers of the American Federation of Labor paying little heed to the requests from local central labor unions for withdrawal of such credentials; and

WHEREAS, The laxity of laws governing the federal labor unions and the lack of definite rules on jurisdiction, permitting such selfish organizers to use the federal labor unions to the end that craftsmen to fill any job are furnished from a federal labor union; and

WHEREAS, This central labor union has only a desire to help preserve harmony within the ranks of the various craft unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, working to the end that men and women be placed in the union crafts where each belongs; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this central labor union in regular session this 11th day of September, 1935, do recommend to the laws committee of the American Federation of Labor in session at Atlantic City this coming October 7, 1935, add a new section, known as Section 7 to and under Miscellaneous on Page 29 of the present constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this new section read as follows: "In a vicinity where the American Federation of Labor does not maintain a headquarters and a General Organizer in charge but has a central labor union chartered, the conduct of a federal labor union in such vicinity shall be under control of a council composed of the president and three delegates named by the president of such central labor union and three members from the federal labor union"; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the laws committee of the American Federation of Labor to adopt this recommendation along with more strict rules to govern the volunteer organizers and their work, placing them directly under the actions and requests of the central labor unions in the vicinity from which they are named.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROPOSING CHANGE IN BASIS OF REPRESENTATION OF LOCAL UNIONS IN CENTRAL BODIES

Resolution No. 151—By Delegate A. P. Harvey, Central Trades and Labor Council, New Orleans, La.

Article XI, Section 11. Reads:

The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions

shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

(Change to read:

Article XI, Section 11.

The representation of local unions, councils and Federations entitled to affiliation in the Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof. Councils and Federations shall be entitled to only three delegates each; Councils and Federations, affiliating with the Central Labor Unions, shall be determined by a majority vote of the Central Labor Unions in their respective localities.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I just want to ask for a point of information. I was engaged in the back of the hall with a young man and I did not get the full information contained in the report. If the recommendation of the committee is favorably acted upon, does it leave the law of the Federation on central bodies as it is now?

President Green: Yes, it remains unchanged.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

MONTHLY DUES FOR FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate John W. Crother, Central Trades Council, Jeannette, Pa.

WHEREAS, The promotion of federal labor unions has been hindered due to having the fixed amount of one dollar (\$1.00) per month per member as the minimum monthly dues; and

WHEREAS, Local unions have given up their charters to the American Federation of Labor because they were not permitted to have a fee less than one dollar (\$1.00) even though they were willing to pay the fixed per capita tax of thirty-five cents

(\$0.35) to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Independent unions are being formed, some apparently leaning toward the formation of company unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, Federal labor unions shall be permitted to fix the amount of monthly dues within each local union; however, it shall be understood that the monthly dues shall include thirty-five cents (\$0.35) per capita tax to be paid to the American Federation of Labor, plus five cents (\$0.05) for distress cases, plus a reasonable amount to carry on the business of the local union.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Volz: The committee has consolidated Resolutions Nos. 100, 123 and 130, inasmuch as all of them provide for a reduction in the per capita tax of Federal labor unions.

The resolutions are as follows:

PER CAPITA TAX OF FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Jack Rand, Display Fixture and Figure Workers' Union No. 20039, New York City, New York.

WHEREAS, The per capita tax which Federal locals pay is thirty-five cents (35c) per month; and

WHEREAS, Such a per capita tax necessitates charging relatively high monthly dues; and

WHEREAS, Such high monthly dues constitute a real hardship to the membership of Federal locals, which are for the most part low paid and recently organized; and

WHEREAS, This acts to retard the growth of the Federal unions and the organization of the unorganized by causing a terrific financial drain upon the local treasuries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor carefully consider the advisability of lowering the per capita tax of Federal locals to twenty-five cents (25c) as their direct assistance in the drive toward unionization.

PER CAPITA TAX FOR AGRICULTURAL, FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PACKING WORKERS

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Leif Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, N. J.

WHEREAS, There are more than three million agricultural, cannery, fruit and vegetable packing house workers who are not now organized, many thousands of which could almost immediately be organized into the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of such workers have been taken into various Unions other than the American Federation of Labor, because, due to their very low wages, they cannot afford to pay the present per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The work is for the most part of such a migratory nature that it is practically impossible for a large number of them to receive the "American Federationist"; and

WHEREAS, Because of the highly perishable nature of most agricultural commodities, and because of the shortness of the seasons on the commodities in which they work, it is practically impossible to forecast the most opportune time for a strike, and for this reason it is virtually impossible to comply with the rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor as regards authorized strikes and strike benefits; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor so amends its Constitution and By-Laws as to provide a per capita tax not to exceed fifteen cents (15c) per member per month for all agricultural, cannery and fruit and vegetable packing house workers.

PER CAPITA TAX OF FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20048, Baltimore, Maryland.

WHEREAS, The per capita which Federal locals pay to Washington is 35c (thirty-five cents) a month; and

WHEREAS, Such a per capita necessitates the local charging a relative high monthly dues in order to benefit the local treasury; and

WHEREAS, With real wages falling, such high monthly dues constitute a hardship to the membership of Federal locals; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor consider the advisability of lowering the per capita tax of Federal locals to 25c (twenty-five cents).

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in these resolutions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996: Mr. Chairman, I am the only delegate in this convention from the organization in whose behalf Resolution No. 123 was introduced. The agricultural workers of America governing some three million men and women, today constitute the most underprivileged and most exploited section of our entire working class. It has been true in the past and continues today that we are the forgotten men and women of the trade union movement. Despite the fact that we are the largest unit in the working class here in this country, despite the fact that thirty labor unions are organized among the agricultural workers, today only one delegate is in attendance at this convention from this new class of workers.

The Executive Council's report to the San Francisco convention last year included a portion on agricultural and cannery workers. A number of resolutions were introduced at the San Francisco convention, and because of the location of that convention a larger representation was there representing the agricultural workers. This year the Executive Council has seen fit to discontinue or not interest itself in the agricultural workers, as requested by representatives of Federal locals at the convention last year.

It is not only the trade union movement which has ignored this very important class of American workers. The same is true of our National Congress and almost every State Legislature. The NRA specifically exempted these three million agricultural workers from all of its provisions. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration refused to have anything to do with us because it would disturb the traditional tranquillity and harmony of our American countryside. The social and unemployment legislation passed by our recent Congress specifically exempts these three million workers from all of its provisions. The Wagner Bill is similarly limited in its application and its jurisdiction over industrial disputes. The Black-Cannery Bill, which this convention has gone on record as supporting, is also in this class.

This type of labor is working twelve and fourteen hours a day out in the fields and factories in this country. This resolution

I am speaking of, in my opinion, takes up the key problem we are faced with in organizing these agricultural workers. This class represents the lowest paid class of American working men and women and their conditions have a very important bearing on the rest of the organized trade union movement in this country. It is not necessary for me to elaborate here the axiom that the lowest paid group of workers in any industry affects and threatens the wage scale of the better privileged workers in that industry, or that the lowest paid section of the working class of any country at the same time threatens the wage scale and organizations of the rest of the people in the country. This is the position and the relationship of the agricultural workers with respect to the rest of the workers in the country today.

Why is it that the textile industry and the other organizations are having more difficulty in organizing in the communities where agricultural industries are carried on on a large scale than they are having in the metropolitan centers? Why is it that right down here in South Jersey, a relative highly industrialized section of our country, there is a poorly developed trade union movement, relatively speaking? It is because there exists in those sections large numbers of agricultural workers who are working for five, ten and fifteen cents an hour. They are unorganized and their wage scales affect the wages of all other crafts. These workers are willing to go into the other crafts at wages below the prevailing wage rates.

The problem of organizing the agricultural workers is not indeed our problem. It is the problem of the entire trade union movement, and a successful organization campaign among the agricultural and cannery workers here in the United States as recommended by this Resolution No. 144, will strengthen tremendously the entire trade union movement of America.

The southern farmers no doubt are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor because their members cannot pay the initiation fees and per capita tax required by the American Federation of Labor. Only recently a successful strike among cotton pickers of the southern part of the country has been completed. They

demanding \$1.00 a day, which was a substantial increase over what they had been getting.

It is true that our union in South Jersey is very small and has labored under tremendous difficulties and hardships, but with all of that the result of our work this summer has been a total wage increase of \$100,000 to the wage workers of South Jersey. When we came in there the prevailing wages set by the Agricultural Boards and Farm Bureaus was 12½ cents for women and 15 cents for men. That is within forty miles of this convention, and I can take you less than fifty miles from here and show you agricultural workers working for 75 cents a day. I say that, despite these things, we have had successes, and these agricultural workers have banded together and they have charters in thirty different localities. But our problem today in these Federally chartered locals, is a problem of maintaining our locals and extending our membership and our influence, and we find it extremely difficult to do that because of the existing requirements of initiation and dues paying.

These depressing unorganized conditions among the agricultural workers, especially in these Federally chartered locals, has a tremendous bearing upon the rest of the trade union movement. For instance, most all Federal relief projects are kept out of the intensively cultivated sections of our country, because these projects specify certain wage scales of 50 cents an hour which the large growers and the large farmers' organizations fight, because it will undermine the existing wage scales among the agricultural workers. For instance, down at Bridgeton we had a bridge washed out about a year ago and the town applied for a grant to rebuild that bridge. The Federal Government granted that request, I am informed on reliable authority, if they would take 50 cents an hour wages. The town refused this grant because of this wage provision. Public works projects, on which many thousands of rural skilled and craft workers could be employed throughout the United States, are being kept out of these areas because the agricultural workers are not organized.

Mr. Chairman, I think we represent the largest single unit in the American working

class, the most exploited, the most downtrodden and the most under-privileged section of the working class that can come to this convention, justified in our request for some consideration with respect to our dues and initiation fees, because I claim if we can get this consideration, if we can make some arrangement by which these thousands of agricultural workers throughout the country can join the American Federation of Labor, we can build one of the strongest and mightiest sections of the American Federation of Labor within a short period.

I do not expect this convention, despite my protest, to pass the resolution over the committee's objection, but I do believe that this convention has taken very significant action with respect to our problem, which calls for an organization campaign among the canning and packing house workers by the Executive Council. I believe that if the Executive Council will call together the representatives from these Federal locals throughout the country we can work out in the very near future plans for initiating such a campaign and make some kind of an agreement by which these millions of agricultural workers will not be kept out of the American Federation of Labor because of prohibitive initiation and dues.

In conclusion I want to take up one other aspect of this work of organizing the agricultural and rural workers.

President Green: The time limit provided in the rules has expired, so may the Chair ask you to be as brief as possible.

Delegate Dahl: I shall, two or three minutes more, Mr. Chairman. Our Executive Council at our conventions has time and time again protested foreign Fascist dictatorship. We have inaugurated a campaign to help raise money for the assistance of these refugees from these Fascist countries. These efforts you have made with the approval of the entire trade union movement. However, it is not sufficient today that we restrict our resistance against Fascism to foreign countries, for here in America—

Delegate Volz (interrupting): I rise to a point of order. Although I do not doubt what the delegate has to speak about is of interest, we are discussing here a motion in regard to reducing the per capita tax, and

not any large appropriations made to fight Fascism or such other issues. I believe the delegate ought to keep that issue away from the motion which is before the house.

President Green: The point of order is well taken. The delegate will confine his remarks to the question before the convention.

Delegate Dahl: The reason I speak on this is because this whole matter of per capita tax and initiation affects a large part of rural America. Seventy-eight per cent of our population live in rural areas and in towns of 10,000 or less, and they are today relatively unorganized. The key to such organization depends upon a successful organizing campaign among the agricultural workers, and the key to a successful fight against Fascism in this country depends—

President Green (interposing): The delegate must not take advantage of the privileges accorded him to discuss something that is not before the convention.

Delegate Dahl: Remote as it may seem, I submit that the matter of per capita tax for agricultural workers, covering three million people, has a very important bearing upon the fight against Fascism in this country.

However, I close my remarks with this plea to the delegates here, that you take back the content and the purpose of Resolution No. 144 to your national and international unions, and your local unions as well and render every possible assistance you can to the Executive Council and to our locals to organize these agricultural workers.

Delegate Braun, Stenographers' Union No. 20048: I would like to make an amendment to the motion, to single out Resolution No. 123 as a specific problem before this convention and refer it back to the Committee on Laws in order to bring in a report which will take care of the problem of the agricultural workers regarding per capita tax.

The amendment was seconded.

President Green: The motion is to refer back to the committee.

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee: May I say a word or two? The committee discussed these resolutions in full and they do not believe that there is any difference between the problems of the agricultural workers and the problems of some

of the other workers who have brought the other resolutions forward. I might say similar resolutions were presented to the San Francisco convention and they were thoroughly discussed and disapproved by that convention. Nothing is to be gained at this late date by referring any resolution back to the committee, which has already given extended hearings on these resolutions and has likewise given them careful consideration.

The motion offered by Delegate Braun was lost on being put to vote.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Volz: That, Mr. Chairman, completes our report on the resolutions that were referred to the committee. The committee has had referred to it recommendations from the Executive Council, one of which had to do with the consolidation of the offices of Secretary and Treasurer, to make one office of those two. I will not read all of the prelude to that section of the Executive Council's report, but will just read that portion setting out the amended sections proposed, which are as follows:

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Amend Article IV, Section 4, by inserting the word "Treasurer" immediately following the word "Secretary" in the first line.

Amend Article V, Section 1, to read as follows:

The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the Convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Amend Article V, Section 2, by inserting the word "Treasurer" immediately following the word "Secretary" in the first line.

Amend Article V, Section 5, by inserting the word "Treasurer" immediately following the word "Secretary" in the first line.

Amend Article VI, Section 2, by inserting the word "Treasurer" immediately following the word "Secretary" in the second line.

Amend Article VI, Section 5, by inserting the word "Treasurer" immediately following the word "Secretary" in the third and fifth lines.

Amend Article VII to read as follows:

DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

Section 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evi-

dence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

Section 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Section 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposits at the expiration of each interest-period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested in interest-bearing securities and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Section 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution and none others.

Section 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Section 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

Section 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Section 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expend-

ed; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

Strike out all of Article VIII—"Duties of Treasurer" and substitute therefor the following:

ARTICLE VIII

DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

Section 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee, with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

Section 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

Your committee approves of the foregoing amendments and recommends concurrence in the report of the Executive Council on this subject by this convention.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

President Green: The Chair might explain just briefly that the report of the committee proposes to combine the office of Secretary and Treasurer. Heretofore up until the time our dear old friend Martin Ryan passed away there were the offices of Secretary and Treasurer. The Council believes that it is in keeping with modern business developments to combine the offices of Secretary and Treasurer, so that the recommendation of the committee is that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be so amended, wherever the word "Secretary" and the word "Treas-

urer" appear to provide for "Secretary-Treasurer."

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: In view of the fact that it takes a two-thirds majority vote to amend the constitution, I would suggest that the record show that the report of the committee on consolidating the offices of Secretary and Treasurer was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: The suggestion is well made and very timely. The Chair decides that the committee's report was unanimously adopted by the convention and requests that the record so show.

Delegate Vols: Might I say at this time, Mr. Chairman, that this completes the partial report of the committee. The recommendation of the Executive Council to further amend Section 5, Article IV will be reported upon later, and it is in regard to this amendment that an executive meeting of the committee will take place immediately after adjournment of this session, in room 114 of the Ambassador Hotel.

Vice-President Tobin: To emphasize the statement made by the Secretary of the committee I ask all members of the Committee on Laws to be in rooms 116 and 118 of the Ambassador Hotel immediately after the adjournment of this morning's session to discuss another matter of serious importance which will have to come before the convention.

Delegate Dodge, Stenographers' Union No. 14965: The delegates have just received

mimeographed copies of the report of the Union Label Trades Department. I should like to know why there is no label of the Stenographers' Union on that report.

President Green: I will call upon the Secretary of the Department to answer your question.

Delegate Ornburn: The report you have in your possession was mimeographed in the Union Label Trades Department office, where no one can work who does not belong to the Bookkeepers and Stenographers' Union, and they work only thirty-five hours a week.

Delegate Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers' Union No. 19306: Mr. President, there are two Lawrences in this convention, one from North Carolina and one from Chicago. The proceedings show that Delegate Lawrence has been absent. I want the convention to know that I have been present at every session and intend to remain until the convention has finished its business.

Delegate O'Gorman, Federal Labor Union No. 18887: Mr. Chairman, may I take this opportunity to say that there was a misunderstanding on my part of the question raised by Delegate Weaver earlier in the morning session and if my answer is to be in the record I wish it to be stricken out.

President Green: Does Delegate Weaver consent?

Delegate Weaver: It is agreeable to me that the record so show.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention recessed until 2:30 o'clock p. m.

TENTH DAY—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. by President Green.

ABSENTEES

Albano, Alter, Armstrong, Beedie, Billet, Borchardt, Bender, Bradley, Breidenbach, Brooks, W. C.; Burke, J.; Burns, T. F.; Bambrick, Braginsky, Brown, Biel, Burch, Booth, Cahir, Cashen, Creed, Crother, Cushing, Campbell, J. C.; Dahlager, Dallas, Dance, Danz, David, Dellums, Dewitt, Doane, Dougherty, Downie, Draper, Eardley, Edmundson, Evans, A. A.; Fearn, Flynn, Al.; Fulford, Gormley, H. J.; Graham, Hanoway, Horan, Howatt, Hynem, W. J.; Hein, Iglesias, Jefferies, Kaiser, Katz, Lenehan, Lentie, Lovell, Lowry, Lufrano, Lumley, Lyding, McAloon, McCabe, McCarthy, M. L.; McCloskey, McGurk, Mack, Malkovich, Mayer, Michelson, Mitchell, H.; Morgan, Morn-ingstar, Masucci, Mortimer, Nadelhoffer, Nafe, Nicholson, Ocker, Osborne, Owens, O'Leary, Palmer, Passage, Pavona, Pickler, Poe, Sager, Salties, Sampson, Sandefur, Scalise, Scully, Serra, Shave, Sigman, Slick, Slout, Smith, D.; Stein, Sticht, Swetland, Taylor, J. C.; Tighe, Wade, Walsh, M.; Weinberg, Weizenecker, Williams, Leon; Wise, Wood, Woodmansee.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Committee on International Relations—Chairman Woll.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following report:

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

The Executive Council in its report on the International Labor Organization has presented to this convention a comprehensive and informative statement of the International Labor Organization and of the recent 19th session of the International Labor Conference. There is a special significance to our consideration of this agency of international co-operation at Atlantic City. Here it was in 1919 that Samuel Gompers, our great leader, personally brought the constitution of this new institution which he himself had helped so much to formulate at Paris in 1919 as Chairman of the Commission on International Labor Legislation.

Here it was that the delegates to the 1919 convention gave their support to this institution by an overwhelming vote which has never been reversed during all these years. And it is here that the delegates to the 1935 convention are invited to pass in review the action of the first official American delegation to the International Labor Conference. For two years previous the American Federation of Labor had been officially represented by observers in the persons of Hugh Frayne, General Organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and John Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America.

During the past year American labor has been represented at the quarterly meetings of the governing body by James Wilson, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, at the January meeting, and David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and Vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, at the April meeting.

In June of this year American labor participated as a fully credentialed member nominated by the American Federation of Labor and appointed by the Secretary of State. Dan Tracy, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, had the honor of being selected as our first official labor representative to the 19th International Labor Conference.

The Executive Council has set forth in summary form the major actions taken by the conference; it remains to be added that it is the judgment of the Director of the International Labor Organization that this conference in terms of its representation of nations, in terms of the size of the agenda and the quality of debate was the most important in the entire history of the organization since the initial meeting in Washington in 1919.

The presence and participation of the American delegation contributed to this notable accomplishment. The technical and personal contribution of every member of the American delegation—delegates and advisers alike—was of a very substantial one

as the records of the Plenary Sessions and the Committees disclose. It is true to assert that without the vast body of American experience in connection with the 40-hour-week which was so forcibly presented to the conference by the American labor, employer and government delegates, the adoption of a general convention on that subject at the conference would not have taken place. And it will remain as a special contribution of the American labor delegation to this outcome that it helped to write into the framework of this general convention the vital provision that the reduction in hours should not be accompanied by a reduction of living standards.

The Executive Council refers to the research work which is done by the permanent secretary of the International Labor Organization. Your committee would add that it is the considered judgment of those who know that the office has gathered together the greatest library on labor problems and labor legislation to be found anywhere in all the world. In the International Secretariat at the office are some of the foremost authorities on labor standards to be found anywhere. For this reason our membership in the International Labor Organization will make available to us a unique source of information.

The Executive Council in its concluding paragraphs refers to the continuous character of the work of the organization and the need for continuous contact with its work and its reports.

Your committee heartily endorses the proposal of the Executive Council that the representatives of labor be selected for the International Labor Conference in advance. We propose that such representatives be selected not less than six months in advance of the meeting to enable them to make adequate preparation for their work. We propose full and adequate representation of labor.

Your committee desires to propose to this convention and to the Executive Council that William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, be selected to attend the 20th Annual Labor Conference in Geneva next June. His presence would not only hearten all of the representatives of labor, but would provide an

opportunity for him to occupy the position provided for him on the Governing Board of that organization.

Your committee would also urge upon this convention the necessity of providing future delegations with an adequate number of technical advisers. This year Marion Hedges, Research Director of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Spencer Miller, Jr., Director of the Workers' Education Bureau, served effectively in this capacity. On many of the committees American Labor could not be represented. British labor, however, had technical advisers appointed by the government. It is important that due representation is made to the United States Government for an adequate staff of technical advisers. Under the Constitution each group is entitled to two technical advisers for each item in the agenda. We recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor press for adequate technical assistance.

On December 30th the first Regional Conference is to be held in Santiago, Chile. In view of American labor's long interest in Pan American labor, we recommend that the Federation be represented in this meeting.

Your committee desires to call attention to several typographical and other errors in the Executive Council's report. The Annual Conference adopts both draft conventions or labor treaties as well as recommendations. The number of assistant directors is four, not two. The delegates to the annual conference are seated by countries; they are seated as function groups in the Governing Body, namely employers or workers and governments. The membership on the Governing Body is 32, not 24; 16 government members, 8 appointed by states of "chief industrial importance" and 8 by the government of the other states; 8 members representing employers elected by the employers' delegates to the conference and 8 representing workers' delegates elected by the workers' delegates to the conference. Both single and double discussion procedure is followed depending upon the urgency of the question.

In concluding this report, your committee would emphasize the historic importance of the action of the American Government in

joining this great international institution. For labor it is the fulfillment of the dream first projected by the great founder of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers. We shall honor his memory by giving this institution our whole hearted cooperation. We shall do more—we shall build ever stronger the forces of international labor by joining hands with those forces by seeking to advance peace through the promotion of social justice.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

President Green: The hour for the special order of business set aside by this convention has arrived. We will now proceed to the election of officers of the convention, as directed by the convention this morning. The Chair calls Vice-President Coefield to preside.

Vice-President Coefield in the Chair.

Chairman Coefield: The election of officers being in order, the first order of business is the nomination for President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates of the fifty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor: The holding of a position of leadership in the American Federation of Labor, which typifies the struggle of today towards desirable objectives on the part of the workers is a position fraught with great obligations and great responsibility. The American Federation of Labor is the greatest organization of labor that has ever existed on the western hemisphere and is the most efficient organization of labor that men in modern times have ever formed in any country. The task of maintaining order in such a great army of workers, the task of administering the affairs of that organization, carrying on its business activities, and maintaining proper relationships between its coordinated activities is a monumental task, fit for a giant's hands.

This convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting here in Atlantic City, typifies the force of that observation, because this convention has been concerned with consideration of momentous problems, important not alone to the men and women of labor, but of importance to every citizen

of our land and important to untold millions of people beyond the seas.

There have been times in the heat of debate and in the forceful utterances of opinion in this crucible when the world might have believed that the separation between the various viewpoints was so great that it was impossible for judgment to be found upon a common basis which would reconcile the conflicting opinions. But the task of maintaining this organization, filled as it is with the various opinions of many men, is a task that after all revolves around the character of leadership and the type of officers which the American labor movement, through the American Federation of Labor, select and present to the workers of the country and to the people of the United States as the champions of their ideals and the defenders of the principles for which this Federation of ours stands.

The present President of the American Federation of Labor typifies all that is desirable in American citizenship and in the leadership of American labor. Coming from the ranks of an affiliated organization, the United Mine Workers of America, he served his apprenticeship in that trade. He became familiar with the problems of those who were associated with him in the mining industry. He served them throughout the years as an officer of that organization. He has served his native state of Ohio as a representative of all the people. He has served the people of this Republic of the United States, as an officer of the American Federation of Labor, as a citizen and as an industrial statesman in a manner that commends itself to all thoughtful citizens.

His work is not yet done. American labor yet has great problems before it. American labor yet has some obstacles and hurdles to overcome, before all of us will perhaps agree that it has fulfilled its destiny. And yet methinks that these obstacles can be overcome; yet methinks that these hurdles can be passed by the American Federation of Labor with its supporting units cooperating with a reasonable degree of harmony and a high degree of efficiency under stable, recognized, tried leadership that has carried the Federation through many a storm before this time.

And so today there comes before us the task of again selecting a President of the

American Federation of Labor, and as we look about us among the stalwart captains of this organization from its ranks here and there throughout the country, there looms no man more eminently qualified, more tried and true, in whom we have confidence in the man and in whom we have confidence as regards his statesmanship than the present incumbent of the presidency of the American Federation of Labor, who for so long has served the workers of this country in all of his pride of accomplishment and in every sincerity of purpose.

And so as a representative of an affiliated organization, the United Mine Workers of America, I am particularly proud today to again have the privilege of presenting to this great and memorable convention, which marks perhaps a milestone in the history of the struggles of the workers of this country, the name of a son of the United Mine Workers of America for its President—William Green.

(The audience arose and applauded the nomination of President Green.)

Chairman Coefield: William Green has been placed in nomination for the office of President of the American Federation of Labor. The Chair recognizes Delegate Weber.

Delegate Weber, Musicians: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Coefield: It has been regularly moved and seconded that the nominations be closed and the Secretary directed to cast the ballot of the convention for William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor. All in favor of the motion will please signify by rising.

(Practically the entire delegation arose.)

Chairman Coefield: The opposition will now please rise. Apparently there is no opposition, and the motion is carried unanimously. The Secretary is instructed to cast the ballot.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Coefield: The Secretary having carried out the instructions of the convention, William Green is declared elected President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term—President Green.

Chairman Coefield: I present to you the newly elected President of the American Federation of Labor—William Green.

(The audience again arose and applauded for some time as President Green resumed the Chair.)

President Green: Chairman Coefield, Officers and Delegates and Attendants at this Convention: It is with a sense of keen appreciation and deep responsibility that I accept your call for service, this election as President of the American Federation of Labor for another year. I have been very deeply touched by this demonstration of your confidence and your approval, especially when I take into account the fact that the past year—yes, the past several years, have been filled with tremendous difficulties and terrible, economic, social and industrial problems.

I am conscious of the call that shall be made for service during the coming year, and conscious of that fact, here in your presence, I solemnly pledge to you all I have in strength and service.

This is an historic convention. I think I can, without fear of successful contradiction, declare that no more historic convention of the American Federation of Labor was ever held. During its deliberations, while in the crucible of consideration and debating, we have been torn by conflicting emotions; we realize, after all, that we have come through with colors flying and our ranks indissoluble and intact.

As President Lewis has said, I came from the mines. I gained my trade union education in the United Mine Workers' organization, and through years of service and association it was but natural that I would develop a trade union philosophy and a trade union psychology. That is the experience of the miner who works in the mines and who is associated with dangers, seen and unseen, through years of service.

In this convention I have found myself alternating between my devotion to that great union with which I have been as-

sociated all my life and my love and respect and admiration for every union represented in this convention. I conceive it to be the duty of a leader of this great movement to render such service as may be possible in bringing about a solution of our internal problems, as well as to carry on the fight for economic and industrial advancement. I consider it my duty to put forth every effort possible to find a basis of solution, a basis of accommodation upon which our organized labor movement may stand.

We, of course, are men possessed of strong opinions, possessed of a trade union psychology, and as red blooded men we stand up and fight for our convictions and for our opinions. And perhaps in the heat of debate, when zeal may carry us altogether beyond the limits, we may say something that will cut and hurt. But, my friends, we are men—men who deal with difficult problems every day, and we are not going to treasure within our hearts and minds any feeling toward any man who, in the heat of debate, may cut and hurt by something that has been said. So it becomes our duty now to forget. The debate is over. The problems have been solved. A settlement has been made, and from this convention we must go out united, because the interests of those we represent demand that we shall do so.

To me the great trade union movement is a religion in itself. It pulls upon my heart and my emotions, as it does upon yours, and it is the instrumentality through which the workers of the nation hope to realize their hopes and their aspirations. If it is destroyed, to what can they turn? Where can they look with any hope? To what source may they turn in their hour of need, or what instrumentality can they employ? So the trade union movement must live, because through it the workers must voice their expressions, they must realize their hopes and aspirations through the great American labor movement.

I realize as you do that we have not accomplished all. The workers are not all organized into the American Federation of Labor. We have carried on the fight, however, just as aggressively as it has been possible to do so. We might ask why the

church has not saved all the sinners. The doors are open to all. The appeal is made but the church has not failed because it has not saved all the sinners in the world. Neither has our movement failed because, in fifty-five years, we have failed to organize every man and every woman eligible to membership into the American Federation of Labor.

I look at the moment across the sea, and there I find that our brothers in Great Britain have an organized labor movement much older than ours which has not in itself succeeded in organizing all the workers in Great Britain. Four million men and women are organized into the British Trades Union Congress, with a potential membership of from fourteen to eighteen million. If they have not reached the maximum and realized their full hopes and aspirations, can we not be patient as we plod on and fight on toward the realization of our goal?

There are those who differ regarding the organization policies that should be pursued by this American Federation of Labor. The opinions of men who differ have been courageously and convincingly submitted to this convention. There are those who believe that those employed in certain lines of industry should be members of one big organization. There are those who believe differently, and each one honestly in his or her opinion. But somehow or other the American Federation of Labor possesses within it the resourcefulness and the power to find a basis of accommodation and to discipline itself to accept the rule of the majority.

We have made achievements here. We have composed our differences along many lines, and I go out from here happy beyond measure, finding words inadequate to express my happiness and pleasure over the fact that within our own councils and within our own family we found a solution of the differences existing between building trades organizations. To me that is an achievement unsurpassed and unequalled in the history of our organized labor movement.

But in our great movement we have succeeded, we have achieved in the legislative field. This is the movement that can claim credit for the defeat of the confirmation of

Judge Parker when he was appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States. This is the movement that can claim credit for securing the enactment of the Norris-La Guardia Act. This is the movement that has brought the six-hour day to an increasing number of workers. This is the movement that brought about a restoration of pay for Government employees and the forty-hour week for the postal employees and the letter carriers of the nation. This is the movement that has carried on the fight until we have secured approval of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution of the United States by twenty-four sovereign states. I wish that we could properly appraise the great service of our movement to humanity. We cannot do that. Our minds can scarcely comprehend it, its importance and its significance.

But now, my friends, may I say that when, in the shadow of the evening of life, at the close of the day when the sun was setting, that great leader who preceded me embarked upon his journey across the bar into the Great Unknown and into the Great Beyond, in whispering words that fell from his palsied lips, he commanded me, his successor, to carry on, to hold aloft the torch of trade unionism in the United States of America. I have never lowered it. It has been held high and has been the blazing emblem that has inspired the rubber workers, the automobile workers, the miscellaneous workers, the aluminum workers, all those who have come in, and to them we owe an obligation that we must forever discharge. So in memory of that great leader, true to him and to his philosophy and his inspiring leadership, we must renew our vows today to carry on as never before, and in doing so rise to the sublime heights of brotherhood, fraternity and good will. I realize the difficulties that must be encountered. We shall face them bravely and courageously.

May I say here that I entertain the most profound regard for every member of the Executive Council who has served with me. This Council was built and erected and constructed at San Francisco. I love them all. They are red blooded men with strong convictions, true to themselves and true to you. I would not have you at any time have your confidence undermined in the in-

tegrity and the honesty and the devotion of these men to you and to the trade union movement.

And now we are going forward to face the foe. We will meet them and accept their challenge, and in doing that we will bare our breasts to the foes as I understand them—the representatives of great corporations, of manufacturers' associations, of the representatives of company unions, the financial interests of this nation who have ordered that organized labor shall not succeed. These are the representatives whom I classify as foes. We will face them, we will meet them. We are willing to come to grips with all of them as we have in the past, and as we do, going forward, meeting the common enemy, I ask you to rally behind me as your leader, and to them we will say, "The fight is on. Lay on your hands, MacDuff, and damned be he who first cries 'Hold, enough!'"

President Green in the Chair.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for First Vice President.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman and delegates, during the sessions of this convention I have made no attempt to impress on the delegates my sincerity of purpose either by an attempt at eloquence or dramatic action. Neither have I berated and attempted to belittle the officers of this American Federation of Labor. Therefore, in coming to you to present the name of the one I have in mind I have no apologies to make for anything that I have said in this convention. I trust that you will believe me when I say just a few words as to my knowledge of the labor record of the one whose name I shall present to you as a candidate for First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

He has served the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America as its general secretary for thirty-three years. I have had the pleasure and honor of being associated with him as a General Officer of the Brotherhood for twenty-two years and during those twenty-two years I know of no act of his that would warrant me doing other than to praise him. For twenty-two years he has served as a member of

the Executive Council of this Federation. I know of no one who can honestly and truthfully attempt to belittle his efforts on behalf of the labor movement. I can say nothing further in eulogy of his record other than to present to you his name as a candidate for First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, and I now take great pleasure in doing so by naming Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

President Green: Are there other nominations?

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I move that the nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Frank Duffy for First Vice President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Frank Duffy for First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I hereby declare Brother Frank Duffy elected as First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair calls for nominations for a Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: Mr. Chairman, as I look out today into the golden sunshine here in this beautiful city by the sea, it seems to me that we enjoy in full measure the blessing of Him who watches over all of His children. It is a great privilege indeed to be permitted to sponsor an officer who has served you for so many years as Second Vice President of this splendid Federation of Labor. I believe his service in years is second to that of the splendid man who has just been elected First Vice President. I have had special opportunity during the periods that I have been attending these conventions to observe this officer. I have served on the same committee for practically the past ten years, where he has acted as our very able Chairman. I have seen the patience that

he has exercised and the great ability which he brought to the solving of the many controversies with which the Adjustment Committee have been confronted in all the years of the existence of this Federation. Sometimes I feel, as the years pass, that patience is after all perhaps the greatest virtue with which the human family can possibly be blessed. I have seen the courage with which this officer has met propositions that have been brought to our attention. And in passing may I refer incidentally to the Washington convention, where you men will recall the controversies that raged between some of our affiliated organizations, and when it was necessary for a member of the Council to present its views this officer was the man to present the case, and in my judgment it was a classic presentation. With it all he has that thread of iron that is the heritage of all leaders of men. He has courage, and above all, loyalty to his friends. He is a man of sterling integrity and high character.

It is a great honor and a privilege indeed to be permitted to present to you today the name of the distinguished president of the United Garment Workers of America, Mr. Thomas A. Rickert, for Second Vice President of this Federation.

President Green: Are there further nominations?

Delegate Gordon, United Garment Workers: I move that the nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot for Thomas A. Rickert for Second Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Thomas A. Rickert, as Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with the announcement just made and the instructions of this convention, I declare Thomas A. Rickert elected Second Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair calls for nominations now for Third Vice-President.

Delegate Olander, Seamen's Union: Mr. President and Delegates: It is an honor which I appreciate very deeply to be per-

mitted to again exercise the privilege which has been accorded to me by my friends for a number of years, but which I was obliged to forego last year because of absence from the convention. I desire to place in nomination a trade unionist with whom I have been intimately associated for many years and whom you all know. His qualifications are far too well known to require any description at my hand here except to say this, that in character and ability and in experience and reputation as an executive and administrator, eloquent of speech and aggressive in action, calm, thoughtful and studied under all circumstances, he is peculiarly qualified to serve the American labor movement as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. President, I have the honor to place in nomination for the position of Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, Matthew Woll.

Delegate Volz, Photo Engravers: I want to second the nomination. While I gladly waived to Delegate Olander the pleasure of nominating Vice-President Woll, with whom he has worked so many years, nevertheless I want to take the opportunity of seconding that nomination and I move you, Mr. Chairman, that the nomination be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the convention for Matthew Woll.

Delegate Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers: I rise to make a nomination. Through the development of local trade unions and Federal trade unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor there have been born in the last year two new International Unions, the Automobile Workers and the Rubber Workers, and they have been added to the more than one hundred great International Unions already affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Hundreds of Federal locals now existing and hundreds more waiting to be born are the material out of which more great International Unions will emerge to enlarge the power of the great labor movement as exemplified by the American Federation of Labor.

On the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there is needed someone who represents this new blood that is coming into our ranks, one who belongs to a large and successful local, one who is

very close to the new workers that are joining the A. F. of L., one who successfully organized his factory, one who has successfully led a strike, who has successfully negotiated wage increases for the members of his Federal local. This man will bring such new, young fighting blood into our highest councils, and a feeling among our thousand Federal locals, with 200,000 members, that they have some of the representation that they are entitled to. I believe I have the honor to place in nomination as Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor such a great trade union leader—Emil Costello, of Federal Labor Union No. 18456, of Kenosha, Wis.

President Green: Are there further nominations?

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I rise to second the nomination of Matthew Woll for Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. I believe he has the ability. He has served us long and faithfully for many years, and I do hope that the delegates of this convention will remember that service and vote for him and give him the unanimous vote of this convention for Third Vice-President.

Delegate Rand, Federal Labor Union No. 20039: I rise to second the nomination of Emil Costello.

Delegate Kuehnle, Federal Labor Union No. 19393: Delegate Kuehnle rises to second the nomination of the Federal Local's nominee, Emil Costello.

President Green: Are there any further nominations? If not, the Chair will declare the nominations closed and the Secretary will call the roll. Brother Matthew Woll has been nominated for Third Vice-President. Brother Emil Costello has been nominated. The Secretary will call the roll. Those who desire to vote for Matthew Woll will indicate their desire by answering, Matthew Woll. Those who wish to vote for Brother Costello will respond by saying Emil Costello.

Delegate Holmgren, Railway Car Men: I would like to have a look at Brother Costello.

President Green: Brother Costello, will you kindly stand up.

(In compliance with the request Delegate Costello arose.)

Secretary Morrison called the roll with the following result:

WOLL—COSTELLO

WOLL—Dullzell, Hamilton (E. G.), Mil-laney, Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Koch, Shanessy, BIRTHRIGHT, Robinson, Reagan (P. H.), Merlino, Horn, Powlesland, Franklin (J. A.), Davis (J. N.), Walter (Wm. E.), Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Mara, Lawson (G. W.), Obergfell, Kugler, Zusi, Spahr, Bates (H. C.), Gray, Price (W. V.), Stretch, Moran (Wm. J.), Morrison, Brice, Dempsey, Ryan (E.), Knight, Holmgren, Macrorie, Fitzgerald (J. J.), Hutcheson (Wm.), Duffy (Frank), Williams (J. W.), Flynn (T.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Hanson (Chas.), Mulcahy, Van Vaerenyck, George (L. E.), Hyatt, Hewitt, Collins (Wm. A.), Smith (H. W.), Harrison (G. M.), Jackson (J. O.), Ulrich, Desepte, Coulter (C. C.), Hillman, Schlossberg, Chatman, Miller (A.), Catalanotti, Rissman, Deckard, Doyle (J. J.), Rosemund, Tracy (D. W.), Bugnizet, Paulsen, Bieretz, McDonagh (J. S.), Feeney (F.), Milton, Taylor (M.), Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay, Gramling, Walsh (W. P.), Imhahn, Volz, Woll, Schmal, Baer, Kane, McNamara (J. F.), Clinton, Conway (J.), Kelley (J. L.), Dannenberg, Lucchi, Rickert, Adamski, Gordon, Hashkins, Houck, Dubinsky, Margolies, Snyder, Zuckerman, Nagler, Hochman, Desti, Maloney (J.), Warren (Wm.), Gilooly, Kennedy (J. H.), Babcock (E. C.), Glass (D. R.), Daniels (J.), Greene (M. F.), Lewis (Marx), Goldberg, Finkelstein, Moreschi, Marshall (J.), Rivers Etchison, D'Andrea, Flore, Hesketh, Koveleski, Lane (C.), Leonard (L.), Beardsley, Williams (L.), McSorley (W. J.), Moore (G. T.), Case (C. J.), Brooks (W. C.), Bryan (W. E.), Gainer, Finnan, Gorman (W. J.), Swartz (L. E.), Duffy (C. D.), Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck, Ryan (J. P.), Sampson, Wharton, Robinson (W. F.), Fry (C.), Alifas, Henning, Haggerty (D.), Fljoldal, Millman Carroll (T. C.), Vogland, McCarthy (Wm.), McInerney, Hynes (J. J.), Ryan (J. J.), Moriarty, Close (J.), Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Kennedy (Thos.), Green (Wm.), Bittner, Brennan, Fagan, Kmetz, O'Keefe (L.), Towers, Barnett, Weber, Canavan, Weaver, Bagley, Kapl, Field, Fremming, Coulter (J. L.), Schafer (B. J.), Long (J. C.), Lindelof, Swick, Madson, Meehan, Kaufman, Kelley (J. F.), Burns (M. J.), Barry, Lynch (G. Q.), Colcleran (M. J.), Rooney, Donlin, McDonough (M. J.), Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Anderson (C.), Fallon, Britton, Duffy (J. M.), McGillivray, Grafton, Windsor, McHugh (W. H.), McGrady, Armstrong, Wilson (W.), Sigmund, Burke (J. P.), Bayha, Sullivan (H. W.), Mahon (W. D.), Kehoe, McLellan, McLaughlin (M. J.), Broderick, Sterling, Jones (G. W.), Gavlak, Furuseth, Olander, Browne (G. E.), Dempsey, Green (T. V.),

McCaffrey, DeVeze, Sumner (C. A.), Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen (P. J.), Cashen (C.), Connors (J. B.), Reznicek, Lowry, Hanson (F. C.), Davis (G.), Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Goudie, McLaughlin (J.), Beck, Manion, Leighty, Powers (F. B.), McMahon (T. F.), Gorman (F. J.), Smith (Wm.), Kelly (W. F.), Rieve, Schweitzer, Evans (E. L.), Lentie, Howard, Morrison (F.), Trotter, Martel, Simons, Gill, Hatch (J. H.), Graves, Frey (J. P.), Jewell (B. M.), Ornburn, Noxon, Egan (J. J.), Soderstrom, Fritz, Lewis (J. C.), McCurdy, Watt (R. J.), Cunningham (T. E.), Brandt, Graham (J. D.), Hollopeter, Meany, Lawrence (R. R.), Donnelly (T. J.), Hughes (F.), Iglesias, Nord, Arthur, Egan (B. M.), Easton (J. B.), Burr, Owens (J.), Morgan (J.), Keenan, McCormick (J. R.), Souther, Townshend, Doll (M.), Brooks (W. R.), Le Bow, Rivin, Egan (J. V.), Harvey (A. P.), Topping, Quinn (J. C.), Bower (A. P.), King, Heber, Duncan (J. A.), Sweeney (S. A.), Doyle (F. E.), Edmundson (R.), Musgrave, Brach, Borchardt, McMahon (B. R.), Shipley, Tucker (J. R.), Lee (A. P.), Fitzgerald (I. J.), Burks (J. A.), Sanders, O'Gorman (M. A.), Hannah (P.), Flynn (M. J.), Henderson, Randolph, Webster (M. P.), McCloskey, Carey (J. B.), Thompson (W. W.), Dalrymple, Garrison, Groner, Joblon, Nick, Ocker, Fearn, representing 28,523 votes.

COSTELLO—Peterson (P. M.), Robinson (B.), Cashin (A.), Crose, Day (P.), Buckingham, Soltis, Killeen, Mortimer, North, Baron, Lawrence (H.), Merritt, Clark (W. B.), Rand, Costello, Taylor (C. S.), Kuehnell, Lilly, Krauss, Ratkin, Schillinger, Matlin, Braun, Harper, representing 264 votes.

NOT VOTING—McCarthy (Wm.), Horan, Nelson (Oscar F.), Scalise, Bambrick, McCabe, Scully (J. J.), Morningstar, Gorman (P. H.), Lane, Maxwell, Kelly (M. J.), Hannah (E. I.), Lawson (J. C.), Evans (A. A.), Kaiser (E. W.), Billet, Mitch, Ernst, Tiller, Rosqvist, Morgan (E. J.), Wade (F. B.), Palmer, Osborne, Patterson, Crawford (C. V.), Taylor (J. A.), Shave, Handley, Ross (John), Nance, McAloon, Biel, Mitchell (A.), Slout, Campfield, Mayer (R.), Bamford, Smith (D.), Flynn (Al.), Reinhart, Lenehan, Nadelhoffer, Jeffries, Weizenecker, Breidenbach, Matchley, Komaroff, Cushing, Passage, Downie, Mitchell (H.), Katz, DeWitt, Yourishin, Eardley, Riley (W. H.), Crother, Slich, Regan, Dahl, Kennedy (J. G.), O'Leary, David (P. T.), Hanoway, Maney, Swetland, Michelson, Friedrich, Nevill, Pickler, Campbell (J. C.), Draper, Lyding, Hirschberg, McCarty (M. L.), Cahir, Heimbach, Campbell (W. W.), Howat, Sager, Woodmansee, Russell (H. A.), Wood (R. T.), Dahlager, Hymes, Walsh (M.), Saylor, Sandefur, Saltus, Bender, Myles (J. T.), Merrill, Ades, Kics, Johnson, Davis (E.), Gormley, Goff, Long (J. A.), McGurk, Templeman, Martocchio, Pavona, Strunk, Kundle, Caraway, Ravitch, Dahl, Doane, Bellows, Wise (L. F.), Marek, Masucci, Ross (A. J.).

White (F.), Heymanns (C.), Dance, Finnegan, Sigman, Hanlon (E. P.), Dallas, Sticht, Nelson (J.), Bradley (H. A.), Gerhart, Fine, Burke (M. J.), Weinberg, Lovell, Barr (M. P.), Nicholson, Beedie, Eagle, Burns (T. F.), Serra, Shacklette, Dougherty, Malkovich, Turner (G. L.), Zander, Dodge (A.), Rasmussen, Makman, Taylor (J. C.), Jenkins (S.), Lufrano, Raisse, Mack (J.), Marzocca, Ryan (J. A.), Conley (A.), Naesmith, Haydon, representing 959 votes.

When the Secretary had called the roll up to the beginning of State Bodies, Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters and Joiners, said:

Is it necessary to continue with the roll call? Are there not sufficient votes already cast to decide whether it is necessary to call the balance of the roll?

President Green: I think you are right so far as the decision of the convention is concerned, but every delegate is entitled to have his vote recorded, and I suppose we will have to give them that right.

Delegate Duncan: I move you that those who desire to be recorded as voting for Delegate Costello be given that privilege.

Delegate Costello: I wish to withdraw my name, not to withdraw my nomination, but that the vote stop here and those who wish to register their votes against Matthew Woll can do so. I have heard for the past ten days that there was going to be opposition to Matthew Woll. When the delegate from Chicago nominated me I had no knowledge of his intentions up to that time. However, I did not wish him to be elected without opposition, so I did not withdraw my name. We have spent here approximately two weeks, and those who wish to record their votes should be allowed to do so.

President Green: Brother Costello, do I understand that you are withdrawing your candidacy in favor of Matthew Woll?

Delegate Costello: No, I am not.

The roll call was continued, with the result as recorded above.

President Green: In accordance with the vote of the convention the Chair declares Brother Matthew Woll elected Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fourth Vice President.

Delegate Burke, Plumbers: It gives me

great honor and pleasure to place in nomination for Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor the present incumbent in office, John Coefield, General President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.

Delegate McDonough, Plasterers: I desire to second the nomination of John Coefield, and move that nominations be closed. The motion was seconded and carried.

A motion that the Secretary be instructed to cast the vote of the convention for John Coefield was carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for John Coefield as Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And the Chair declares John Coefield elected Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair calls for nominations for Fifth Vice-President.

Delegate Fry, Machinists: In nominating my candidate I consider that all has been said about other candidates I have said about mine. I place in nomination Brother Arthur O. Wharton.

Delegate Horn, Blacksmiths: I desire to second the nomination.

Delegate Henning: I move that nominations close and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Arthur O. Wharton for Fifth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Arthur O. Wharton as Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And the Chair declares Arthur O. Wharton elected Fifth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Sixth Vice-President.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Mr. President and Delegates—Like certain brands of wine which improves with age, the American Federation of Musicians presents their candidate

for the office of Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, proud of the vindication of the wisdom of their selection in days gone by, and serenely confident in the infinite variety of his accomplishments and fitness for the position to which he is called, Joseph N. Weber, of New York City.

Delegate Dempsey: I second the nomination of Brother Weber.

Delegate Bagley: I move to close the nominations and instruct the Secretary to cast the vote of the convention for Joseph N. Weber.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Joseph N. Weber as Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And the Chair officially declares Brother Joseph N. Weber duly elected as Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Seventh Vice-President.

Delegate Tracy, Electrical Workers: I arise to place in nomination one who has served this organization long and well, one who needs no introduction to the delegates to this convention. I take great pleasure in nominating G. M. Bugniazet for Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Keenan: I second the nomination and move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the vote of the convention for G. M. Bugniazet for Seventh Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, in accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for G. M. Bugniazet as Seventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And the Chair declares Brother Bugniazet duly elected Seventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Eighth Vice-President.

Delegate Fljodzai: Mr. Chairman, I rise to place in nomination for the position of Eighth Vice-President the name of a young man who, through his activities and con-

structive leadership, is well known to every delegate in this convention. I am not going to take up the time of this convention with any lengthy speech, because it is wholly unnecessary in this instance. Let me, however, say that the activities of this man during this convention and his contribution toward solving the most complex problem facing this convention and the labor movement generally is sufficient indication that he is the right man in the right place. I take great pleasure, indeed, in placing in nomination for re-election the name of Brother George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and Chairman of the Railway Executives' Association.

Delegate Jackson, Railway Clerks: I wish to second the nomination and move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the vote of the convention for George M. Harrison.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, in accordance with the instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George M. Harrison as Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And the Chair declares Brother George M. Harrison duly elected as Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Ninth Vice-President.

Delegate Hughes, Teamsters: I desire at this time to place in nomination the President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Daniel J. Tobin, for the office of Ninth Vice-President.

Delegate Heber, Scranton Central Body: I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin for Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with the announcement, the Chair hereby declares Brother Daniel J. Tobin elected as Ninth

Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Tenth Vice-President.

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters: A year ago we increased the number of Vice-Presidents of the American Federation of Labor from eight to fifteen. I at that time nominated the tenth Vice-President. I now want to perform the same act. I have worked with him for more than twenty-five years. I know his abilities. He was elected unanimously in the last convention. He has attended every meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation for the past year and took an active part in all the work presented to the Council. Now I take pleasure in again nominating William L. Hutcheson, President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, for Tenth Vice-President.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William L. Hutcheson for Tenth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, in accordance with the instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William L. Hutcheson as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And the Chair officially declares William L. Hutcheson elected as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now we have come to the election of the Eleventh Vice-President. The Chair desires to read this letter to the convention, because Brother George L. Berry, who served as Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, resigned the position and is not a candidate for re-election. The letter is dated October 7 and is addressed to the President of the American Federation of Labor. It says:

My appointment as Co-ordinator for Industrial Co-operation by the President makes it difficult for me to fulfill the duties and functions of the office of Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. Therefore, I am most respectfully requesting that you accept my resignation from the Council. Of

course, under the circumstances I would not be a candidate at the coming convention.

I appreciated the very great honor imposed upon me by the San Francisco convention and I wish it were possible that I might be able to continue, but I don't feel I could do justice to the office in view of the additional responsibilities to which mention has been made.

Sincerely and fraternally,

GEO. L. BERRY.

President Green: In conformity with the custom and the rules which have always prevailed in the American Federation of Labor when a vacancy occurs upon the Executive Council, those who have been serving, if nominated and re-elected move up and the new member of the Executive Council, whoever he may be, takes his place as the last elected member of the Executive Council. The Chair therefore calls the nominations for the Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. The Chair recognizes Delegate Kennedy, of the United Mine Workers.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: The United Mine Workers of America in its proud history has given many distinguished sons, not only to official positions in the labor movement but to the nation and to the various states of the nation, and at this time it is my privilege and pleasure to state to this convention that the present President of the United Mine Workers of America, in our judgment, is a man that easily surpasses all those that we have given in our organization official positions or in the government itself.

My friends, the man I am about to nominate is a man of courage, of ability, a man with a purpose and a program, a man who is not only able to give and take in a fight but a man who can reconcile himself to the mandates of the sovereign authority, not only of his own organization but the American Labor movement, a man who believes in solidarity and who practices the essentials of solidarity. Therefore, it is a privilege and a pleasure at this time to give to this convention, to offer for service on your Executive Council, that outstanding leader of the Mine Workers, John L. Lewis.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the vote of this convention for John L. Lewis for Eleventh Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, in accordance with the instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for John L. Lewis for Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And the Chair officially declares Brother John L. Lewis duly elected as Eleventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair will now entertain nominations for Twelfth Vice-President.

Delegate Nagler, Ladies' Garment Workers: Mr. President and delegates to this convention—I deem it a great honor to present to you for your consideration and election one of our favorite sons for the office of Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. He was elected in the city of San Francisco in the highest council of our Federation. He has served well. He has made a great contribution, not only to his own organization but to the entire labor movement. In San Francisco he brought in an organization which was about the sixth or seventh in size. Today we are proud to take our place as the third organization in the American Labor movement.

Not only has he made a contribution to the American Labor movement, but he holds a position in the International Labor movement. He has the honor to be an officer of International Clothing Workers of the World. He knows the industry he represents. He has been endeared to the hearts of the thousands of men and women he represents, and I deem it a great honor and a pleasure to present to you the name of David Dubinsky for Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Weber, Musicians: I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary stand instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for David Dubinsky for Twelfth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, in accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for David Dubinsky for Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And the Chair hereby officially declares David Dubinsky Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now we come to the 13th Vice-President.

Delegate Gray, Bricklayers: As a delegate to this convention it is a privilege and a pleasure for me to place in nomination the name of a man who has given twenty-two years of faithful and efficient service to the organization I represent, the name of Harry C. Bates, President of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

Delegate Moran, Bricklayers: I rise for the privilege of seconding the nomination of President Bates for Thirteenth Vice-President of this Federation, and I move that Secretary Morrison be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for President Bates for Thirteenth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, in accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harry C. Bates as Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And the Chair officially declares Brother Harry C. Bates elected as Thirteenth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fourteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Gorman, Letter Carriers: It is a privilege to stand before this great convention today and offer for consideration the name of a man who has served this institution well as President of the Letter Carriers' National Union. I therefore deem it a pleasure and a privilege to place before you the name of Edward J. Gainor for Fourteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Hyatt: In behalf of the pioneers of the first Civil Service group to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, I rise to second the nomination of Edward

J. Gainor. Tomorrow is the thirty-fifth anniversary of the issuance of the charter to the first Civil Service group in the Federation. I want to say for this Civil Service group that we owe much to the American Federation of Labor, but during the past two years we owe more than ever before to the American Federation of Labor. We are proud to have a member on the Executive Council.

Delegate Sterling, Railway Mail Association: I desire to second the nomination of Edward J. Gainor for Fourteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Babcock, National Federation of Government Employees: Mr. President and delegates to this convention: While my organization has nothing to say about our good brother here, Delegate Gainor, I would be performing less than my duty if I failed to say in his presence that the best worker for organized labor should be put in nomination for this position. If his declination follows, I am sorry. The American Federation of Government Employees has nothing to gain and nothing to lose, but I want this convention to know that the best Government employe group, represented by its best man, in my opinion, should have this place. I am sure the delegates to this convention will understand my position. The man who has seconded the nomination of Brother Gainor is my brother and father, and we have worked together for the best interests of Government employes, but I cannot refrain from putting before you, subject to his decision, whatever it may be, the best man, in my opinion, for Government employes, and that is Gil Hyatt, and I nominate him.

Delegate Hyatt: I appreciate the fact that I was his choice for the position, and I appreciate the warm friendship he has for me. However, as I have already declared myself in favor of Delegate Gainor, I withdraw.

Delegate Babcock: In view of the statement of Gil Hyatt, I withdraw the nomination.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: I am under the impression that it is sufficient for the candidate himself to withdraw. I move that nominations now close, and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Ed-

ward J. Gainor for Fourteenth Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward J. Gainor as Fourteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And the Chair hereby officially declares Edward J. Gainor elected Fourteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fifteenth Vice President.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Mr. President and fellow delegates—There are three men now on the Council that served on the Council when I first became a member in 1917. They are Frank Morrison, Bill Green, and Frank Duffy. At that time we had another great fighter a member of our Council who resigned because of the pressure of business in his own organization. Every member of the Council at that time regretted the fact that he was unable, because of his work, to continue to serve as a member of the Council.

I think I was somewhat responsible last year for the seduction of one of the strongest characters that we have in our Executive Council. I am not ready yet to do penance for that sin of seduction; in fact, I have somewhat enjoyed the seduction, and I have been somewhat interested in continuing the art of seduction within the last few days since I heard that Vice-President Berry would not continue in office.

In our Executive Council we have a great many differences. I know of no member that submits his opinion to another unless he is convinced, but when a majority of the Council renders a decision, that decision becomes the action of the entire membership. That has been the continuous policy of the Executive Council as long as I can remember.

I served in the Council in the old days for a period of eleven years. I understood something of its entanglements, its disagreements, and I understood well the members of the Council in those days. But after seeing the Council function for the last year, I can say that there never was a

time, in my personal judgment, in which the interests of the American labor movement have been more honestly and sincerely protected and observed.

We have a great many new men coming into our movement. I have absolute confidence in the youth of our nation and in the youth coming into the labor movement; but we need, to offset the untried minds that need education, as we did in our early days, the mature men who have worked since the foundation of the constructive, progressive labor movement we have today.

The man I am about to nominate is one of the pioneers in the organization of the United Mine Workers of America forty years ago or more. He gave his days and his nights and endangered his life upon more than one occasion. For over thirty-five years he has been the president of his own international union, one of the most militant and I suppose one of the most conservative organizations in the labor movement. From coast to coast he is known for his clearness of thought, his ability to fight and his firmness in standing by his principles when he believes he is right.

I do not like to continue the convention. It isn't customary, except when there is a new place to be filled in the Council, to make lengthy speeches in nominating members of the Council; but because of the fact that many delegates do not know the character of the man I am about to nominate, I elaborate on his qualities. I know he will do as he did in the past, fight for the principles of this organization which he in the early days helped to found. I offer for your consideration for the office of Fifteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor the General President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, W. D. Mahon.

Delegate Murray, United Mine Workers: Mr. President and fellow delegates—I suppose that the American Federation of Labor, like all other great democratic institutions, developed through its own particular processes its own great labor statesmen. Each and every member of each and every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor exercises the God-given and legitimate right to aspire to responsible office within the councils of the American Federation of Labor. And in the develop-

ment of these processes our great trade unions and our great international unions have presented from time to time the names of favorite sons for the consideration of our convention to occupy posts of responsibility within the councils of this great labor movement of ours.

I am therefore at this time taking advantage of the opportunity to present to this convention one of the outstanding leaders of American labor, the President of one of the greatest international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, a man who, during the course of his long labor career, has served the Government of the United States of America in the field of the Department of Labor, a man who has used his facile pen in furthering the cause of organized labor as editor of a great labor magazine, a man who has held membership in this great international organization of his for a period of thirty years, and a man who has served as president of that great organization for a period of thirteen years.

I am presenting to this convention at this time a man who is energetic, capable, and one possessed of the necessary executive capacity to administer his office provided he is elected to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

He represents a certain kind of viewpoint which has been expressed in this convention during the course of its deliberations. I therefore deem it an honor and a pleasure to present to this convention at this time for Fifteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, Charles P. Howard, International President of the Typographical Union.

Delegate Hillman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers: I rise to second the nomination of Delegate Howard to be a member of the Executive Council. I believe that the election of Delegate Howard to the Council will aid greatly in the solution of problems confronting labor in the years to come. In the last two weeks there were serious and at times heated discussions as to methods for the American Federation of Labor to adopt in the furtherance of its work. I know that, regardless of the differences of opinion that may prevail in this convention, when the convention adjourns there will be a united labor movement. I know that while it is necessary for us to discuss and

at times revise some of our ways, when the decisions are made those decisions will be carried out by a united organization.

At this time there are differences of opinion. The minority, of course, accepts the decision of the majority. Now, the Executive Council, having the responsibility of carrying through the decisions of this convention, in my judgment, ought to have there a person who will ably, effectively and honestly present the point of view of the minority. I believe that Delegate Howard is a most fortunate choice. He represents one of the craft organizations, an organization with a splendid record in all these years.

I believe over there in the Council of the American Federation of Labor he will help present the point of view of those who believe they ought to be sustained in an approach of the problems facing our movement, and therefore I hope, not because the one who was nominated previously is not capable, I have the highest regard for the President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, but I do believe at this time we ought to have representation on the Council that will present the views of the minority, who number 1,100,000 in the organized labor movement, and I consider it a privilege to second the nomination of Delegate Howard for membership in the Council.

Delegate Martel, International Typographical Union: A year ago in San Francisco I placed the name of Charles P. Howard before this convention for a position upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Howard at that time declined to allow his name to go before the convention because of a statement that he had previously made in his efforts to increase the size of the Executive Council that he himself would not be a candidate. And, true to that promise, he declined membership on that Council last year when it appeared that he could be elected without any difficulty.

It has been my privilege to come in contact with the President of the International Typographical Union, and I believe there is no organization represented here that has had more serious problems to grapple with in the last few years than the printers of the country. They have many fraternal and beneficial features in the organization,

besides being an aggressive trade union. At times when many unions were unable to meet their obligations to the American Federation of Labor and to their members, the Typographical Union was struggling with the problems of maintaining the Printers' Home at Denver, Col., and their pension system. These affairs were handled in a wise and statesmanlike manner by the president of the organization, and each and every member of the International Typographical Union was given all the benefits that his membership in that organization entitles him to.

Reference has been made to the contribution that Delegate Howard has made in the direction of the changes that are taking place in the labor movement. I should think, my friends, that the contribution that Delegate Howard has made, not only as President of his own organization but as a delegate to this convention, placed before the delegates here today an opportunity to make a wise selection, and I say that with no desire to detract from the virtues of my old friend Bill Mahon of the Street Railway Men, and who is a next door neighbor of my own in Detroit, but I bespeak for Delegate Howard your support.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I rise to second the nomination of Bill Mahon. I don't think he needs any eulogy from me. I know if he is elected he will serve on the Executive Council for the benefit of the workers of this country. He will not tie himself up with the majority or the minority but will work for the best interests of all the workers of the country.

Delegate Duncan: Inasmuch as we are nearing the time for adjournment, I move you that the rules be suspended and that we remain in session until we have completed the election of officers and the selection of a convention city.

Delegate Ernst: I would like to add to the motion that we re-convene tonight to transact some more business.

President Green: We will decide that later.

The motion to suspend the rules was seconded and carried.

Delegate McHugh, Printing Pressmen: I move that nominations for Fifteenth Vice-President close.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: Brother William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, has been nominated for Fifteenth Vice President. Brother Charles P. Howard, President of the International Typographical Union, has also been nominated for Fifteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. Those who desire to vote for Delegate Mahon will assert "Mahon". Those who desire to vote for Charles P. Howard will answer "Howard". The Secretary will call the roll.

MAHON—HOWARD

MAHON—Dullzell, Mullaney, Shanesay, Birthright, Robinson (J. B.), Reagan, Merlino, Horn (R.), Powlesland, Franklin (J. A.), Davis (J. N.), Walter (W. E.), Mara, Lawson (G. W.), Spahr, Bates, Gray, Price (W. V.), Stretch, Moran, Knight, Holmgren, Macorie, Fitzgerald (J. J.), Hutcheson (W. L.), Duffy (Frank), Williams (J. W.), Flynn (T.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Hanson, Mulcahy, Van Vaerenyck, George (L. E.), Hyatt, Hewitt, Collins (W. A.), Smith (H. W.), Harrison (G. M.), Jackson (J. O.), Ulrich, Desepte, Coulter (C. C.), Deckard, Rosemund, Tracy (D. W.), Bugniazet, Paulsen, Bieretz, McDonagh (J. S.), Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay, Gramling, Walsh (W. P.), Imhahn, Volz, Woll, Schmal, Baer, Kane, McNamara, Clinton (J.), Conway, Kelley (J. L.), Rickert, Adamski, Gordon, Hashkins, Houck, Maloney (J.), Warren (W.), Gillooly, Kennedy (J. H.), Moreschi, Marshall (J.), Rivers, Etchison, D'Andrea, Flore, Hesketh, Koveleski, Lane (Chris), Leonard (L.), McSorley, Moore (G. T.), Case (C. J.), Gainer, Finn, Gorman, Swartz, Duffy (C. D.), Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck (R.), Ryan (J. P.), Sampson, Wharton, Robinson (W. F.), Fry (C.), Alifas, Henning (R. A.), Haggerty (D.), Fljzodal, Milliman, Carroll (T. C.), Vogland, McCarthy (W.), McInerney, Hynes (J. J.), Ryan (J. J.), Moriarty, Close, O'Keefe, Towers, Barnett, Weber (J. N.), Canavan, Weaver (C. A.), Bagley, Kapl, Field (F. B.), Lindelof, Swick, Madsen, Meehan, Kaufman (H.), Kelley (J. F.), Lynch (G. Q.), Collieran, Rooney, McDonough (M. J.), Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Anderson (C.), Fallon, Britton, Duffy (J. M.), McGillivray, Grafton, Mahon, Kehoe, McLellan, McLaughlin (M. J.), Broderick, Sterling, Furuseth, Browne (G. E.), Dempsey, Green (T. V.), McCaffery, DeVeze, Sumner (C. A.), Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen (P. J.), Cashen (T. C.), Connors (J. B.), Reznicek, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, Goudie, McLaughlin (J.), Beck, Manion, Leighty, Evans (E. L.), Lentie, Frey (J. P.), Jewell (B. M.), Cunningham, Graham (J. D.), Arthur (C. C.), Egan (B. M.), Keenan, Doll (M.), Brooks (W. R.), Kennedy (J. G.), Rivin, Egan (J. V.), Top-

ping, Quinn (J. C.), King (C.), Duncan (J. A.), Doyle (F. E.), Musgrave, McMahon (B. R.), Groner (L. E.), Nick, representing 17,370 votes.

HOWARD—Hamilton (E. G.), Myrup, Goldstone, Beisel, Koch, Haggerty, Prewitt, Obergfell, Kugler, Zusi, Morrin, Brice (P. J.), Dempsey, Ryan (E.), Hillman, Schlossberg, Chatman, Miller (A.), Catalanotti, Rissman, Feeney, Milton (H.), Taylor (M.), Lucchi, Dubinsky, Margolies, Snyder, Zuckerman, Nagler, Hochman, Desti, McCabe (G. W.), Babcock, Glass, Daniels (J.), Greene (M. F.), Lewis (M.), Goldberg, Finkelstein, Beardsley, Williams (L.), Brooks (W. C.), Bryan (W. E.), Gorman (P. H.), Lane, Maxwell, Kelly (M. J.), Peterson (P. M.), Robinson (R.), Cashion, Lewis (J. L.), Murray (P.), Kennedy (T.), Groen (W.), Bittner, Brennan, Fagan, Kmets, Fremming, Coulter (J. L.), Schafer, Long (J. C.), Burns (M. J.), Barry, Donlin, Windsor, McHugh (W. H.), McGrady, Armstrong, Wilson (W.), Sigmund, Burke (J. P.), Bayha, Sullivan (H. W.), Olander, Lowry, Hanson, Davis (G.), McMahon (T. F.), Gorman (F. J.), Smith (Wm.), Kelly (W. F.), Rieve, Schweitzer, Howard, Morrison, Trotter, Martel, Simons, Gill (J.), Hatch, Graves, Ornburn, Ernst, Noxon, Tiller, Soderstrom, Lewis (J. C.), Brandt (W. M.), Hollopetter, Lawrence (R. R.), Donnelly (T. J.), Hughes (F.), Nord, Crose, Easton (J. B.), Handley (J. J.), Ross (J.), Nance, Owens (J.), McCormick, Komaroff, Townshend, Friedrich, Nevill, Harvey (A. P.), Heimbach, Bower (A. P.), Day (P.), Sweeney (S. A.), Edmundson, Brach, Buckingham, Merrill, Shipley, Addes, Soltis, Killeen, Mortimer, Kics, North (J.), Davis (E.), Goff (C.), Baron, Templeman, Lawrence (H.), Strunk, Tucker (J. R.), Lee (A. P.), Fitzgerald (I. J.), Clark (W. B.), Rand (J.), Dahl, Burks (J. A.), Marek, Costello, Masucci, Heymanns, Sanders (H. L.), Finnegan, Hanlon, O'Gorman (M. A.), Taylor (C. S.), Kuehnell, Nelson (J.), Hannah (P.), Krauss, Gerhart, Flynn (M.), Henderson, Ratkin, Randolph (A. P.), Webster (M. P.), Barr (M. P.), Schillinger, McCloskey, Carey (J. B.), Eagle, Thompson (W. W.), Dalrymple, Shacklette, Matlin, Zander, Garrison, Dodge (A.), Rasmussen, Makman, Braun, Joblon, Jenkins (S.), Harper (L. O.), representing 11,693 votes.

NOT VOTING—McCarthy (W.), Horan, Nelson, Scalise, Bambrick, Doyle (J. J.), Dannenberg, Scully (J. J.), Morningstar, Hannah, Lawson (J. C.), Jones (G. W.), Gavlak, Evans (A. A.), Kaiser (E. W.), Powers, Billet, Mitch, Egan (J. J.), Rosqvist, Fritz, Morgan (E. J.), McCurdy, Watt, Wade, Meany, Palmer, Osborne, Iglesias, Patterson (D. E.), Crawford, Taylor (J. A.), Shave, Burr, McAloon, Biel, Mitchell (A.), Slout, Campfield, Mayer, Bamford, Smith (D.), Flynn (A.), Reinhart, Morgan (J.), Lenehan, Nadelhofer, Jeffries, Weizenacker,

Breidenbach, Matchley, Soutter, Cushing, Passage, Downie, Mitchell (H.), Katz, De-witt, Yourishin, Eardley, Riley (W. H.), Crother, Slich, Regan, Dahl, O'Leary (J.), David (P. T.), Hanoway, Maney, Le Bow, Swetland, Michelson, Pickler, Campbell (J. C.), Draper (P. M.), Lyding, Hirschberg, McCarty, Cahir, Campbell (W. W.), Heber, Howatt, Sager, Woodmansee, Russell, Wood (R. T.), Dahlager, Hymes, Walsh (M.), Borchardt, Saylor, Sandefur, Saltus, Bender, Myles, Johnson (T. S.), Gormley (H. J.), Long (J. A.), McGurk, Martocchio, Pavona, Rundle, Merritt, Caraway, Ravitch, Doane, Bellows, Wise (L. F.), Ross (A. J.), White (F.), Dance, Sigman, Dallas, Sticht, Lilly, Bradley (H. A.), Fine, Burke (M. J.), Wein-berg, Lovell, Nicholson, Reedie, Burns (T. F.), Serra, Dougherty, Malkovich, Turner, Taylor (J. C.), Lufrano, Raisse, Ocker, Fearn, Mack, Marzocca, Ryan (J. A.), Con-ley, Naesmith, Haydon, representing 683 votes.

President Green: In accordance with the vote the Chair declares William D. Mahon elected Fifteenth Vice-President of the Amer-ican Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair will now entertain nominations for Secretary-Treasurer.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Mr. President, and Delegates—Once each year there comes to me a very great privilege. After every storm there sails into the harbor the ship that has withstood the tempest with its sails unfurled. I realize that the election of the man whom I am to place in nomination for the office of Secretary-Treasurer depends, not upon any puny effort of mine to add to the record that he has made in the American Federation of Labor. For almost forty years the candidate I desire to present to this convention has rendered a service to this organization, and I say to you that without fear of contradiction, no man who sits in the Councils of the American Federation of Labor today has rendered a greater service or enjoyed more universal love upon the part of all those who constitute the American Federation of Labor. Not only is that true of the delegates who sit in this convention, but is applied with an equal degree of truth insofar as the rank and file of the unions which go to make up this Federation are concerned throughout the length and breadth of the land.

During these years of service there has never been an occasion upon which it was necessary to give opposition to the candidate

I am about to present to you. I feel the greatest contribution that has been made to the American Labor movement by the organization which I have the honor to represent, and no doubt the greatest opportunity it will ever have to serve the American Federation of Labor, is in giving to this organization one of its loyal members who served in this capacity. I believe I am justified in saying that this convention by its action has indicated the universal confidence to which I have referred by combining the office that he has held during the years now with the office of treasurer which has been held by former officers of the American Federation of Labor.

It is my pleasure and my privilege at this time to present to this convention as a nominee for Secretary-Treasurer, Secretary Mor-rison, who has served the American Federa-tion of Labor for almost forty years.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I move you that the nominations be closed and that Delegate Ornburn be requested to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary-Treasurer.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Ornburn: This is a real pleasure. I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Many delegates requested the Secretary-Treasurer to address the convention.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President and Delegates to this convention: I desire to say that I express my appreciation for the confidence that has been reposed in me for many years. I have watched the Federa-tion grow from 250,000 to over four million. I watched it recede and I am glad to know that since NRA went into effect the inter-national unions in the Federation have added over a million members to the grand total of our membership.

I feel absolutely optimistic for the future. There has been brought to this convention more propositions that needed solving than to any other convention I ever attended. But I have noticed in the past where bitter feeling was engendered because of the strength of the purpose behind their proposi-tions, that all these elements of dissatisfac-tion gradually were eliminated and smoothed

out, and the Federation marches on step by step.

I feel that during the coming year we will have a great year, that many of the matters that are bothering us now will have been eliminated and I am sure the time is near at hand when we will have a greater membership than we have ever had in the American Federation of Labor. I want to say to you that I will give every ounce of my strength and energy as Secretary-Treasurer and as a member of the Executive Board, attempting to smooth out these conditions that are troubling us. I have found that there is only one thing that spells success and that is the creating of good will among men. As we grow older in the movement, if you cannot feel that you have done something to help your fellow man, then indeed your life is empty; but if you can feel that your services have been helpful you will have a happy future. I am very happy tonight at being elected Secretary-Treasurer, and happy in the thought of the great days that are coming to the wage workers of our country, when every man and woman who wants work will have an opportunity to work and at wages exceeding those that were paid in the past.

President Green: Now the Chair calls for the nominations for delegates to the British Trade Union Congress. Two are to be elected. The one receiving the highest number of votes on the first nomination will be elected. Then nominations will be made for the other delegate, and the one receiving the highest vote of the convention will be declared elected.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I rise at this time to place in nomination for the first fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress one of the old-time workers in the American Federation of Labor. There are many things I might say to you about him, but the hour is late. The candidate I wish to nominate is well known. He is president of his own international union and has been for thirty-five years. He has been a delegate to this convention for the last thirty-three years. He has served as president of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. He has served labor in many positions and has

always been found to be true to the principles of organized labor. I therefore place in nomination for first fraternal delegate the name of William J. McSorley, President of the Lathers' International Union.

Delegate Case, Lathers: It is customary, as a rule, for men coming from the same organization to say something on behalf of their president when he is nominated for any office. If I were to eulogize Brother McSorley as he deserves it would occupy a great deal of time, but I will not do that. I want to thank Brother Mahon for his remarks, and I second the nomination.

Delegate Lindelof, Painters: I move that the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William J. McSorley for first fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William J. McSorley for delegate to the British Trade Union Congress.

President Green: And the Chair officially declares him elected. Nominations are in order for a second fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I rise to place before this convention the name of a man whom I have been proud to know for practically thirty years and who has never been found wanting in this movement or in his faithfulness to a friend in need. Most of you know him. He has attended these conventions as a delegate from the International Association of Machinists since 1908. I place before you the name of Brother Charles W. Fry, of the International Association of Machinists.

Delegate Alifas: I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Brother Charles W. Fry.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, in accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Charles W. Fry as fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress.

President Green: And the Chair officially declares him elected. Nominations are now in order for a fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Easton: You have just elected two splendid representatives to represent this great movement in England. You have selected those men who have had years of service. I rise at this time to place in nomination a younger man in the ranks of labor, a man I have known since 1905, when I attended my first convention with him. He is president of his own organization, the American Flint Glass Workers' Union. He has a great knowledge of this movement and he will do credit to the American Federation of Labor as its delegate to the Canadian labor movement. I nominate M. J. Gillooly, President of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers' Union: I rise to second the nomination of Brother Gillooly. I have known Brother Gillooly for a number of years and especially since he has succeeded to the presidency of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union. It may be interesting to know that when this brother came into the office of that trade union the American Bank that had been owned by his organization had failed and their entire treasury was swept away, something like \$625,000. Brother Gillooly was compelled to borrow \$20,000 on his own good name to carry on the work of his organization, and since that time, just a few short years ago, they have paid off a double liability assessed against the stockholders of the bank of \$175,000, and today have in their treasury something like \$255,000. A splendid report, I believe.

Mr. President, as I indicated a minute ago, I take great pleasure in seconding Brother Gillooly's nomination and move you also that nominations close and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Delegate Gillooly.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, in accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for M. J. Gillooly for fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

President Green: And the Chair officially declares him elected.

Nominations are now in order for the selection of a convention city.

Delegate Ornburn: First let me say that in 1936, in accordance with the constitution

of the American Federation of Labor, we shall convene our convention in November. In consulting the records of previous conventions, I find that we have not been in the Southland since 1928, when our convention convened in the city of New Orleans. Since that time the convention has been convened in Toronto, Boston, Vancouver, Cincinnati, Washington and San Francisco. I know of no other place in the United States where our trade union movement is more active than in the southland at the present time. I am going to present for your consideration a city that is the cigar-making center of the United States. I have been reliably advised that there are ample hotel facilities and that the printing facilities are adequate. I suggest for your consideration the city of Tampa, Florida.

Delegate Nance, Atlanta, Georgia: I don't want to say anything about the weather of any other city and the weather in Tampa in November, but I want you to give consideration to Tampa because we of the South need you. The movement in the South is active and is growing, and if the convention of the American Federation of Labor will come to Tampa, it will give further impetus to Tampa and it will give the trade union movement of the South encouragement. We need you.

Delegate Martel, International Typographical Union: This convention of the American Federation of Labor is meeting in a city where we received no especial invitation and where we came and entertained ourselves the best we could, and from the information I gathered, most of the delegates will leave with what is known in Atlantic City as Boardwalk bunions.

Ten years ago we held here and some of the delegates will remember that the following year we met in the City of the Straits. I remember Jim Connors, of the Switchmen's Union, arose in the hall on the Steel Pier and said, "For God's sake, don't meet in Detroit. I have just had news that the mayor has had his nose frozen."

You accepted the invitation and in the second week of the convention when you were seated in the Graystone Hotel with your coats off we presented Jim Connors with a fur cap to keep his ears warm. You have had a number of invitations from Detroit and among them is one from Frank

Couzens, the Mayor of that city, from the city council, the Wayne County Board of County Auditors and the American Legion of Wayne County, Fraternal Order of Eagles, the Elks of the city of Detroit, the Maccabees of the City of Detroit, the Convention Bureau of the city of Detroit, the Hotelmen's Association of Detroit, the Detroit Federation of Labor and a large number of unions. If you see fit to accept this kind invitation of the labor movement and the people of the city of Detroit you will be most graciously received and there will be no such untoward instance as occurred when you were in Detroit in a former convention.

The Council of Churches of Detroit now ask you to come to Detroit. Detroit is the industrial capital of the United States. Within the confines of the State of Michigan the greatest industrial conflict yet to be witnessed in this country will be fought out. There is concentrated in that area the most reactionary group of employers in the United States. And I saw the other day in the columns of a leading Eastern newspaper that Mr. William Knudsen, who recently accepted a position on the Board of Directors of the Salvation Army, and is now known as "Hallelujah Bill", says that it is the intention of the corporations to make profits for their stockholders. That is the philosophy of the industrialists in the automobile industry.

Organization recently has made wonderful progress among the workers in the automobile industry. As a result we have forty or forty-five new local unions in the industrial area surrounding Detroit. They have had not only to contend with the automobile manufacturers but with independent organizations and the silver-tongued orator of Royal Oak.

Detroit again needs the convention and I appeal to you men to lay aside your desire to hold the convention some place where the sun is shining, because, after all, we are not hothouse officials of labor unions, because our work is not usually done in the Southland, but in the industrial centers. Let us go where there are workers who want to join the trade union movement, where the words of the officials of the American Federation of Labor will fall as words of gold on the ears of those who

need organization. Therefore I place the city of Detroit in nomination for your next convention, and assure you that if you accept that invitation you will be most graciously received by the labor movement, and not only by the labor movement, but by the good people of the city of Detroit who know and love the labor movement of this country.

Delegate Komaroff, Detroit Central Labor Union: As a representative here from the Detroit Federation of Labor I want to urge you to come to the city of Detroit, better known as the Village of King Henry I, to hold your next annual convention. I don't want to dwell further on things said by Delegate Martel, but I do want to say that it seems peculiar that at an American Federation of Labor convention the discussion is what the climate will be and what the entertainment will be. We promise you warm weather in Detroit so that you won't have to wear your canes.

From the viewpoint of entertainment, I wish to repeat that Detroit is inviting you there and we will see that you will be entertained. I also wish to invite the wives of the delegates here, and if you have no wives and if you dance, at the banquet and dance we will give you, I, as president of the waitresses of Detroit, promise you two hundred of my best looking waitresses to dance with. There is nothing in the world so pleasant as to dance with a girl that carries a card.

We heard a report from the Union Label Trades Department. Do I have to tell you, as leaders of the labor movement, of the importance of going to places where you can get union service? Brother Martel says he has a message from the Hotelmen's Association. That is one association that is doing business with the waitresses. The Book-Cadillac and the Statler Hotels are organized one hundred per cent. It is one thing to come to a city and have union waiters and waitresses wait on you while you are here, but when you leave the employers say, "We don't want you, we will get non-union people to take your place."

The two hotels that I have mentioned have been doing business with us for years and will continue to do so after you leave. The important thing is not the climate, not the time you will have or the entertainment that is offered you, it is what you have to

offer the working class, and the auto workers in the city of Detroit will gain a lot by the American Federation of Labor holding the annual convention there.

Delegate Fljoldal: I rise to endorse what has been said in favor of holding our next convention in the city of Detroit. The delegate from the South said they needed us in the South. I have no doubt he is correct. I don't presume there is a locality in this country that does not need more or less assistance in order to organize the unorganized, but I want to direct your attention to the fact that Detroit is the home of one of the greatest industries in the world, the auto industry. There are hundreds of those men in Detroit who are not organized and who are anxious for organization. If we can go there and give these men some encouragement and inspirations I think we ought to do that.

I would like to go South, I am sure we would have good times in the sun, but I am willing to forego that myself, and I think others are also willing to do that in order to assist the Detroit automobile men and encourage them to organize. I believe it will encourage them. We should be thinking more about inspiring men who are not organized to come into the organization than we should be to go somewhere where we could sun ourselves. I believe we are justified, and I hope you will support the city of Detroit for the next convention.

Mr. John R. Stubblefield, Miami, Fla.: When you gave your permission for me to appear before this honorable assembly I did not know I was going to run into so many orators, particularly from Detroit. I would like to place in nomination Miami, Fla., for your consideration. I am a direct representative of the Miami hotels. You are a group of business men. I have a business proposition to submit to you should you come to Miami and select the Biltmore Hotel. If you do, all your transportation will be furnished you to and from the hotel, you will be extended exclusive membership in the Florida All-the-Year-Round Club and the facilities of the bathing beaches and fishing. Every civic organization in the Greater Miami area joins in inviting you to hold your next convention there.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I rise to second the nomination of

the city of Detroit, and in doing so I want to assure the delegates here that there will be no earthquakes in Detroit while the convention is there. I also want to assure our friend Connors that we will get him a fur coat if he comes to our city at that time. Don't worry about going to Florida to see alligators, we will guarantee if you want to see alligators we have got the stuff that enables you to see them. In behalf of my home city I wish to invite you to go there.

Delegate Milton: I second the nomination of Miami. I think the South needs us more than the city of Detroit needs us.

President Green: How do you want to vote? By a roll call?

Delegate Howard: I move you that the Chair call the names of the cities and allow the delegates to hold up their hands and be counted to see if we can't settle the question that way.

A number of delegates asked for a roll call, and a sufficient number supported the request.

Secretary Morrison proceeded to call the roll.

The calling of the roll on the convention city had proceeded to and including the Ely, Nevada, Central Labor Union, at which time the result showed that the city of Tampa, Florida, had received 18,277 votes; Detroit, Michigan, 5,675 votes, and Miami, Florida, 4,262 votes.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman, it is so clearly apparent that the city of Tampa will be the choice of the convention as our next convention city that, in order to save the time of the convention, I now withdraw the city of Detroit, Michigan.

President Green: Is there objection? Hearing none, the request made by Delegate Martel is granted, and I therefore declare that Tampa, Florida, has been selected by a majority vote of this convention as its meeting place in November, 1936.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Dave Beck.

Delegate Beck, Teamsters: I move at this time that the convention now adjourn to 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 7 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Saturday morning, October 19.

ELEVENTH DAY—Saturday Morning Session

Atlantic City, N. J.
October 19, 1935.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

ABSENTEES

Albano, Alter, Bamford, Baron, Barr, Bee-die, Bellows, Bender, Billet, Borchardt, Bradley, Breidenbach, Burke, J., Burns, T. F., Braginski, Brown, Biel, Burch, Booth, Cahir, Campfield, Creed, Crother, Campbell, J. C., Dahlager, Dallas, Dance, Danz, David, Davis, Elmer, Davis, O. E., Dellums, De-witt, Doane, Dougherty, Downie, Draper, Eardley, Egan, B. M., Egan, J. J., Fearn, Fine, Flynn, A. I., Fritz, Fulford, Gerhart, Gormley, Grois, Haley, Hanoway, Heim-bach, Henderson, Hirschberg, Holloper, Horan, Howat, Hynes, Wm. J., Heln, Ig-lesias, Jeffries, Joblon, Kaiser, Katz, LaBelle, Lawson, J. C., Le Bow, Lee, Lenehan, Lovell, Lowry, Lufrano, Lyding, McAloon, McCabe, McCarty, M. L., McCloskey, McGuck, Mack, Malkovich, Maney, Marek, Marzacca, Mas-succi, Matchley, Mayer, Meany, Merritt, Michelson, Mitch, Mitchell, A., Mitchell, H., Morningstar, Musgrove, Masucci, Mortimer, Nadelhoffer, Nafe, Nelson, Nicholson, Ocker, Osborne, Owens, O'Leary, Palmer, Passage, Pavona, Pickler, Poe, Raisse, Rand, Ravitch, Regan, Reinhart, Richardson, Riley, Ros-qvist, Ross, Rundie, Ryan, J. A., Russell, Sager, Saltus, Sanders, Scalise, Serra, Shak-lette, Scully, Shave, Sigman, Slick, Slout, Soutter, Stein, Sticht, H., Swetland, Taylor, C. S., Taylor, J. C., Tighe, Turner, Vaeren-wyck, Wade, Walsh, Weinberg, Weizenec-ker, White, Williams, L., Wise, Wood, Woodmansee.

Supplemental Report, Committee on Creden-tials. Delegate Gillooly, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We are in receipt of communication signed by General President Edward Flore and General Secretary-Treasurer of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Al-liance and Bartenders' International League of America, requesting that John J. Mc-Devitt be seated in place of Edward Flore and Philip Rohr in place of Robert B. Hes-keth during the balance of the convention.

We therefore recommend the seating of these delegates to represent the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance during the balance of the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Burke, Chairman of the Committee on International Labor Relations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNA-TIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Delegate Burke, chairman of the commit-tee, reported as follows:

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The Executive Council in its report on the International Federation of Trade Unions has given a brief, but sufficient account of the early development of International La-bor Organization and the changes which have taken place in such organization dur-ing and since the Great War. The relation of the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions has been clearly set forth and the reasons enumerated for the Federations' inability to resume active affiliation. It might have been added that during President Gompers' administration, emissaries sought to work out a basis of accommodation, and that President Green has likewise conferred at length with the representatives of the In-ternational Federation of Trade Unions con-cerning such closer co-operation.

A new situation now confronts the trade union movement the world over. The growth of dictatorships has been a powerful threat to the free trade union movement every-where. One of the first actions taken by the Nazis, for example, was to liquidate the labor movement as the most effective method of suppressing opposition and mass protest. A similar procedure has been followed in other countries where dictatorships have been set up. Unless there can be created some effective vehicle for international labor solidarity, the trade union movement may be further seriously weakened in those coun-tries adjoining these dictatorships and over which they exercise such profound economic influence.

In the second place, there is the threat of war which becomes a more serious menace with the growth of dictatorship. The power of International organized labor is perhaps the most effective instrument to stand athwart the path of such dictatorships and their imperialistic plans.

In the third place, the membership of the American government and American labor in the International Labor Organization at Geneva makes necessary the development of every device which will increase the effectiveness of the voice of American labor in the development of International Labor standards. The work of the International Federation of Trade Unions has been invaluable to the trade unions in connection with the work of the International Labor Organization. The Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions analyze the agenda and reports before each annual conference with great care; they organize caucuses of the workers' groups at such conferences and, in general, serve as a steering committee on labor strategy. In fact, the International Federation of Trade Unions serves the workers' groups at these conferences much as do the Employers' Federation serve the employers' group.

Your committee is persuaded that the time has arrived to re-examine again the basis of re-affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the International Federation of Trade Unions. We recommend to this convention that the President of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to initiate discussions with the officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions to see if such a basis of accommodation can not be found.

We further recommend that the Executive Council be given power to act upon such re-affiliation if the discussions initiated by President Green prove to disclose a basis of effective co-operation.

In the light of the foregoing we likewise recommend reference of Resolutions Nos. 134 and 171 to the Executive Council.

The resolutions are as follows:

A. F. OF L. AFFILIATION WITH INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Resolution No. 171—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Jos. F. Kelly, Christian M. Madsen, Harry Kaufman, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The International Federation of Trade Unions is a vital force against reaction and dictatorship; and

WHEREAS, The International Federation of Trade Unions has sustained a great blow through the destruction of the Trade Unions in several European Countries; and

WHEREAS, There is today a great need for solidarity and co-operation among the Trade Unions of the World for the protection of Liberty and Democracy; therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Atlantic City, instruct the Executive Council to take the necessary steps for affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

A. F. OF L. AFFILIATION WITH INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate Sam Baron, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants, New York City.

WHEREAS, The labor movement is fundamentally an international movement because its aims and aspirations are basically the same all over the world; and

WHEREAS, Under modern conditions, it is impossible for the workers of any one country to carry on their struggle isolated from similar movements in other countries; and

WHEREAS, The victories or defeats, the progress or retrogression of labor in any part of the world has its immediate effects upon labor all over the world; and

WHEREAS, The unification of all trade unions in all countries into one world trade union federation is an urgent necessity for labor today; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor today stands outside of any world trade union organization; and

WHEREAS, The International Federation of Trade Unions embraces the overwhelming majority of national trade union federations outside the U. S. A.; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the fifty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor decides to affiliate with the International Federation of Trade Unions; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the incoming executive council to take the necessary measures to effect this decision.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PAN AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Under this caption of the executive council's report, we find a review of affairs of the utmost importance, having to do with the Pan American Federation of Labor and our Latin American relations generally.

The Council has rightly called to our attention the paramount need of both economic and political freedom. The continuing and constant interest of our own labor movement in these primary conditions of civilization must, of course, continue. Our continued relation to the Pan American Federation is of the utmost importance. We must recognize the fact that the time may come when a great Pan American unity of labor will be of supreme importance in preserving freedom for the workers throughout the world.

Regarding that paragraph of the report dealing with the I. L. O. conference in Chile, we express the hope that real service may be rendered the workers of Chile through its instrumentality.

Under the sub-caption, "Labor Delegation Needed," we commend the Council for calling to our attention what has been long recognized as a vital need. There can be no question as to the wisdom of sending a delegation of good will to the bona fide labor movements of the various nations of Latin America and to the wage earners generally throughout those countries. We recommend the Executive Council find, if possible, a way of sending such a delegation of good will and understanding.

The Council calls our attention to the situation in Cuba, an unhappy one, to say the least. We are advised that the situation today is filled with menace to the Cuban organizations of labor. The Cuban situation is too involved for extensive discussion here. Not only are the unions menaced and many

of them unable to function, but there is a political condition that has resulted once more in the setting up of exile headquarters in the United States. We urge the council to maintain contact, as far as that is possible, with Cuban trade unionists, in order that our movement may be helpful to the wage earners of Cuba.

We note with interest the report of the fraternal visit of Brother Luis N. Morones, executive head of the Mexican Federation of Labor and vice-president of the Pan American Federation of Labor, to Washington in July. Such interchanges of thought as are made possible in this manner are most helpful and are in accord with the Council's thought and with the thought of your committee as to the interchanges of delegations, expressed earlier in this section of our report.

As to the concluding paragraph of the Council's report, we can only agree that finances have not permitted the holding of a Pan American convention, but we most earnestly express the hope that this difficulty may be overcome within a reasonable period.

Your committee regards our labor relations with Latin America as of the utmost importance in every way.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Burke: This completes the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, which is signed by the committee:

THOMAS E. BURKE,
Chairman;
WILLIAM GREEN,
MATTHEW WOLL,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
D. J. TOBIN,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
W. D. MAHON,
J. J. HYNES,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
WM. J. BOWEN,
JOHN COEFIELD,
EDWARD J. GAINOR,
ALBERT ADAMSKI,
MICHAEL GREENE,
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI,
JOSEPH P. RYAN,
E. E. MILLIMAN,

J. A. FRANKLIN,
JOHN P. FREY,
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN,
MICHAEL J. COLLERAN,
EDWARD FLORE,
HENRY F. SCHMAL,
DENNIS LANE,

Committee on International
Labor Relations.

Delegate Burke: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

CORRECTIONS

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to ask unanimous consent for a correction in yesterday's proceedings. On page 707 I am credited with a speech that I did not make. In seconding the nomination of the Fourteenth Vice-President, Edward J. Gainor, the speech credited to myself should have been credited to my esteemed colleague, Brother Gilbert Hyatt, of the Federation of Post Office Clerks. I believe Brother Hyatt is here and will confirm that statement.

President Green: I recall that very well. The correction will be made.

Delegate Kennedy, Lithographers: Mr. Chairman, on page 685 of yesterday's proceedings the report of the Committee on Adjustment, dealing with Resolution No. 199, there is a resume of decisions made in this controversy in past years. I would like to have corrected the following: "Which recommendation was approved by the 1916 convention and in accordance with the instructions given at that time, the Executive Council decided upon the terms of the amalgamation." There were no instructions given or any decision made in the 1916 Baltimore Convention with reference to this dispute, so the committee has incorrectly reported the review of that case. I would like to have that corrected by the committee.

President Green: The corrections requested by Delegate Kennedy will be made.

Delegate Kennedy: The resolution states that the Executive Council shall be authorized to suspend the Lithographers until they live up to the decisions of the convention. I wanted a correction made because we cannot be suspended if there are no decisions,

and there are no decisions in the 1916 convention.

President Green: The reporter will take note.

Delegate Maloney, Flint Glass Workers: As Secretary of the Adjustment Committee may I say that perhaps Delegate Kennedy is entirely right. I don't know at this moment, but it does seem to me that before any decision is made in connection with that particular part of the committee's report, some investigation should be made by Secretary Morrison as to the exact facts in the case. I don't question what Delegate Kennedy has said, but as I have indicated, as the secretary of the committee, we felt that we had the facts. I would suggest, if I am in order, that an official investigation be made by Secretary Morrison as to the real true facts in the case.

Delegate Kennedy, Lithographers: Mr. Chairman, the facts are as I say. I investigated the official minutes of the convention last night and they are correct in that no decision was made on that committee's report.

Delegate Volz, Photo Engravers: As one of those directly interested and so as to avoid any controversy, I think we can well let the matter ride at this time and when we get into the conferences which are to be called we can easily look up the record and try to determine just what the record was. I see nothing to be gained by any lengthy controversy on the subject this morning.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, Secretary Frey.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee reported as follows:

Mr. Chairman, before beginning the report I would like to say that this morning a number of delegates tried to "gang" me and instruct me in my duties as Secretary. They threatened me if I did more in reporting than to say that the committee is "agin" it or the committee is "fer" it and move the previous question. Seemingly they wanted to have no unnecessary time taken up, so if there are no objections the number of the resolution will be given, the introducer, the subject, and then the report of the committee.

President Green: Apparently there is no objection to that.

Delegate Nagler, Ladies Garment Workers: On a point of procedure—on Thursday noon I asked when the question of the Labor Party would come up before this convention. It was distinctly understood that right after the Anaconda affair, the first question to be taken up by the Resolutions Committee would be that of the Labor Party.

President Green: The Committee as I understand, is ready to report on that. But it occurred to me that perhaps there might be some other delegates who would come in before the noon hour and you would prefer to wait until all had an opportunity to be here. That was all I had in mind, and we will dispose of some other resolutions for the moment.

Delegate Frey: That was the intent of the committee, so that the committee would not be accused of reporting on a resolution in which there was general interest when there were a number of delegates not in the hall.

MINE, MILL & SMELTER WORKERS PROTEST JURISDICTION EN- CROACHMENT BY FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin and Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, A Federal Labor Union under the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor is supposed to be a clearing house for other unions, and the understanding we have is that any group that is organized in a Federal Labor Union is supposed to be turned over to their respective union when called upon by a representative of that union, which is not being done; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention this fall, to demand from the American Federation of Labor that they turn over to this International Union men who come under our jurisdiction now organized under Federal Charters of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the American Federation of Labor at once; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be instructed to inform the various Internationals when they organize

a Federal Labor Union of any craft coming under the jurisdiction of these Internationals, stating the place, name and address of the officers of the labor union.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 74

Industrial Unionism

Delegate Frey: This resolution should have been included with the other resolutions on the subject of industrial unionism which have already been acted upon by the convention.

President Green: Are there objections to the adoption of the report of the committee or any remarks? If there are no objections or remarks the Chair will declare the report of the committee adopted. So ordered.

PROPOSING INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZA- TION IN CEMENT INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Charles H. Rundle, Cement Mill Employees' Union No. 18710; Weldon Merritt, Cement Mill Employees No. 19466, and Arthur J. Strunk, Cement Mill Employees' Union No. 18673.

WHEREAS, A beginning has been made in organizing the Cement industry into Vertical or Industrial type Unions; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. in its 54th Annual Convention approved of this type of Union; and

WHEREAS, Most employers in this industry are bending every effort to prevent further organizing, and to break up unions already formed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. act at once to initiate an intensive campaign to organize this industry as fully as possible.

WHEREAS, The cement industry is in a very depressed condition; and

WHEREAS, Costs of production are higher in America than in most foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, An already inadequate tariff was recently reduced, causing an enormous increase in the amount of imported cement; and

WHEREAS, American labor in this industry suffers because of these conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the proper officers of the A. F. of L. exert every effort to have the tariff on cement again raised at least as much as the last reduction.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

WHEREAS, The U. S. Government has signified its intention of buying foreign cement; and

WHEREAS, American cement plants are now operating at far below their capacities, causing much unemployment and suffering to workers in this industry; and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Government has appropriated billions of dollars to relieve distress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protests strongly against the use of any of this money for the purchase of foreign cement or any other product that can be produced in our own country by our own labor.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Moreschl, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers: I would like to have the resolution read.

The Secretary of the committee complied with the request of Delegate Moreschl.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

PROPOSING AN INDUSTRIAL UNION IN HIGH PRESSURE PIPE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate J. A. Burks, Federal Labor Union No. 18388, Birmingham, Alabama.

WHEREAS, We are living in a mechanical and industrial age that warrants the formation of industrial unionism which shall include and embrace all the various classes of labor that are employed in and around any certain industry; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its last convention, held in the City of San Francisco, California, did go on record as favoring such an industrial organization and thus instructed its officers; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the High Pressure Pipe Industry of Birmingham, Alabama, and vicinity, have organized an industrial or federal organization, which includes in the membership thereof all persons employed in and around said industry into one organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record and do hereby instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to permit, practice, pursue, and follow such a course of action in organization of said industries; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That said industries and the members of said organizations thereof be permitted and the American Federation of Labor be instructed to create and charter state and national organizations for and of such industries with the right of the membership to elect and select their own officers, both state and national, thereof; be it further

RESOLVED, That this organization shall be known and designated as the High Pressure Pipe Workers' Union of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the said organization shall be a part and parcel of the American Federation of Labor with all the rights and privileges of other national and state unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That when such union is organized and the officers thereof elected, that they shall have full rights and privileges of supervision and jurisdiction over the membership of said organization and the laying of such assessments for dues and other revenues of the organization as may be determined and designated by said organization for the purpose of carrying on and defraying the several expenses incurred by and by reason of said organization.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The 1934 convention of the American Federation of Labor took the following position on Industrial Unionism and the organization of new unions, "The Executive Council is directed to issue charters for National or International Unions in the automotive cement, aluminum and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation;" and

WHEREAS, The Agricultural Canning and Packing Industry, although the largest industry in California, is woefully lacking in organization. The thorough organization of which is of vital importance, but yet presents one of the most difficult organizational problems confronting us unless handled on a state wide basis; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In conformity with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as quoted above, that a setup suitable to the organization requirements of the industry be adopted.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

723

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Ernst, California State Federation of Labor: I don't care to detain the convention at all, but I just want to remark that the question of organizing the agricultural workers in the State of California is a very burning one. You heard the question of agricultural workers explained very thoroughly by Delegate Dahl, and I just wish to add that the situation in California is unique. There is perhaps no other state in the union where the situation prevails as it does in California with regard to the agricultural workers. The same set of workers are used practically throughout the state. They are moved from one field to another and they enter in there without any organization. As a consequence it is very difficult to maintain an organization of these workers in this state intact.

It will be necessary for the Executive Council to devise some system whereby an organization will be formed to cover the entire State of California, because only through that system will it be possible for us to organize these agricultural workers.

The question was before the convention last year. President Green has promised that the Executive Council is going to give this question particular attention, but unfortunately, possibly because of the press of business, nothing was done and I sincerely hope that the Executive Council will take this matter up immediately and do something so that the agricultural workers may be organized on a state-wide basis.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONS OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Edith Braun, Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 20048, Baltimore, Md.

WHEREAS, In trying to organize the White Collar workers of Baltimore, we found that unionization was retarded be-

cause of the necessity of separating them into different craft unions with limited jurisdictions; and

WHEREAS, An industrial form of union would have enabled us to organize all the White Collar workers employed by one firm much more expediently, as has been the experience in many trades and industries for some time; and

WHEREAS, The organization of workers in Industrial Unions has proved much more satisfactory, as shown by the recent victorious strike of 400,000 miners who were organized into an Industrial Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union, Local 20048, emphatically urge the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, to adopt the policy of organizing Industrial Unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That White Collar workers be permitted to organize themselves into Industrial Unions immediately, with a National Executive Council.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

INDUSTRIAL UNION OF GAS, BY-PRODUCT COKE AND ALLIED CHEMICAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 222—By Delegate Thomas B. Lilly, Gas Distribution Workers' Union No. 15268, Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS, The gas, by-product coke and allied chemical workers of New England are an infant in this great organization; and

WHEREAS, We seek your co-operation and assistance in the maintenance of our National Council of Utility Workers; and

WHEREAS, Every employe of said gas, by-product coke and allied chemical workers are opposed to segregation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Fifty-fifth Annual convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as in favor of the industrial form of union for gas, by-product coke and allied chemical workers of New England.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate Lilly, Gas Distribution Workers' Union No. 15268: Mr. President and gentlemen, I fully realize by this time that I am only wasting your time and my efforts to try

to get consideration for the utility workers of New England. As a matter of fact, when I was coming in here for the last session of our convention on Wednesday evening I happened to be following two of the older members, men whose hair had grown gray in this organization. I overheard one say to the other, "If these young fellows in the Federal Labor Unions think they are going to control this convention we will ride them out of town." I must say that my impression of the first national convention of the American Federation of Labor is a very, very poor one.

For seventeen years there has never been one effort or attempt made to organize our utility workers of New England, either by the Federal unions or by your craft unions. We come along and we organize our industry, and then your crafts have come along and demanded their pound of flesh. I had the experience with myself as president of my local. We had organized these men and then the crafts came along and demanded that these men be turned over to them within three months time. Not one of them that they took away from my union belonged to any union, but they killed my union.

I am not an orator, I am not going up on the platform, I am not going back to 1910 or 1493 like some of the delegates did. There was no objection then, there was no point of order raised, Mr. Chairman. Isn't it rather paradoxical that during the first days of this convention men were allowed to stand on that platform and speak for an hour or an hour and a half, but when the time came that they had all said their piece and the first young fellows had their opportunity in these Federal Labor unions to say their pieces, our time limit was cut down to ten minutes. I ask you, as honest men and women in this convention, is that justice?

I understood that when a law was made governing any convention it was lived up to all through the sessions or it was not lived up to. That may be the law of this convention to the parties that control it, but it is damned poor judgment.

I can assure the President of this organization and the delegates here that if the public utilities of New England employees can get the guarantee of this convention that they will be left alone, that they will have no outside interference from the so-

called craft unions, we will build in New England one of the greatest wings you have ever had in the American Federation of Labor. But if the American Federation of Labor says to us, yes, go out and organize your public utilities, as has been said to us in New England—I happened to be a delegate to the convention where it was told to us, and they said, yes, we will give you the privilege of organizing, but jurisdictional claims must be respected. In other words the American Federation of Labor says to us, your men can go out and organize your public utilities, but remember that when you have your public utilities organized then the craft unions can and will step in and take their pound of flesh. That is the sum and substance of what we were told.

I came into this convention a week ago last Sunday and I did not come in with any intention or desire to dictate to any of the men who had grown old in the service. I understand as well as these men the years of service they have put in. I understand they have been on the firing line. I understand they have suffered. I realize all that, but I am coming here as a representative of the public utility workers of New England to ask this convention to give us a chance to organize, something that we may hand down to posterity as a monument to our day, just the same as these men have handed down the American Federation of Labor as a monument to their day. I ask of this convention, shall we get that or shall we not? Do you delegates here want the public utilities workers of New England to be organized as a powerful body, as a powerful wing of the organization, or do you want us to be damned forever.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: Speaking from the floor and not from the platform, I desire to submit a few observations on one particular phase of this matter that has been repeatedly injected by a certain element in this convention and has not been answered by anybody. We love these young men who have come into the convention and we admire their ardor, but when an invidious comparison is drawn, as has been drawn by several speakers, including the last one, I want to say that we have with us in this convention today at least two delegates who have well passed eighty years

of age, and the minds of those two delegates are as keen and alert, they are as much in touch with these conditions as the youngest man here. With that alertness, and with that avidity of mind, they have the added value of seasoned experience.

Now I do not in the least decry the ardor and enthusiasm of these young men, yet I want to say to the youngest man and the youngest lady, you are welcome, but I don't think that those of us who have passed the meridian of life have all enjoyed the criticism you have made. Whatever constructive contribution you make is a welcome contribution and it will help in building into the magnificent structure of the American Federation of Labor, but let no man or woman in here assume that because you are young you are the only one whose mind is alert and in touch with the changing conditions of the day.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

PROPOSING INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHEMICAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate A. P. Lee, representing Chemical Workers, No. 19019, Barberton, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The Chemical Workers throughout the United States who are now organized into various Federal Labor Unions have by common consent come to the conclusion that their interests can best be served through the formation of a union along industrial lines; and

WHEREAS, It is an established fact that the chemical industry has always been an open shop and the workers therein non-union, and in the very few instances where a worker was affiliated with the union labor movement, it was necessary for said worker to keep such affiliations secret from the chemical manufacturers under whom he worked to escape being discharged; and

WHEREAS, The workers in the great mass production industries such as chemical workers, rubber workers, automobile workers, and other workers in industries of the same nature have formed themselves into Federal Labor Unions for the purpose of mutual benefit and protection, and regardless of the type of work they do or to what particular craft they might belong, every man can see the crying need of enlisting together not only as workers in each particular shop or factory but as a class of workers as a whole engaged in any particular industry if we are to preserve what

gains we have achieved or to have hope of further achievement; and

WHEREAS, From the past experiences we know it is useless even to try to deal with the chemical manufacturers through more than one strong union, covering every type of workers in the industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at the Westminster Hall, Chelsea Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J., this, the year of 1935, take into serious consideration the right of the workers in the chemical industry to form what is known as the industrial organization allowing such union to embrace all workers in the chemical industry.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INDUSTRIAL RUBBER WORKERS UNION

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate M. E. Shacklette, United Rubber Workers, No. 18616, Barberton, Ohio.

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor formulate an Industrial Rubber Workers Union, whereby the organization shall have full jurisdiction over all employees in and around the respective factories without segregation of the employees in the industry.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the committee: The committee upon this question was divided. We understand, however, that there is to be no minority report, and the committee therefore recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Thompson, Rubber Workers Union No. 18321: The delegate who submitted this resolution has gone home. He stayed here waiting to explain the conditions in his own plant, a small plant of 1,000 men, ninety per cent production workers and ten per cent other workers in the maintenance of that organization or plant. We will say that they are craft workers. The organization was formed and the craft workers turned over to their respective organizations, all fair and above board, by all Federal locals that make up the rubber workers. These men are going to the craft unions and they failed to maintain their membership. They

are back again to us and they say nothing can be done for us by our crafts. What can you rubber workers do for us?

Therefore, ninety per cent production workers out of a thousand are asking that they be given, with the permission of those craftsmen, the right to have the jurisdiction to make that plant one hundred per cent. And so it goes down the line for all the locals connected with the United Rubber Workers. I make no exception for the plant that I work in has something like 1,900 workers and in 1934, 432 of those workers were turned over to the International Association of Machinists, and five were paid up in that organization.

We have all the respect in the world for men who talk about 1894 and 1897, but that does not help us in a new organization, a new industry not twenty-five years old, in which there is more research work going on now for ways and means of using rubber than ever before. If that product is going to be spread all over the United States, think what we will encounter in mass production work even for the building trades industries.

We ask jurisdiction over these workers. We are the newest International Union and we have an extensive organization program started, and I am going to tell you right here and now we do not propose to organize the crafts a second time and turn them over to their craft unions. We expect to organize all the workers in the plant, and with the jurisdictional right that comes to us we will make the fight. We expect the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, however, to take into consideration all these things. We have done the job once—

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order.

President Green: State your point of order.

Delegate Hutcheson: My point of order is that the industrial union proposition has been previously settled by this convention. That is all that this resolution provides.

Delegate Thompson (Continuing): This is not calling for an industrial union. It is calling for jurisdictional rights.

Delegate Hutcheson: Read your resolution.

Delegate Thompson: The fight was made on the question of industrial unionism, and this is on the question of jurisdictional rights.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: The resolve reads:

"Resolved, That the fifty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor formulate an industrial rubber workers' union, whereby the organization shall have full jurisdiction over all employes in and around the respective factories without segregation of the employes in the industry."

The committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Hutcheson: I would like to have the Chair give us an interpretation.

President Green: The committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Hutcheson: Are we going to sit here and listen again to the arguments we have had with reference to industrial unionism?

Delegate Thompson—

President Green (interposing): It would appear that this question has already been settled by the convention, after hours of debate.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: A question of information, Mr. President—

President Green (continuing): —and for that reason the Chair is inclined to sustain the point of order raised by Delegate Hutcheson.

Delegate Howard: A question of information, Mr. President. Did not the San Francisco convention, in adopting the report of the Resolutions Committee, direct the Executive Council to organize and grant a charter in the rubber industry?

President Green: Yes, sir. That charter has been granted.

Delegate Howard: Does the charter that was granted conflict with the resolution, or does the resolution conflict with the charter? Was a restricted charter granted, or was an unrestricted charter granted in the rubber industry?

President Green: The charter was granted by the Executive Council, and the Executive Council, acting under the directions of the

San Francisco convention, defined the jurisdiction of the Rubber Workers International Union.

Delegate Howard: And it was not restricted, then?

President Green: Well, it was defined by the Executive Council.

Delegate Howard: The difference is, of course, on the interpretation of the word "defined" and "restricted," Mr. President.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: On a point of order, Mr. Chairman, this organization introduced a resolution bearing on specific matters. They are calling the attention of this convention to the specific problem in the hope that it might influence the minds of the Executive Council. It does not deal entirely with the question of industrial unionism as decided by this convention. It deals with a problem in Akron, Ohio and elsewhere, and certainly in my judgment this organization and these delegates who introduce a resolution here have a right to tell this convention their own particular problems in relation to it. This thing of raising points of order all the time on minor delegates is rather small potatoes.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, I was raised on small potatoes. That is why I am so small. Had the delegate who has just spoken about raising points of order given more consideration to the questions before this convention and not to attempting, in a dramatic way, to impress the delegates with his sincerity, we would not have had to raise the point of order at this late date, we would have had more time to devote to the questions before the convention.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: I rise to a point of order. My point of order is that the Chair has decided the point of order and that the floor belongs to Delegate Thompson.

President Green: The Chair declared that I was inclined to sustain the point of order. It is the opinion of the Chair that this whole subject was discussed here for days and days, and it was settled after mature deliberation.

The Chair sustains the point of order.

A delegate (name not given): Can the man discuss his resolution?

President Green: The point of order was sustained because it is the opinion of the Chair that the question has already been disposed of.

A Delegate: Why are they reporting it to the convention then?

Delegate Costello, Federal Labor Union 18456: If this question was disposed of, what is it doing in the committee's report, coming on the floor of the convention after it was discussed?

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, when the Committee on Resolutions reported upon the general question of industrial unionism, the report contained the numbers of all the resolutions which had been introduced. The statement was made that some of these resolutions related to specific industries, with the request for a charter; that the Committee on Resolutions had reported, first, upon all of these resolutions dealing with the general subject, after which it would report upon the individual resolutions. The committee now, so that there can be no question but that the individual resolutions could be acted upon, was reporting upon this type of resolutions, of which there are two more. The committee in its report was naturally governed by the action of this convention upon the general question and acted accordingly.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: A question of information. I believe I understand the agreement among the members of the Committee on Resolutions in connection with its report upon these resolutions. Do I understand the Chair to rule that the committee having reported separately upon these resolutions, which are specific requests for granting of charter or charters, that they are not subject to discussion?

President Green: The Chair has no choice when a point of order is raised, because the Chair gave the widest latitude to a discussion of the question. The subject matter was disposed of through the result of days and days of discussion. This is Saturday, and the convention does not want to go into a discussion of the subject again, in my opinion, and that is the reason the point of order was sustained.

Delegate Howard: Mr. Chairman, it was understood, at least by some of the mem-

bers of the Committee on Resolutions, that the reason for reporting upon these individual requests was that it would afford an opportunity of passing upon them, upon the merits of the case. We have been here two weeks listening to speeches from outside. I consider that some of these matters are important. When this convention hears a statement from a brother here that they organized an organization of some two or three thousand men and they turned over 492 craftsmen to one organization, and after a short time there are only five members of that 492 in good standing, I consider that it is of more importance, even if we have to remain here, than it is to sit here for two weeks listening to speeches from the outside.

President Green: The Secretary of the committee.

Delegate Lilly, Gas Distribution Workers Union 15268: A point of information—during all the discussion there has been on the industrial type of union, will you tell me honestly has there been one young man connected with the industrial type of union who has had an opportunity to speak?

President Green: I leave that to the judgment of the convention. We have discussed the matter for days and days and days.

Delegate Lilly: It has been discussed by the United Mine Workers of America and by the presidents of the national and international craft organizations, but not one young man has had the privilege of the floor to discuss it.

President Green: Proceed with the business of the convention. The Chair has made a ruling, and the ruling must stand. The Secretary of the committee.

Delegate Thompson, Rubber Workers: I am going to ask for an appeal from the decision of the Chair.

President Green: An appeal has been taken from the decision of the Chair upon the point of order. The question will be, shall the decision of the Chair be sustained? Are you ready to vote?

Delegate Shipley: I am going to ask, regardless of whether I am young or old—and I am 39—that I at least have your courtesy to hear what I have to say. We in the automobile industry are confronted

with several problems that you may not understand, and for that reason we are asking complete jurisdiction within that industry. What are we confronted with? First, the company union, which is promoted in all its intensity by General Motors and the other companies making up that industry. I don't need to go into the company union with you. You should know.

What else are we confronted with? Propaganda put out by each manufacturer, sent into every home of the workers, not particularly to reach the worker, but to reach his wife, because from the wife comes an influence to keep that man out of organized labor. That is another problem. Next we have dual unions. Maybe some of you don't know what a dual union is, so I will try to explain.

Through the Detroit area and some other areas we have organizations that are promoted by Communists. They are dual organizations to us. They have thousands upon thousands of members within their organization, contrary to ours and opposing us on organization. Another opposition that we have is the Associated Automobile Workers of America. That organization had its formation under these circumstances: These people a year ago last June broke away from the Federal labor union that made up the International Union of Automobile Workers. It is being promoted by certain influences to perfect organization within the automobile industry. Further than that, we have a flowery voice over the radio that, the day after our convention broke up in Detroit—I mean the day after our convention was finished, not broke up—the gentleman met on Belle Isle with 20,000 of an audience and recommended that the automobile workers join his organization because they were not getting what he thought they should get in the American Federation of Labor.

Further than that, what happened? The dual movement, the Associated Automobile Workers and the flowery voice organization are meeting in Detroit on the 14th of November to amalgamate. That is some of the opposition, first the company union and then the dual movement.

And we have something else. We have an organized system to break the labor movement in the plants that are already

organized. I must take you, of necessity, into one plant for that. Three weeks ago last Thursday night the company loaded four cars of manufacturing equipment and pulled that out of the plant, trying to break the movement of my particular labor union, which I can proudly say is as strong, if not stronger, than any in the parts industry. The company even went so far as to have their bosses call a strike, because they thought the employees would turn down our organization; but instead of that started what they call an organizing movement for us, and it rested upon our shoulders to tell our people to go back to work, that the organization had not called a strike but the company bosses had called it.

Since I have been in this convention I have had a communication from my own officers that they are moving 20 per cent of the business into towns in Ohio. The organization can take care of that out of Cleveland. It is a plan of the automobile industry to break the labor movement. The strongest organization has six men here on a protest committee. They represent better than 50 per cent of the complete organization of the automobile industry and they are all from outside of Detroit.

I have heard a lot said here in the convention about the claims of different international unions. I expect before this meeting is over to have it thrown into me that at one time I belonged to the machinists' union. I did. That is for anybody's information that wants to use it. But what is the experience in the automobile industry? You have a line of production that starts up at that door with a piece part. When it finishes down here it is completed, no matter what that line is. They might have a punch press, a washer, a welder, then somebody is rubbing off the high spots, the metal finish, and down here somebody else is painting. You get down into the finish of the line and you have a completed product.

If anybody in this house can segregate the trades in that plant he is a Moses—it is impossible. For that reason we ask complete jurisdiction over every worker in the industry.

Now what do the workers say? Suppose you were trying to segregate them in crafts. The automobile industry is a speed-up industry. To get a complaint settled you

must have speed to combat it. One complaint will be sent to Cincinnati, one to Washington, and another some place else. You have an interchange of communications, and by the time the communications are over the season is over. You will never be able to take care of the problem in that way. For that reason we ask for complete jurisdiction.

I have heard it said many a time that it is impossible to segregate them. I am not talking for anybody who has held a position for years. I work in the plant every day. Then I work half the night trying to keep my organization together, with the help of other men who are working during the day. What do the workers say? Some of them don't belong yet. They say, "When you can come back and tell us that we all belong in your organization, we will belong." What will they tell you further? And this isn't a threat, but they tell us this: "Well, if you want to segregate us and break us up, to hell with all of them!"

A viva voce vote was taken.

President Green: The Chair is in doubt.

Delegate Rivers, Hod Carriers: I move a roll call.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: Let's try this on a show of hands. All those who favor sustaining the decision of the Chair will hold up their right hands and the Secretary will count the vote. After the affirmative vote has been taken, those opposed to sustaining the decision of the Chair will vote likewise.

The Secretary will announce the result of the vote.

Secretary Morrison: The vote stands: In favor of sustaining the decision of the Chair, 108; opposed, 104.

President Green: The decision of the Chair is sustained. The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the committee.

JURISDICTION OF INTERNATIONAL UNION OF UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS

Resolution No. 202—By Delegates Carl J. Shipley, L. R. Richardson, Tom S. Johnson, George F. Addes, Thomas L. Hoskins, John North, Wyndham Mortimer.

In accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor the facts herein related were presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the above mentioned signers on October 6, 1935. The Council failed to make a decision on the protest, consequently in accordance to law we appeal to the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention for a decision.

Being duly elected by the delegates of the First Constitutional Convention of the International Union of the United Automobile Workers of America, as a special committee to appeal to your honored body that the question of jurisdiction might be definitely defined within our industry.

WHEREAS, It is a recognized fact that the automobile industry is notoriously open shop, that what is known as craft unions, in the thirty-odd years the industry has been operating, have never been able to organize to any degree any part of the industry, also, that the lines of demarcation between crafts would make for endless controversy. In other cases the number of any particular trade even if thoroughly organized, their strength would be negligible; and

WHEREAS, It is also a fact that the worker within the industry is confronted with the speed-up system to the limit of human endurance. He is also confronted with an elaborate spy system as to his actions, that every hindrance is placed before him to prevent organization; and

WHEREAS, The companies promote company unions to intimidate and coerce the workers. Also the worker has before him dual organizations, independent unions, the ambition of one to organize the worker for a purpose unknown. To add to this confusion, since the inception of the NRA, many Federal Labor Unions were organized and in many cases have successfully organized the automobile workers in one mass Union, and now these Unions are being confounded, confused and all but torn apart because some old line Union would like to kill the fattest calf, made possible through the mass or industrial form of organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That at this Fifty-fifth Annual Convention you end this confusion and give the automobile worker his just privilege and opportunity to thoroughly organize any worker in the industry in the International Union United Automobile Workers of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That only this International Union have jurisdiction over all of these workers and this International Union be the final and last court of appeal through bona-fide organization.

Gentlemen, we await your decision of the most momentous question in organized labor. May judgment rule prejudice that through

true Industrial Unionism these half million people may rightfully attain and hold their organization and place in the great Labor Movement.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

Secretary Frey: The committee had before it Resolution 202 on which there was division of the committee, but no intention to make a minority report, and the report of the majority is that the committee non-concurs in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Shipley, Auto Workers, South Bend, Indiana: Representing the International Union of Automobile Workers, I wish to offer a substitute for the committee's report. I offer as a substitute motion to the report of the Resolutions Committee: That complete jurisdiction be given the International Union United Automobile Workers of America over all employees in or around plants engaged in the manufacture of automobile parts and the assembling of such parts into completed automobiles.

Secretary Frey: That is practically identical with the resolution and the committee's report on the resolution is non-concurrence. The substitute, it appears to me, is simply bringing in the substance of the resolution in the form of a substitute motion.

Your resolution reads:

"That in this fifty-fifth annual convention you end the confusion and give the automobile worker his just privilege and opportunity to thoroughly organize any worker in the industry in the International Union United Automobile Workers of America; and, be it further

"Resolved that only this international union has jurisdiction over all of these workers and this international union to be the final and last court of appeal through bona-fide organization."

President Green: The Chair recognizes that there is some difference in the substitute offered by Delegate Shipley and the resolution.

Now, are we interested in organizing them or in trying to segregate them? That is a question you are going to have to decide, the question of jurisdiction. That industry has a possibility of over a half

million members in the organized labor movement. Today I am sorry to say we have 35,000. A year ago there were more, but for different reasons they are not with us now.

I heard it stated on the floor, I think it was Thursday, that several organizations had got together and negotiated an agreement by putting the different unions concerned into one concerted effort, and the statement made as to progress. Gentlemen, that is the thing we have been doing in this industrial union of ours for the last twenty-seven months. We take our problem wherever it comes up in the factory. It is taken the next day into a meeting. We meet at eleven o'clock. The thing that is needed in the automobile industry is speed. Every man is tuned to speed.

I heard the statement, "What have you Federal labor unions accomplished?" I am going to try to answer that. In the organization represented outside of the city of Detroit and one in the city of Detroit there are accomplishments. We have seniority recognized in our plants. When a man or woman starts with the company, after three months they are laid off or rehired according to seniority. If it comes to a lay-off anybody who has been there three years or less retains seniority for six months upon re-hiring; anybody there longer retains it for nine months.

It used to be that you would come into the plant and if there was no work there you might sit all day, work one hour, then go home with one hour's pay, and that wouldn't do much for your family. In addition you would have to pay carfare. Today if a man comes in to work and there isn't any work he gets paid for one hour. If it is necessary for him to wait until the production line starts he might lose one hour, but after that he is paid for all the time he sits there.

Wage increases of 35 and 45 per cent have happened. All those things make for an agreement. All these concerns have met and dealt with company unions. They do not all have signed agreements. Why? Because the automobile industry as a whole simply will not enter into agreements with any organization. That is their answer, and that is why the only time the automobile industry is going to get a signed

agreement is when you allow us to organize in one organization and go in before them on that basis.

I read an article in the Philadelphia Record early this week which stated that Mr. Knudsen, one of the officials of General Motors, laughed at the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to organize the automobile industry. You read it, too, if you were reading the papers. He said that it could not be done. I say, and the rest of our membership says, it can be done, but we need your assistance, not separation, to be able to make it possible.

One other thing I had said to me in a Council meeting—we have met twice with the Executive Council—was, "Well, you fellows go on out by yourselves. Maybe we won't give you any assistance." This last year the automobile workers union paid into the treasury of the Federation \$125,000. We don't ask for more than enough to keep our organization functioning until such time as our per capita tax comes in in large enough sums to sustain ourselves. Per capita tax that is paid will come into the Detroit office, starting with the 15th of November. We are not asking for any gift, we are only asking for some of what we have paid in. If you cannot give us some of what we have paid in we ask it as a loan and we will pay it back to you.

Now I will finish with these words: May judgment and brotherhood rule, not prejudice. There was prejudice in this hall here. May organization go on unhampered in the automobile industry without hindrance or division caused by jurisdictional disputes.

Delegate Addes, International Union United Automobile Workers of America: Brother Shipley has pointed out to this convention the problems with which the automobile workers are confronted. I am not going to take up much of the convention's time in presenting these four points. This automobile industry has changed from time to time from its first day. The American Federation of Labor has not kept up with the times. Our charters were granted to us in 1933 by the American Federation of Labor to organize this industry. We have gone as far in organizing the industry as we could up to the time we had a convention on August 26th. At that convention we were granted jurisdiction, which is

not large enough in scope to take in all the automobile workers. In production work one man may be operating a drill press, the next man may be putting in a screw where he punches a hole through the metal. These men are under the jurisdiction of the machinists' union. That is one of the problems we have. We have in Toledo nine plants that are organized and each and every plant has a contract. In my journey to this convention we had a strike in one of these plants. I received a telegram that Detroit had been settled satisfactory to the workers.

When we first organized our local we got into a dispute with the machinists. We worked together for a while until they wanted to take everybody over and leave us the sweepers in the plants. When we turned men over to the machinists' union, what happened? There isn't a member that is in good standing with the local union. We are carrying these men in our contracts in each and every plant in Toledo. In the Willys-Overland plant we have drop forge men and they are under our contract although they are not paying any money into our organization.

The only thing that we are asking of this convention is that the convention grant our International union a wider jurisdiction whereby we can embrace all the automobile workers under one head. Go to the plant and the first thing you hear is, "I don't know what organization I belong to." The men are confused. The outcome is that there is a company union and a dual union.

We have in Toledo several dual organizations and we have an organization that is coming, the Associated Automobile Workers of America. They have no jurisdictional rights whatever; they will go into the plants and organize these men under one head. I am appealing to the delegates to this convention to grant us a wider jurisdiction and enable us to bring all the Automobile Workers under one head.

Delegate Simons, International Typographical Union: Mr. President and fellow delegates—Perhaps having in mind how frequently it has been stated by speakers on this floor that their membership is of such a length in their particular union, I will begin by stating that I got my card

thirty-eight years ago. I can properly be termed an old member of the labor movement.

My union is strictly a craft union. Through all the years of my membership I have been a firm believer in and advocated craft unions. Within the last two years I have realized that the problems of the labor movement are changing. Today I realize what these young members have to contend with who have taken the floor here and are asking assistance in the organization of their particular industry. I think it is about time that we tried to extend a hand of assistance to these young people.

The strictly craft organizations, I feel, have been enforced upon them to such an extent that it is weakening their organization and discouraging their membership. The American Federation of Labor should endeavor to help them, and if necessary we should change this hard and fast policy of craft unionism in order that the membership of the American Federation of Labor will be greatly increased and the workers in this great industry get all the assistance possible from the labor movement itself.

Delegate Bittner, Mine Workers: I rise at this time to support the Automobile Workers. I have had some experience in the field of labor organization. I say it proudly that during the past few years, under my personal direction, we have given the American Federation of Labor 150,000 new members, members that are working under a closed shop agreement, and they will always be members of the American Federation of Labor. So I speak with some experience on this question of organization. And I certainly have no feeling against any of these great craft unions. God knows I want to see them organizing their crafts! But I am deeply interested in seeing this great automobile industry organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

That is the problem this convention has before it. We can quibble about jurisdiction. What jurisdiction does the American Federation of Labor have over men that are not members of any union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. So this quibbling has been about nothing. It seems to me that the American Federation

of Labor and these Automobile Workers have their hands full in fighting the General Motors, Chrysler, Ford and the automobile barons of this country, instead of having to come to this convention of the American Federation of Labor and beg and plead, if you please, for the right to organize the automobile workers of this country.

Instead of the time of this convention being taken up with the question of who shall be organized, the one paramount problem should be in the minds and in the hearts and in the conscience of every delegate to this convention and every local trade union in this country to get these men who are on the outside now into the American Labor movement. And instead of quibbling and turning down the plea of these automobile workers and these others who are pleading in a convention for the right to organize—instead of that we should be thinking of getting a war chest here so that we can organize these industries and bring them within the American Federation of Labor.

I know the problems that these men in the automobile industry have. They not only have Ford and Chrysler and General Motors to fight, they have dual unions to fight, they have other interests in Detroit to fight, and God knows that is enough for any group of men to have to contend with without being prepared to come into the American Federation of Labor and plead for the right to organize.

Organize these automobile workers and get a wage contract for them. That is the thing for you to do. These men in the automobile industry, these men who are struggling to get into the American Federation of Labor surely should have the helping hand of the entire American Labor movement. And I am not speaking of the young delegates. What difference does that make? I have been an officer of my union for twenty-seven years but that makes no difference about what I say or what I do in this convention. Our acts in our own organizations and in the American Labor movement will be the record upon which we will be judged.

I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but you will have the same condi-

tions prevailing when the next convention of the American Federation of Labor meets unless, as this gentleman over here says, we change our policy in some degree and allow these great basic industries to organize. That is the problem, organizing these great basic industries without attempting in any way to injure any of the craft unions.

I would defend any craft union that is represented here and its contract to the best of my ability, and would give them every help I possibly could to maintain their union and their contract; but while doing that we should be big enough, we should be broad enough, we should be intelligent enough to allow these men in the automobile industry to become organized in the best way they can become organized under the banners of the American Federation of Labor. And whether you do it today or not, my friends, you are going to have to change this policy that you talk about here of craft unionism, because if you don't this great basic industry and other basic industries are going to retain the men unorganized, and as long as the automobile industry is unorganized there is danger to every union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

So I say to you, and I say it from the very bottom of my heart, because I want to see these men in the American Federation of Labor, let us give them a helping hand, tell them to go out from this convention, tell them to do the best they can to organize the automobile workers and we will give them every aid and help and support that we can.

Delegate Mortimer, Automobile Workers, Cleveland, Ohio: We have not spent our time learning how to talk, rather we have spent it in producing automobiles and such things as that, therefore you will notice that the delegates from the Federal unions are not orators.

The other delegates have told you a great deal about conditions in the industry, they have covered the problem pretty well, and I will not consume any more of your time than I can possibly help. I will try to make this plain talk to you in as simple English as I can, because evidently some people would not understand otherwise. We have

in the Automobile industry, as Brother Shipley told you, three movements, outside of the company unions, the N. E. S. A., the Arthur Greer movement and the Father Coughlin movement. It does not do any good to say these organizations will not get anywhere, that is not answering the problem. The fact is they have got just as far as we have so far. These three organizations are holding a conference in Detroit next month for the purpose of amalgamating, and if this is not a threat to us, it is certainly most confusing.

We are asking you to remove from our road one of the biggest obstacles. There are many obstacles in the road, but we are talking now about one particular obstacle, the question of jurisdiction. It is true we have some highly skilled men in the automobile industry, but they are a small number and they have never been organized. I doubt if the craft organizations had enough members in the automobile industry to form a corporal guard, and I don't believe they have many today. In my plant, employing twenty-four hundred men, I doubt if there are half a dozen men organized in craft unions. When we organized the Federal union there we did not ask the few men in the craft union to become members of the Federal union. They are still in the craft union, so far as we are concerned. We do demand, however, jurisdiction of such men as we organized into the Federal union that had never been organized before and cannot possibly be organized by the craft organizations, be given to us. We believe we are the only ones who can do the job and do it successfully within the American Federation of Labor.

Certainly since the inception of the Automobile industry, about 1904, I believe—and God knows that has been long enough for the craft unions to organize them if they ever intend to do so—they have not done so, they cannot possibly do so, and we don't see where we would be taking anything from them by going ahead and organizing this great basic industry.

However, after we have organized these men into the Federal unions our experience has not been so good. Several of the Federal unions, to my knowledge, have been destroyed by a process of disintegration, due to jurisdiction arguments. We are deter-

mined upon one thing, whether you like it or not—we don't intend to give them up without a battle. We feel that the few highly skilled men in the industry who belong to the Federal union and who did not belong to any organization before, have had their interests better protected than if they had remained unorganized.

It is all well enough for certain craft unions who insist upon certain procedure which they have followed ever since Columbus discovered America, but things have changed and things we held good thirty or forty years ago do not hold good today. None of you gentlemen would think of coming here in an oxcart, but that is what you expect us to do. Make no mistake about it, gentlemen, the automobile industry is going to be organized, if not by us, then by somebody else, because the economic pressure in the industry is so great, it is so terrific, it is inexorably driving all the workers into the organization. They will not go into craft organizations because they believe—and I believe they are right—that craft unionism means confusion in the industry.

Brother Wharton asked the other day why the craft unions could not work in the automobile industry. I will answer him. We have in Toledo a factory that produces vacuum cleaners. It was never organized before, but about a year and a half ago it was organized into a Federal Labor union. This Federal union was divided up into seven craft organizations, leaving a very small number of employees in the Federal union. All of the sweepers and truckers remained in the Federal union. When they had a dispute with the company they found these seven unions could not possibly act together. In the mass production industry it is necessary to act quickly, we have no time to carry on endless negotiations between these international unions. We would have to get seven different business agents together and one might be on one job and others on other jobs. By the time you got them together the production season would be over.

The Eaton Axle Company of Cleveland, a branch of the Eaton Detroit Metal, Detroit, Michigan, was organized in a Federal Labor union. It was divided up into six craft unions, employing about six hundred and

fifty men altogether. After endless arguments, which finally ended in a physical combat, the metal trades men withdrew from the American Federation of Labor and are now members of the M. E. S. A. The president of this M. E. S. A. local union lives the second door from me and he told me before I came here, "Bill, if you are coming back with an industrial union in your bag we will go in with you."

How are you possibly going to achieve unity—and unity we must have—unless you change your methods. The automobile manufacturers have achieved that unity. They are a unit in the opposition to labor. There is no dissension among them when it comes to a labor question. They are all agreed, and unless we are able to achieve this unity in the Automobile industry we won't have a Chinaman's chance. We know the only way to achieve this unity is through industrial organization. There is no other way. Our experience convinced us of that long ago.

I have heard it said repeatedly—and I always like to judge men and institutions, not by what they say, but by what they do—I have heard it said repeatedly that the American Federation of Labor does not want to organize the basic industries. And there is a great number of working men who believe this. They believe this because they are basing their opinions on what you do and not on what you say. If you want us to organize this great basic industry, then, for God's sake! let us solve the problem in our own way!

You men may have had years of experience in the labor movement. That is the trouble—your experience goes back too far. We are working in the industries; we know the industries; we understand the workers' psychology, which you have forgotten long ago, and it is a significant fact that every dual movement in the Automobile industry today is based upon industrial unionism, and we certainly cannot organize that industry unless you give us that same right.

Delegate Johnson: We realize that we are new in the American Federation of Labor, but our principle is as old as the hills. You have heard some of the statements of what we have had to contend with in the automobile industry. I will point to some

things that were not distinctly brought out. In the automobile industry there is public propaganda that after an employee gets to a certain age he is through in the industry. They segregate these members into a department, then they close that department. That has not been brought out.

I hope that every delegate here has the same thing in his heart that we have in ours, and that is to give us the right to embrace all these other workers in the industry so that we can put up a better front and combat the conditions that we have in the automobile industry today.

Delegate Killeen, United Auto Workers, Philadelphia: In 1933 we organized Federal Labor Union 18763, comprising employees of the Budd Manufacturing Company. Incidentally, if you read this morning's paper you will find something about the profits of that company. A strike was called in 1933 of the men in the automobile plant. Before that time we had made no effort to organize in craft unions. At that time the automobile was at its ebb of production. The mechanical plant was at its peak of production. In that plant there were a number of machinists or so-called machinists. Out of twelve hundred men in the mechanical department eighty machinists came out to support us in our strike after being called out by the Machinists' Union. There was a pattern makers' department 100 per cent organized. They had a company union in the plant. The shop delegate from the pattern makers' local was and is a member of the company union. His name is George Zimmerman. I asked Mr. Leech, who, I think, is the president of the Pattern Makers Union in Philadelphia, why the Pattern Makers did not come out and support us. He said he thought they could do more for us in the inside.

Our case was taken before the National Labor Board. Our esteemed President, Mr. Green, was a member of that Board and so was Father Haas. They gave us a very favorable decision, which Mr. Budd refused to accept. The case was then taken before the National Compliance Board. They gave us an unfavorable decision. Due to this decision and a lack of funds the local disintegrated and at the present time there is no local No. 18763, although in good times there should be a large number of members in that plant.

Delegate Merrill, Automobile Workers, South Bend: It appears to me from my observation on the floor that certain factions are coming here looking for a fight. I don't believe that automobile workers as delegates here, the Rubber Workers delegates, the Radio Workers Delegates, and so on, are here to fight the craft unions. We do not intend to organize our industry so that it might become so powerful we could dominate the craft unions. That is not true, but that is what some of the craft unions feel we are attempting. We want to organize these mass production industries and we can only do it with the help of the craft unions.

We have been successful to a certain degree in certain places where the craft unions have helped us, and we have been unsuccessful in most places where the craft unions have not helped us so much. The industrial unions should get together and not let the newspaper reporters throughout the country report that the American Federation of Labor is divided. The craft unions and the industrial unions should come up here and co-operate with one another. We beg that those who represent craft unions should help us in our organization work and not try to put obstacles in our way. We believe the industrial unions, so called, will help craft unions in organizing their own particular crafts and trades.

I notice in South Bend the craft union membership is more than ten times as large today as it was before the industrial unions were organized. Why is that? It is because we have been thinking along organization lines. We buy union label products and we demand the shop cards of organizations that have cards. When we go to a barber shop we demand the card, and in that way we have almost 100 per cent organization of the barbers in that city today. The same is true of the waiters and waitresses. When we want to paint our houses we get organized painters to do the work, whereas, in the past we never thought of asking for a card and had it done as cheap as we could. Now we are here asking the craft unions to help us organize our industry.

The automobile industry has always been known as an open shop industry. From the beginning until now they have used

the open shop plan and they still say they are going to continue the open shop. I believe a closed shop means that we must be working under contract and all the men working should be union men, pay their dues and live up to the rules of the union.

The National Automobile Chamber of Commerce is the greatest organization of manufacturers in the United States. They are the strongest; they control partly the steel industry, they control partly the rubber industries, and there are many industries where they have control, and as long as they are fighting the unions in their own industry they are not going to support the other industries who have unions working in them.

Those are the things we have to buck up against, but we are not asking you to solve those problems. The problem that we want to be solved in this convention is to let us get the men into our organization. We want to go ahead and organize as we have been organizing in the Federal Labor unions. I would like to ask this convention if they would give us two or three years to allow us to organize without any interruption, meaning by that, organize the places where it has been stated the various crafts come in and claim jurisdiction. If they have not had those men in their craft unions before we organized them, let us have them for a time and then we can turn them over to you. I believe that if the craft unions will co-operate with us instead of drawing the line in this convention we will be successful in organizing all the mass industries in the United States.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—As usual, I hope I will be rather brief and state my points very plainly. First let me say that if there has been any misapprehension on the part of the delegates in this convention that our organization has interfered in any organization campaign to the extent that has been intimated here, I at least want to try to correct that. If there is any organization in the American Federation of Labor that has expended of its time and funds to this organization campaign more than our union has, I don't know what organization it is.

This is a rather involved question, and one that is rather difficult to solve in a convention of this kind. We ought to try

to work this problem out on a sensible, friendly, co-operative basis.

I don't think there is anyone in this convention that would dispute the desirability of organizing the workers of the entire country, but it seems, however, we are at odds, as to what is the best method of procedure. If I understand the substitute motion it is a rather confusing one. What are parts plants? They are plants operating independent of the industry generally speaking, except where they are an integral part of the manufacturing plant. That is true in the automobile industry and other industries as well, certain of these larger corporations own and operate their own parts plants, and those parts plants perform work almost exclusively for the parent company, but there are many other parts plants which are referred to as contract or job shops, and they do work for anybody who wishes to make contracts with them.

I want to read from a letter I received since I came here. It is dated October 17, outlining the work that has been performed by the Hercules Motor Corporation of Canton, Ohio. The Hercules Corporation builds gasoline motors for buses and trucks, also for the marine industry. They likewise build Diesel engines. They build a very large gasoline motor, some of which are used in industrial plants for generating power.

That same plant would be mechanically equipped to manufacture power engines and various types of engines that could be used in the operation of railroads and in the operation of steamships and bus and truck operation which are now an integral part of the rail transportation system of the country. This plant would have no direct relation whatever to the automobile industry insofar as that particular class of its product was concerned. If the language of the substitute were to become the action of this convention, you would throw the situation into worse confusion than I could imagine would result from the plan outlined by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, action upon which by this convention, I am calling to your attention, and that action was by unanimous vote, taken when the Committee on Organization made its report.

So that you may be familiar with it, I will read it. It will be found on page 671, Tenth Day, Friday Morning Session, under the paragraph, "Progress of Organization in Mass Production Industries:"

"Under the separate caption the Executive Council reports the terms and conditions under which the International Union United Automobile Workers of America, was organized in compliance with the orders of the 1934 Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in San Francisco, California.

"The new International Union was formed at a convention held in Detroit, Michigan, on August 26, 1935.

"A number of delegates in attendance at this convention from Federal Labor Unions of Automobile Workers appeared before your Committee when a lengthy hearing was held, principally on the best manner to continue organizing this class of workers which they claim numbers 500,000.

"Your committee is in hearty accord with the request of these workers, and we therefore recommend that the Executive Council devise ways and means to inaugurate, conduct and carry on an intensive organizing campaign among all auto workers, with the cooperation of this new International Union known as the Automobile Workers of America.

"In the hearing it developed that this new International Union is now drafting a constitution which when completed will be sent to the Executive Council for approval.

"Your Committee congratulates this new International Union on its formation and admission to the fold of organized labor—the American Federation of Labor. We wish it success in the great task it has undertaken to organize the automobile workers into one great International Union.

"The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted."

You can't handle these things without giving them due consideration. There is a real problem here, and if you don't think there is, I want to call your attention to the codes issued for the automobile industry under NRA. There were five codes on the motor vehicle retailing trades, garages and kindred industries each recognized as a separate industry, although somewhat related. There were three in the manufacturing industry, and in automotive parts and equipment manufacturing industries there are twenty codes showing the ramifications of this industry. I have copies of those codes here (exhibiting codes). To grant the request as I understand it as represented in the substitute motion, you would

be establishing practically one big union in the metal industry, and outside of that you will get into all of the ramifications that would affect every worker in this country, because when you take the automobile manufacturing industry as the base industry and then supplement that by all of these, what you might term contributing agencies, you cover the whole field of manufactured products in the United States, bar none, that I know of, and they use everything, raw materials, finished products interwoven, and coupled with these other industries that furnish some part of the automobile industry in order to have the completed product. It was also my understanding that in the discussion on the question of industrial organization there were two roll calls on two features of industrial versus craft organizations passed upon by this convention, and by a vote of approximately 18,000 to 10,000 or 11,000, the convention went on record as to the disposition of these questions.

This much I want to say. I want to see this industry organized and I know that my organization wants to make a contribution in that direction. We have certainly had differences of opinion with them. We could say a good many things about the failure of Federal Labor Unions that could not be attributed to any interference on the part of the international craft organizations, but will refrain from doing so.

Reference was made to my organization because in certain localities we had a substantial membership. The representatives of the Federal Labor Unions said they turned it over to us. Maybe they did and maybe they didn't, but now they inform you we haven't got that percentage of organization. Well, that is life, that is experience. I stated here the other day we had organized 100,000 machinists and others who were eligible to our organization since July, 1933, and of that number we have retained about 56,000. The failure of these people to stay in the organization is not our fault. I don't know the particular circumstances that may have existed in these plants where they said these men that were in our organization are not now in it, but I do know there has been a situation rather difficult to meet.

The mere fact that a man can join one organization that has the title and the name

and the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, at a very nominal initiation fee of \$1 or \$2 and monthly dues of \$1, and other organizations who because of their own experience found it necessary to establish higher dues and initiation fees made necessary because of the benefits which the members of that organization receive, some of them guaranteed in the form of death benefits, financial assistance in sanctioned strikes, and various other benefits, that represent an expenditure of funds, if obligations and pledges are to be met, and then when you go into a plant where men have never been organized and little or no knowledge of the necessary expenses to maintain organization, and here you find a representative of the American Federation of Labor advocating the organization of a Federal labor union and here comes a representative of a craft organization attempting to have these same workers who are eligible to the craft organization join that particular organization—the man says, "Why should I join your organization and pay \$5 or \$10 initiation fee, as the case may be, when I may join a Federal labor union, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and receive the support of the American Federation of Labor, the National, International, Central Bodies, state federations and other federal labor unions at lesser cost." Immediately we have that competitive situation, which makes it most difficult to overcome among men who do not understand the reasons for these things and all too frequently are not properly advised by A. F. of L. representatives.

And believe me, friends, there is a reason for the dues that have been established in every one of these organizations. That reason is experience, hard and bitter experience, over a period of years, whether it was born fifty years ago, or when Columbus arrived—it makes no difference. They came to realize the necessity of providing funds in reason and they are maintaining those dues to date, keeping pace with the importance and the necessity of organization and the circumstances they are constantly being confronted with and finding it necessary to have at least that much money in order to operate successfully in the interests of men who become affiliated with the organization.

And mark this, you brothers in the new Federal organizations, in your new international unions starting out with 35 cents per capita tax and monthly dues of \$1—you will learn by experience, you will learn that amount is insufficient to properly handle the business of your organization and make it successful. But notwithstanding that fact, my organization, one that is most directly concerned in this situation, wants to co-operate with you, we want to help you build up your organization in that industry, but in doing so we do not think we should be asked to eliminate ourselves to the extent that has been requested on the floor of this convention.

We could have stood in the way if we wanted to, we could have stood upon our rights, and we could have taken that position with justification under the law and said, "There is no room for Federal Labor unions in the automobile plants." We did not say that. We said in 1926 in Detroit, with other metal trades organizations, "let's make a try of organizing the automobile industry." We laid down a program. We agreed upon it. We were not successful, but that is not the only time we were not successful. Different conditions existed, and since that time other things have happened, and among those things are the federal and state laws that have been enacted, which have made it more easy for men to organize. Now they are taking advantage of that to the best of their ability, and we want to help them do it.

In my judgment the committee's report should be adopted and the matter left in the hands of the Executive Council in the interests of working out a program that will organize not only the automobile industry, but any other industry where we are able to start to build organization.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman and members of the convention—I want to approach this subject that you have before you this morning from the standpoint of the interests of the trade unionists of the city that I represent, as President of the Central Body. There is no spot in America where the efforts of the American Federation of Labor were more needed and more welcome than in the City of Detroit. For a number of years it had

become the policy of International Unions, when some one who was on their payroll that they wanted to get rid of as an organizer, to send him to Detroit. It became known as the graveyard of organizers. It was an assignment that gave notification that you were on the way out. From 1900 until the present time, or rather up until 1928, the city of Detroit grew faster than any city in America, and that growth was due largely to the concentration of the automobile industry in that city, and in the neighboring cities, in the industrial area that goes to make up Detroit—Flint, Lansing, Saginaw and Muskegon, and now even Toledo.

For a number of years the automobile manufacturers were entirely free from any substantial organization in the industry, with the exception of that which the Pattern Makers were able to establish in contract shops and at times in corporation shops, and the work of the Metal Polishers' Union in corporation shops and contract shops, and the work of the Iron Molders' Union in contract shops, but very little in corporation shops. From time to time the International Association of Machinists has sent its men to the automobile centers in an effort to organize. They would interest the men, but they seemed unable to hold them. I do not regard that as an indictment of the Machinists' organization. It certainly cannot be charged that they did not make an honest effort.

During all these years from time to time other groups in the automobile industry would organize. Local unions started in the sheet metal branch of the business, some in the wood-working end, some with painters, and in turn they were turned over to their International Unions and after a few months or a few years' time they would disappear.

It became evident to us in the automobile centers that if there was ever to be any substantial progress made in the organizing of the men and women in that great industry, there would have to be a more united effort and a more centralized control. At one time there was an organization in the city of Detroit of upwards of 15,000 to 20,000 men in the automobile industry. It was an independent organization which had its origin in the old Carriage and Wagon

Workers' Union of the American Federation of Labor and it, too, like all independent movements, went by the board. For many years the workers in this industry have been denied the opportunity to associate themselves together in a practical way to cope with the owners of the industry.

Now what has that meant to you and to the workers in other trades and callings in the city of Detroit? It has meant that the effort to organize other unions in other trades has been more difficult because of the large number of unorganized men and women in the basic industry of the community. Up until two years ago we had one union of teamsters and chauffeurs in our city, the garbage wagon drivers, a splendid organization with a wage scale of \$6.75 a day, but it was isolated and they would not have been organized if it were not for the fact that they were a group of public employees. Today we have a dozen unions in the teamsters and chauffeurs and they are flourishing. That same thing, my friends, is true in other industries. The needle trades have been able to make some progress in the city, and the growth of the other unions is due in a large measure to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to bring the message of organization to the workers of that city, not only in the automobile industry, but in other industries as well.

But we did find that the growth and progress of the unions in the other industries was parallel to that of the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to build up the Federal Labor Unions in the automobile industry. As the Federal locals grew the sentiment for organization grew and it made it easier for us to do our work in the miscellaneous and other trades.

To those of you who are engaged in the manufacture of clothing, Detroit is not a clothing center, but the success of your union in a measure depends upon the demand for the union label. What is the demand for union label garments among the automobile workers, aside from those that are in the Federal Labor Unions or in the new International Union? That same thing is true of the shoe working industry, the tobacco industry, the cigar industry, the hat industry, and it is not only true as to lack of support because of the failure

or our inability to organize the men in the automobile industry, it is true of the other basic industries of this country. If the steel workers and the other great mass production industries that have been mentioned so frequently on this floor were organized, the demand for union label goods manufactured by trades in the American Federation of Labor would increase by leaps and bounds. It was surprising to me, the demand that came from these new Federal Labor Unions in the automobile workers that we furnish them with lists of union made articles they could buy in the city of Detroit—a thing we have not had a demand for from our old unions for many years.

So I say to you, my friends, in approaching this subject we ask that you do it not only in the interests of the demands of those in the new Automobile Workers' International Union, but in the light of the effect it is going to have on the entire industry in a community where automobiles are manufactured—in other words, in the light of your own interests. Since the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to organize the automobile workers, even the building trades in our community have had more success in getting in on the work that is done on the inside of the barbed wire fences, if you please, of the automobile factories.

In the convention at San Francisco the report of the committee that was adopted contained this language:

"However, it is also realized that in many of the industries in which thousands of workers are employed a new condition exists requiring organization upon a different basis to be most effective."

That was approved by the convention. Continuing to read from the report of the San Francisco convention:

"To meet this new condition the Executive Council is directed to issue charters for national or international unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary to meet the situation."

What is meant by that last sentence—"as in the judgment of the Executive Council

may be necessary to meet the situation"? Did that mean that they were to emasculate the principle that was set forth to give these people an organization, that that power and authority was extended to them, or did it mean that they had the power and authority to go into such other mass production industries? I think the whole complaint here comes on a matter of interpretation of just what is intended by that language. The Executive Council has interpreted it in such a way as to withhold, at least in the automobile industry, those men or at least a large portion of those men over which the International Association of Machinists claims jurisdiction, as set forth in the paragraph on the following page, "not including tool, die and machinery."

What has happened as a result of that? First, there grew up some few years ago the organization known as the Mechanics' Educational Society. There is no reason under the sun why these people could not have joined the Machinists' Union except that they saw fit to do otherwise, and I presume, as Brother Wharton said, they got their inspiration from the new liberties and encouragement that came as a result of the passage of the National Recovery Act—liberties that they got because of the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and because of nothing else. This institution made possible those provisions of the National Recovery Act under which they operated, and it was with poor grace that they spent such time as they have in criticising the American Federation of Labor rather than giving it due credit for the work it has done to make possible their organization.

In addition to that, as has been mentioned here, there were other independent groups. The Hudson local, controlled by a fellow by the name of Greer, who jumped into the American Federation of Labor with both feet, brought his army along with him, went to Washington and did a lot of grandstanding and gave the President of the United States a card in his union—inidentally, I presume, without consulting the American Federation of Labor, not that I regret the fact that Mr. Roosevelt is a member of the American Federation of La-

bor. As a matter of fact, I welcome him for what the members of my own union did in giving a card to Warren G. Harding when he was President. But Mr. Greer, my friends, jumped out of the American Federation of Labor with both feet, and then he tried to take not only his own group or what he had left, but he tried to take others.

The group at Lansing that was organized as a company union, set up largely by the machinery of the so-called Automobile Labor Board and under the encouragement of Mr. Wolman—and if there is still any man in this convention who thinks Mr. Wolman is a friend of labor, let him read the history of the struggle of the American Federation of Labor through the automobile workers to get fair treatment from that board, and they will soon change their minds. Then last, but not least, the soft-tongued gentleman from Royal Oak, who beguiles you on Sunday at four o'clock. The three have united in the organization of a new union to take the place of the American Federation of Labor in the automobile industry.

And what you do, my friends, on this subject has to be done not only in the light of the interests of your own International unions, in the light of their desire to claim and retain jurisdictional control over these men, even though you have not got them, and even though the probabilities are that you won't have them for a long while to come, you also have to take into consideration that we must place in the hands of this new International Union that we have chartered the tools to do their work and do it properly—and when I say properly I mean to meet the enemy, to meet Father Coughlin, to meet Mr. Greer and the men from Lansing who want a Union run by the State Police and Government agents. That is the kind of a combination that is now being set up. Our friends in the Mechanics Educational Society that were going to revolutionize the labor movement of America have locals joining with them because there was no other place for them to go. They are estopped from coming into the American Federation of Labor through the Automobile Workers' Union because under this charter they are barred from accepting them. Many of the members of that organization did express a desire to join. It was my opinion at one time that the whole group

of them could have been incorporated in the American Federation of Labor Automobile Workers' Unions. But that time has gone by.

The Labor News of Detroit took occasion to criticize, in making mention of the efforts of this conglomeration of company unions, Fascist and others, who got together to form a union in the automobile industry, and I received a rather scathing letter from Matthew Smith, Secretary. I gave it to Mr. Dillon, the president of the Automobile Workers' Union. In substance he says this: "Martel, you better look out. We are going to organize the metal workers of America and we are coming into the American Federation of Labor and we will not forget what you had to say about us at this time." Well, I am not so afraid of that because I don't think they will ever get here.

But, my friends, so long as we have large numbers of men organized into independent unions on the outside, it is a challenge to us, and unless we are able to set up in this and other basic industries the machinery that those people will attach themselves to, the machinery that they think they can use to accomplish their objectives, then we fail in our efforts—not because craft unions are wrong, but because we are unable to sell the idea to these people that they can work out their destinies in these craft unions.

Reference is made here today by one of the delegates from the automobile locals—I think it was Delegate Shipley—to what Mr. Knudsen had to say about organizing the automobile workers, and if you will permit me to trespass upon your time for a few moments longer I want to quote from Mr. Joseph Cookman's interview with Mr. Knudsen at Detroit:

"Knudsen is an engaging personality even to those who abhor his philosophy. He is a big, handsome man, apparently in his middle 60's. His speech flows freely and persuasively in an accent which keeps reminding you that he came from Denmark early in life but too late ever to learn English perfectly. For example, he likes to say 'just so' and what he says is 'yoost so.' His eyes are full of intelligent shrewdness and humor. He looks straight at you. You feel that he believes what he says—with the reservations of a long experience of talking to both the public and to proprietors.

"Knudsen hasn't a very high opinion of the men or methods employed in the organization of the automobile industry labor.

"With references to the fact that 60 per cent of the workers in auto plants are still unorganized, he emphasizes his belief that it is going to be many a long year before the workers are assembled in one or more unions—if they ever are.

"The men who know anything about the automobile industry don't know anything about labor organization, he explains. And the men who know all about labor organizations don't know anything about the industry and don't seem to learn."

That is from no less an authority than Mr. Knudsen, and then he speaks of his interview with General Johnson when he came to Detroit, when the automobile industry was threatening to go on strike under the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, and when these men who are leading these Federal unions accepted the promise of the Governmental agencies and the Automobile Labor Board as set up by President Roosevelt and agreed that they would refrain from striking, that they would refrain from rocking the boat, that they would refrain from interfering with the orderly progress of restoring prosperity in America, if the Government would see them through and see that they got a square deal. What an empty promise! What an empty promise it proved to be to those boys! The only language I can use in referring to what happened to those who accepted the promises made to them by Government officials is the language of Brother Lewis in referring to what happened to him at San Francisco. I quote again from Mr. Cookman's interview with Mr. Knudsen.

"Right where you're sitting, Mr. Cookman, General Johnson sat some time ago. And next to him sat Mr. Richberg. General Johnson said, Is there any way in which the automobile industry could be organized on a craft union basis?

"I said yes. General Johnson asked how. And I said to him, I won't tell you. That isn't my business. If it was my business I would go ahead and attend to it."

No, it is not Mr. Knudsen's business to organize the automobile workers. It is our business, my friends, it is the business of the men in the automobile industry, and I want to say a word particularly to them, not to be too impatient with the treatment that their proposals and their requests have received at the hands of the duly consti-

tuted authorities of the labor movement in the American Federation of Labor. It does not mean that those men who disagree with you, who will not give you all you ask, do not wish you well, it does not mean that they are not anxious to have the automobile industry organized. You must keep in mind, my friends, that the American Federation of Labor has an interest and a stake in the automobile industry organization, just the same as you have. They have invested time, energy and money in trying to organize you and they owe a responsibility to every man who signed an application in these organizations to see them through. And if there is any doubt in the minds of the responsible officers of the American Federation of Labor, as to your stability at this date, be patient with them. Be loyal to the American Federation of Labor and conform to its policies so that you can demonstrate to the officials of the American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement of this country that you know how to take your place in the army, and then I assure you, my friends, you will have the united support of the American Federation of Labor in any effort you undertake to bring under your control the right to have something to say about the conditions under which you are going to sell your labor.

The time will come when those engaged in the automobile industry will do, as has been done by those in other industries in America, they will ask that some manufacturing automobile concern be placed on the unfair list because of their attitude toward organized labor and when that time comes, my friends, you will need the assistance of the American Federation of Labor to make your edict effective. If a minority nationality in the United States can bring King Henry I to his knees by a refusal to buy his gasoline buggies, then it is my prediction that the American Federation of Labor can do equally as good a job with Henry Ford, General Motors, Mr. Chrysler or any other automobile manufacturer when the time comes.

I want you to have the services of the American Federation of Labor. Therefore I ask you to work out your destiny inside here with the rest of us, even though the pill may be a little bitter at the present

time. Your day will come and you will have the backing of the American Federation of Labor and its millions of members throughout the United States, when that day does come.

Delegate Britton, Metal Polishers: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I happen to be one of those who represent a craft union in the automobile industry. I have heard the remark made here today on several occasions that the craft unions haven't got them and when are they going to get them—meaning the members in the automobile industry? I want to say for the edification of this convention that we have approximately seventy-five per cent of the Metal Polishers in the automobile industry in our union and have had them from the beginning of the industry.

Possibly on account of the hazards of our trade, possibly on account of the dust and the dirt that is created within polishing, buffing and plating rooms, maybe a lot of people never went into that to find out what was in them. I had a survey taken of every shop in the city of Detroit. I furnished that survey to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, of the number of men who came under the jurisdiction of polishers, buffers and platers, the number that were members and the number that were not members, and that survey was compiled by the business agent and the Executive Board of our local union in the city of Detroit. They happened to have their office next door to where the previous speaker has his office. That survey shows that there were seventy-five per cent at least, members of our International Union.

These men have been members of our union ever since the automobile industry began. We had a large local union in the city of Detroit engaged in the stove industry. Just about the time that the stove industry went out of existence the automobile industry started to come up. These men transferred into the automobile industry and they came also from other parts of the country.

We had a convention just about three weeks previous to this one. President Green was present at our convention and addressed the delegates. This question con-

cerning the jurisdiction of metal polishers, buffers and platers in the automobile industry was thoroughly gone into. It had all been thoroughly gone into by the members of our local union in the city of Detroit and by unanimous vote of the men in the city of Detroit they demanded the right to remain in the union of their trade.

I am going to give you some of the reasons why they made that demand. Polishing, buffing and plating is one of the most hazardous trades there is in the country. About half of our work is getting legislation to clean up the factories for the installation of dust devices, for the installation of hoods over the acid tanks, etc., in order to make the rooms more decent and sanitary to work in. It might surprise you to know that before those laws were enacted or before they were gotten into the right kind of shape, the statistical records of our International Union show that 28 percent of our membership died of tuberculosis or respiratory diseases.

Another thing, about one out of every three men that goes into a plating room attempting to use this new plate chromium cannot remain in there. His arms break out all over in big running sores. It is a peculiar physical condition that some people have, and they are ordered by their physician to get out, absolutely.

We have to take up questions of that kind, to get laws enacted in order to protect the health of the employees. I want to ask you how can it be done if we are going to divide them up into all the different industries that you might want under industrial unionism? Doesn't a man's health count for something in this country, especially in a hazardous trade of this kind? Those men are not kidding you when they tell you that they want to remain in their unions, and incidentally after all is said and done, men are going to decide where they will be anyhow. They are not a parcel of cattle to be moved just at somebody else's whim.

A careful survey of the city of Detroit showed approximately 3,100 or 3,200 metal polishers, buffers and platers. In making an audit of the accounts of that local union not so very long ago, we found 2,462 cards from members of that local union. Some of

them must work in the automobile industry because that is where the biggest part of the members of our international union are now employed. I say to you frankly that if you take the automobile accessory industry, if you take the automobile industry in this country throughout the length and breadth of it, take the metal polishers away and you might as well take our charter with it. We have been with this American Federation of Labor almost since its inception. These men in the city of Detroit are not men who are going to quit the movement. If you have 500,000 men in the automobile industry why is it so necessary for you to grab off the 2,200 that we have? Isn't there a possible chance of your going out and working on the 500,000, organizing the Automobile Workers' Union instead of coming into this convention asking for jurisdiction over the 2,200 members that we have in our union?

I have never taken up any time in this convention except on questions that concerned us, but this is one that concerns the very life of our organization, and I am going to tell you now that it is one that will practically wipe us out of existence.

Polishers and buffers and platers are in a room by themselves, because the dust from the factory is not permitted to go through the factory. It is dangerous to the gear boxes, it is not a very economical proposition for any factory to permit that room to be open, and as a general rule throughout the country they used to try to put it down in the basement where no one else was until we got basement laws enacted in some of the states and we have driven them out of there.

The Duray Company in Toledo, Ohio, manufacturers of automobile parts, about three years ago attempted to throw out the laws in the state of Ohio. They tested out the constitutionality of those laws and it was right during the depression.

We had men come there from different parts of the state carrying the dust that came from the floor, carrying the dust that came out of the mouths of the blowers, and bringing samples of the acids and the different things in the plating room. The State of Ohio, after I interceded with the Inspection Department furnished four of the

best attorneys in the country, one of whom I consider has no peer, and that is Dr. Emory Hayhurst, and after they gave their testimony before the judge in the state of Ohio in a trial lasting two weeks and that cost the Metal Polishers some money, the law in the state of Ohio was held constitutional because the judge said it was one of the dirtiest places he ever went into. We took him in one of the rooms and showed him.

We have a lot of problems in common that we have got to meet and talk over. We have Conference Boards established in different parts of the country to see that these exhaust fans and things are kept in working order. Besides that, we have the economic problem of getting wages and hours the same as any other workers in the country and I believe that if we do not have some sort of a respectable union, one that is willing to go out and get conditions in the cities, our members would not be enjoying the \$1 an hour and the \$1.35 an hour they are getting now.

There are a lot of young fellows among those men in Detroit and they are willing to fight, and they don't want you tampering with any of their conditions concerning wages and hours, and especially concerning health safeguards that are put into the factories, because that is one thing they think about as much as anything else. Those boys are going to sit down and they won't work until that is taken care of.

We don't believe there is any justification on the part of any man, no matter who he is, to come into this convention and say that the jurisdiction of that organization with all of the problems it has, ought to be turned over to somebody else. The Metal Polishers work about three months in the year in the automobile industry, then they go get jobs in the jobbing industry. Then they go into the plumbing supply business and other industries. If you are going to have industrial unions they will be professional joiners, they will be joining unions about every three months.

We are asking this convention to leave the matter stand as it is. We are asking that these men be protected, and I believe that you have ample work to do and you have at least enough to last you another

year, to organize those 500,000 men that you are talking about.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Hillman.

Delegate Hillman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Convention: I hold that this matter is properly before the convention. It occurs on a specific proposition. The convention has made a decision on the general policy. If I recall the statement of the chairman of the committee correctly, he pointed out that the convention would have the opportunity to vote on the appeal of the United Automobile Workers Union against the decision of the Executive Council. And so I hold that there is no attempt to change the position of this convention that was rendered two days ago on the proposition of general policy. It is perfectly proper to come before the convention on a specific issue, on an appeal from the action of the Executive Council.

I would not take the time of the convention about an industry that I am not associated with. Those who are in the industry know best how to present the problems of the industry, but I have had the opportunity during the time I spent in Washington, as a member of the Labor Advisory Board and later as a member of the National Industrial Recovery Board, to learn more intimately the problem, not alone as it confronts the workers in the automobile industry, but also as it confronts the whole labor movement. It has been said time and again on the floor of this convention that the steel industry is leading the opposition to labor. It is my firm conviction that the real opposition comes from that large aggregation of capital in the automobile industry from the three companies: Ford, Chrysler and General Motors, who control over 90 per cent of the production of the whole industry.

This industry came to Washington, in a spirit of defiance, challenging not alone the labor movement but challenging the government itself. Time and again they have said: "You will either give us the kind of a code that we submit or we will not play ball, even with the United States Government." This industry had incorporated into their code the merit clause, which not even the United States Steel Corporation and their

whole steel industry were not able to get. This industry has present the greatest arrogance against labor and the nation, and it was influential enough to get even a Government Board, the Automobile Labor Board, to serve their purposes when the board went into action.

Now, we are going to meet with the greatest opposition against organization from that industry. And I ask you, should not the organized labor movement throw all of its strength back of those who are attempting to organize the workers in that industry? I have had two years' experience with legislation in Washington. I am all for more and more legislation for labor, but I know from my own experience that legislation without organized labor back of it is meaningless. Labor must be fully organized to make any law effective. No matter what the law, they will find some way to emasculate it.

Now, let us forget our differences. I have associated with a great number of those who have worked and spoken against the substitute motion. I hold them in high regard. They have all worked conscientiously, given of their time, made every fight that was possible, on behalf of labor.

I don't believe that the labor movement fully appreciates the service given by the President of the American Federation of Labor, fighting day in and day out, at times when the cards were stacked against us, in order to make progress for labor possible.

This convention has decided on a general policy. These men are here with a specific proposition. What possible harm can be done to some of the craft organizations if they will relinquish jurisdiction over the people and, without any attempt at criticism, people that they have not been able to organize? Why not take the proposal made on the floor by a delegate from one of the federal labor unions? Let us declare a moratorium on jurisdictional matters for three years. Why not take up the statement of the representatives of the Automobile Union, who speaking from this platform a little while ago, said that they do not want jurisdiction over those who are already organized. Let us concentrate our efforts. Let us give these men—young men or old men, their opportunity, and because I happen to be on the minority side and it is very

flattering that I am placed among the young ones, but unfortunately, I know my age too well, but this is no problem of young or old. This is not even a problem of industrial unionism, or craft unionism. It is a problem of mobilizing the forces of labor so that the General Motors Company may learn that there is some power in this country that will check their arrogance.

I don't know whether many of you have read the report issued by the National Industrial Recovery Board of an investigation of that industry instituted by the President of the United States. I have read it through, and if you will read it, you will find it to be the most damnable record of a speed-up system you have ever read or heard of, people thrown out on the waste heap at the age of 40 or 45, friendly foremen telling these men at the age of 38: "Why don't you look around for something else, because you will be thrown out?" A spy system that would do credit to Hitler; people hounded; spies accompanying them from their work to their homes. I have read that report of the investigation. Shall we, in face of it all, quibble about form of organization?

I hope that the delegates will not consider this substitute motion as a vote on the question of industrial unionism or craft unionism. Personally, I believe that there is a place for the two forms of organization. I believe that in some industries the craft form of organization is the most effective form, and it is our responsibility to give labor the most effective organization.

But here is an industry that controls the destinies of the workers. They have a power that is most brutal, with methods most unscrupulous. It is a sweated industry. Work is not being done in the basements or at nights, so the workers can even better see the prosecution, the persecution and the exploitation that is imposed upon them by this arrogant industry.

You know as well I know that the contest today in this country is not between communism and democracy. I believe that any of our organizations can properly take care of disturbing elements. The danger we face is in the kind of industrial control, that is in all but the form Fascism. It is unfortunate for the countries now under the control of dictators that they did not take seriously the threat of fascism and nazism

early enough. This reckless combination of capital will, when they believe it will serve their purpose, bring fascism right in here.

We have heard the stories about Germany, and I suppose a few years ago some people over there in Germany, were saying that nazism was dangerous only to the communists, that it was only aimed at the Jews, and who cares about them! As a member of the Labor Chest I have read the names, as you have heard them read here, of members of trade unions, officials of trade unions, shot at, tortured, killed, and I say to you that we here have a responsibility to hit at it right now—and that cannot be done by resolutions, not even if this convention should pass a Labor Party resolution—and I am not speaking against it, delegates—this power can only be opposed by power, and there is no real power but the power of organized labor.

Let us forget that we are voting on anything affecting general policies. Let us give these young men and old men an opportunity to organize in an industry where sacrifices will have to be made to bring the workers within the fold of organization. Let us forget how many potential members we may have under one jurisdiction or another. I hope that the delegates will, by their action, give encouragement to the most exploited workers in our industrial system. Let us send them back saying, "Go ahead, do everything in your power; we are back of you."

Speaking, not officially, for the organization whom I have the honor to represent, I know that we will give them our backing to the utmost of our capacity. Our record is, that in the great general strike conducted in 1919 in the steel industry, though we were still outside of the American Federation of Labor and while a number of people carried their own prejudice against us, our organization sent a check for \$100,000.00 to Secretary Morrison to help the workers on strike.

I believe that this convention should as well, take up the challenge thrown not only at labor, but against the whole Roosevelt administration by the Hooverites and those who have forgotten nothing, learned nothing, and are ready to crucify their country upon the cross of their selfishness. I believe that if the labor movement will pick up the

challenge, that arrogant leadership will be defeated in the very near future. I hope the delegates will vote for the substitute.

Delegate Horn, Blacksmith, Drop Forgers and Helpers: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—There has been a lot said here this morning and I am not going to try to detain you another hour. I happen to be chief executive of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers, and Helpers. I don't differ with what I have heard said about a lot of men working a little while at that, a little while at this and a little while at something else, that you could not place in any organization. I don't think there is any man in this convention but knows that a drop forger is a drop forger, and nothing else. He does nothing all day long except make forging, just the same as a bricklayer might lay bricks. He is clearly and distinctly a craftsman.

I have heard remarks made here as to what had been done. Well, I will tell you what we did for the drop forgers after the NRA came into being—and we took an active part in assisting to bring it into life. When the code hearings were held in Washington, D. C., on the drop forging industry our international organization sent its representative down there with a practical defense of the drop forging crafts, and it was through the intercession on our part that we were able to have greatly changed the drop forging code which had been presented by the Drop Forge Institute of America. Our efforts in behalf of the drop forgers made it possible for them to do much work under vastly better conditions than they would be working under today if we had not gone down to Washington and looked after their interests. I make that statement because in our judgment, based on the years of experience we have had, the first thing we should do before we organize men is to do something to help them. Since that time we have organized a lot of drop forgers. Most of them have been with our organization for two years. They must be fairly well satisfied, otherwise we would not still have them. I recognize the fact, just as well as anyone here, that you cannot force a man to stay some place where he does not want to stay. I had a few years' experience on the road as an organizer myself and no one recognizes more clearly than

I do, and I will include in that practically everybody else, both in and out of the labor movement, that there must be something done to make it possible for men to organize these large industries without being fired the next morning. The fact that we have a lot of new delegates to this convention is proof that that was at least partially successful. We are working under an agreement with our organization right now with one large automobile company. We secured several increases of pay for them and we are going to negotiate another increase for them.

I want to call your attention to the danger of a resolution or request to take in everybody making parts. When we met the officers of the American Drop Forge Institute, Frank Morrison sent a copy of the defense we presented in behalf of our men. We found them very well organized and we tried to come to an agreement with them where we could sit down around a conference table with them, the same as we have done with a great many other industries. They were lukewarm on it at first. They gave us some encouragement but we could not agree on it among ourselves. Then we went out to organize the drop forgers throughout the country to the best of our ability. We have not organized all of them and by the time we come back to the next convention we will not have organized all of them. Incidentally, with all due consideration for those who believe firmly in what you can do in an industrial organization, which I am not wholly opposed to—I remember at one time in my life when I was a young boy I joined one of them and I walked out with the boys and it went to the graveyard, as was mentioned here the other day. I hope this one won't go there and I want to assure you that our organization can and will co-operate with any legitimate body of organized men on earth.

I don't agree with the statement that where there is one or more organizations in a plant that those organizations cannot co-operate together in a manner that will properly protect the interests of all the men in that plant. I know sometimes it is necessary to walk out quickly, and if you have any boys who will walk out quicker than ours when they make up their minds, then

I take off my hat to you. But we have learned from experience that after all, that is not the practical way of settling grievances. I notice the largest organization of the American Federation of Labor seems to think along that line and by deferring action it might be possible to get a settlement. Through this policy we have been able to enter into satisfactory agreements later on and we have gained something for the interests of those we represent without causing them to have to sacrifice their time or in many instances their jobs, and in many other instances their homes or lives.

It might be well for you to go back to the year 1922 when 400,000 craftsmen on the railroads of America walked out on strike, and while we took an awful jolt we are still having independence in our organizations. While it is a fact that through the action of the Government of the United States and Federal judges our organization was broken up, we again went before Congress in a practical manner and got legislation passed that protected those men that we knew did not want to be forced the rest of their lives to maintain membership in a damnable company union. As a result of that practical action on the part of our organizations, we are training up those fellows all over the country. Sooner or later those boys will come back home where they want to be and where they properly belong, and by the time of the next convention of the American Federation of Labor we will be able to tell you that there is not an American railroad that has a company union on it.

You might say, what has that to do with the drop forging industry. I will tell you later on. We had the same experience that you boys are having. We were canned every time we organized. When I lived in the city of St. Louis I had so many jobs one summer that I did not know which way to go when I started out in the morning. We have gone through all of that, and when we tell you that we have sat down at the conference table and negotiated an agreement covering the wages of every employee covering every description on American railroads, it is something at least well worth considering, as to what can be done in other industries. I am one of the

23 men who took part in that conference, and at one time during the conference term we were facing what might be termed the friendly enemies, railroads that had company unions in the shop crafts but which recognized the fact that we were there to represent them. I asked one railroad president this question: "Who represents the members of my craft on your road, you or me?" He said, "You represent them, but I've got them." I said, "We are agreed on that. I am here to represent them, whether they are organized or unorganized or in a company union." He said, "All right, when you get them come over and talk to me." And I have been over and talked to him a long time ago.

I don't want any man here to think that I am standing in the road of progress but I want you to bear this in mind—the men who sent you down here as their representatives, the men who selected me as their chief representative did exactly the same thing. I take orders from the members of our organization. I don't make the laws, I administer them to the best of my ability, and I extend a cordial invitation to any and all of you sometime in your travels to come into our general office which we own ourselves at 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, and sit down and talk matters over with us. You will find we are not men who stand in the road of honest organization or honest efforts on the part of any one, but you will find that as long as we are honored by our men and placed in official positions, with the help of God we will do all we can to carry out our obligations and to protect the men we know ought to belong to our organization.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, it may be well before a vote is taken that there be a better understanding of what the question is, and the record will indicate that this convention is not endeavoring to take any advantage or work against the interests of the union whose welfare is being discussed.

Now this is what the resolution requests: "That every man employed in the industry shall be a member of the automobile industry." Now as a simple matter of fact, this convention has given no consideration at all to what the automobile industry is, as it

affects us. Of course it is the manufacture of automobiles and some manufacturers make more of the automobile in their plant than others do. Some manufacturers buy a large part of the material going into the automobile assembled in their plant in different types of plants all over the country. They buy castings from jobbing foundries where a large number of moulders are employed upon jobbing work. In the case of accessories for automobiles some of them are made by the automobile manufacturers, many of them are made in private corporations and firms where the majority of men are employed upon other articles sold by the employer.

If this resolution was adopted it would apparently give jurisdiction to the automobile workers over all of the workers employed in all of the plants who were not engaged in the automobile industry except insofar as part of their product went into automobiles.

In the automobile industry at least some one of the largest corporations do much more than any of the others. They are manufacturing their own glass, they are manufacturing their own steel, they have their own coal mines, working for the specific purpose of that particular automobile company. It seems to me very clear that if this convention should give jurisdiction to this Automobile Workers Union over all men employed in the industry, without defining what that industry is, you would be giving them jurisdiction over all of the coal miners employed by the Henry Ford Company, that you would be giving them jurisdiction over all of the iron and steel workers employed in the plants. I have no belief that that is what the Automobile Workers desire. I am convinced that this convention could not agree to it, but before a vote is taken it seemed to me there should be a recognition of the fact that it is not a simple question, that we cannot decide just now what exactly the automobile industry is.

At the present time the Automobile Workers have a national charter and that covers the workers in the large plants where much of the work in connection with automobiles is being done, where all of the assembling is taking place. But if this charter should be granted as requested, you

would then give jurisdiction to this union over coal miners, over iron and steel workers—and to have you understand how impossible it is—over railroad workers on railroads owned by the automobile manufacturer who uses the railroad in connection with his automobile business. That cannot be untangled here, and so the report of the committee.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: During the speech of Brother Martel he referred to Father Coughlin by name. I want to make a motion that the matter where Father Coughlin is referred to by name be expunged from the record.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I object to that motion. What I said about Father Coughlin I am standing on and I am prepared to prove it. If anybody here wants to take up the cudgel I will meet him any time. It is in there and it should stay there.

Delegate Connors: I did not rise to make that motion for any particular purpose, but I do not believe it is going to do us any good here. We are on record in this convention as I understand it for free press, free speech and free assembly and things of that kind. Father Coughlin is not here to defend himself and I don't think we ought to take advantage of that.

Vice-President Woll: I shall not take up any time of the convention other than to direct your attention to the fact that our committee has a resolution on Father Coughlin and this motion certainly cannot stop us from bringing in that report and discussing the matter. I do hope that the gentleman may withdraw the motion and let us proceed without interruption.

Delegate Connors: In order to expedite matters and not take up the time of the convention I will withdraw the motion.

A large number of delegates called for the question.

President Green: Are you ready to vote? Does a sufficient number desire the question? Hold up your hands. It is the opinion of the Chair that a sufficient number desires that the question be put, but before putting the question may the Chair just be privileged to say that we have endeavored to do

all that lies within our power to organize the automobile industry. The fact that they are here is evidence that we have carried out our mission. There are 180 Federal labor unions. When the strike was threatened, the American Federation of Labor brought the automobile workers into Washington and into the White House, into a conference with the President. They elected their own member on the Automobile Labor Board. He was elected in democratic fashion. They elected a traitor, but they elected him and he proved to be a traitor. Now that is no fault of ours. We have done all we could. We know that it is our desire to continue that if you will just be patient and work with us.

Now, my friends, there is an appeal taken by the Automobile Workers to the Executive Council upon this question and upon the question of administration during a probationary period. That appeal will be considered by the Executive Council at a meeting that will be held tomorrow afternoon. We don't want to continue that probationary period any longer than seems necessary, and if we can have discretion to deal with the matter we will deal with it effectively.

Now the question recurs upon the substitute offered by Delegate Shipley. Perhaps it would be better to hear the substitute read.

Delegate Shipley: I offer as a substitute to the report of the committee that complete jurisdiction be given the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America over all employees in or around the plants engaged in the manufacture of automotive parts or the assembly of such, into the complete automobile.

The motion to adopt the substitute was lost by a vote of 104 in favor to 125 against.

President Green: The substitute motion is lost. The question now recurs upon the motion to adopt the committee's report.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to make a privileged motion, at least I hope it is such. I move you, sir, that since the hour of adjournment is long passed, the rules be suspended

and we remain in continuous session until final adjournment.

The motion was not seconded.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Immediately after the adjournment of this morning's session there will be a final meeting of the Committee on Law to complete our report.

President Green: What does the convention desire to do now?

Delegate Gorman, Textile Workers: May I ask for a point of information from the Chair and the officers of the Resolutions Committee? Is the Labor Party resolution coming up the first thing this afternoon?

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: No, Mr. Chairman, there is one more

resolution on the same general group on which the committee has been reporting and on which no report has yet been made. It is the desire of the committee that all these resolutions should follow each other in the report for the convenience of those who want to study them.

President Green: There is another resolution, Delegate Gorman, and after that the Labor Party resolution will come up.

Is there any objection to the convention recessing until three o'clock? There appears to be none, and it is so ordered.

At 1:40 o'clock P. M. the convention recessed to three o'clock P. M. of the same day.

ELEVENTH DAY—Saturday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3:00 o'clock by President Green.

ABSENTEES SATURDAY AFTERNOON

Albano, Alter, Bamford, Baron, Barr, Beedie, Bellows, Bender, Billet, Borchardt, Bradley, Breidenbach, Burke, J., Burns, T. E., Braginski, Brown, Biel, Burch, Booth, Cahir, Campfield, Creed, Crother, Campbell, J. C., Dahlager, Dallas, Dance, Danz, David, Davis, Elmer, Davis, O. E., Dellums, De-witt, Doane, Dougherty, Downie, Draper, Eardley, Egan, B. M., Egan, J. J., Fearn, Fine, Flynn, Al., Fritz, Fulford, Gerhart, Gormley, Grois, Haley, Hanoway, Heimbach, Henderson, Hirschberg, Hollopeter, Horan, Howat, Hynes, Wm. J., Hein, Iglesias, Jeffries, Joblon, Kaiser, Katz, LaBelle, Law-son, J. C., LeBow, Lee, Lenehan Lovell, Lowry, Lufrano, Lyding, McAloon, McCabe, McCarthy, M. L., McCloskey, McGuck, Mack, Malkovich, Maney, Marek, Marzacca, Mas-succi, Matchley, Mayer, Meany, Merritt, Michelson, Mitch, Mitchell, A., Mitchell, H., Mornlingstar, Musgrove, Masucci, Mortimer, Nadelhoffer, Nafe, Nelson, Nicholson, Ocker, Osborne, Owens, O'Leary, Palmer Passage, Pavana, Pickler, Poe, Ralsse, Rand, Ravitch, Regan, Reinhart, Richardson, Riley, Ros-quist, Ross, Rundie, Ryan, J. A., Russell, Sager, Saitus, Sanders, Scallise, Serra, Shaklette, Scully, Shave, Sigman, Slick, Slout, Soutter, Stein, Sticht, H., Swetland, Taylor, C. S., Taylor, J. C., Tighe, Turner, Vaerenwyck, Wade, Walsh, Weinberg, Welzenecker, White, Williams, L., Wise, Wood, Woodmansee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLU- TIONS

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

NATIONAL CHARTER FOR RADIO WORKERS

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate C. H. Schillinger, Radio and Television Workers, Federal Labor Union, Local No. 18368, Philadelphia, Pa.

WHEREAS, Article IX, of Section 2, of the American Federation of Labor Constitu-tion, reads:

"The Executive Council of the Ameri-can Federation of Labor shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions and connect them with the American Federation of Labor, until such time as

there is a sufficient number to form a national or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the American Federation of Labor to see that such organization is formed"; and

WHEREAS, The previous action delegated to the Executive Council at the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention at San Francisco, to meet a new condition in the organization, formation and issuing of International charters to Federal Labor Unions in any given mass production industry, has not been done in the Radio Industry; and

WHEREAS, The National Radio and Allied Trades, composed of Federal Labor Unions in the Radio Industry who have been members in good standing for nearly three years and who were organized into a National Council under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor in 1934, have repeatedly since January 24, 1934, applied to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a National charter which has not been issued to the National Radio and Allied Trades; and

WHEREAS, During this period many non-affiliated unions have been formed and in many cases, have retarded the progress of organizing the wage earners in this industry into affiliated American Federation of Labor unions; and

WHEREAS, The workers' weekly earnings vary sharply in the entire industry and with a national organization, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, it is possible that uniform rates of pay, better working conditions and reductions in hours of labor can be established; and

WHEREAS, Many strongly organized unions are being retarded in their efforts to secure further gains because of the lower wage levels and greater number of hours worked by other organized groups in this highly competitive industry; and

WHEREAS, No concerted organization plan is being carried on in this industry and it is evident that organizing activities can only produce maximum results when there is proper co-ordination among the unions of the industry and closer unity is essential to the end that the workers in the Radio In-dustry and allied groups may proceed to the task of forming a complete organization of their industry; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That this assembled Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federa-tion of Labor direct the President of the American Federation of Labor to call a convention of delegates from all Federal Labor Unions in the Radio Industry and install a National Union charter in accord-ance with Article IX, Section 2, of the Con-

stitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Carey, National Radio and Allied Trades: I would like at this time to take time to give you a history of this case. I have the pleasure of being the president of the largest organization of its type in the country affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which has a membership of 7,457 members, all working. We realized the necessity of organizing the industry in order to protect the gains we have made in our own local organization, and so in 1933, in a convention of delegates of various Federal labor unions in the industry formed an organization for the purpose of assisting each other, the strong to assist the weak, and I think to exchange ideas and methods of getting signed agreements.

We have tried the campaign of organization; we received the co-operation and assistance of the American Federation of Labor. Up to this time we have made several exceptionally good gains so far as labor organization goes. We have no difficulty in regard to jurisdiction in our large organization, but in any attempt to organize the industry in other plants we have met with opposition.

I will read you some excerpts from letters I received showing the position taken by local unions during an organization campaign.

"I desire to say that the application was received, the matter taken up with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and they claimed jurisdiction over these workers. Therefore the fee forwarded with the application was returned to Mr. C. L. Minser, 916 Cleveland Avenue, Elkhart, Indiana. In fact, they received the application twice, in the first instance on March 13th, with \$15.00, and the second on March 28th with \$20.00."

"I desire to advise that under date of November 15th I returned the check for \$22.00 to you with a statement of the history of the case and requesting that the money be returned to the applicant. I am

inclosing copy of my letter of November 15th to you for your information."

"If allowed to remain free lance too long fear the enthusiasm of the workers may cool with a resultant loss to the movement in general."

That is signed J. E. Taylor and is from an organizer's report for the month of May 15.

Here is another that was received in Chicago in September: "This is to advise you that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers claim jurisdiction over these employees. I am therefore returning the fee forwarded with the application, with the request that you return it to the applicant. Inclosed find check for \$22.00, the amount forwarded with the application. I asked you under date of August 3d to authorize me to send the \$22.00 to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers for a charter from them. Inasmuch as I have not received a reply from you I desire to close this application from our books."

Here is another one from the Elkhart Central Labor Union: "We have a group of men who wish to organize here in Elkhart who work in a plant that manufactures various parts for radios. These men are working as bridge operators who check the resistance element for radio volume control. When the code was made it was thought that they should be put under a radio manufacturers code; then it was decided to place them under the code covering electrical manufacturing."

This group I had the pleasure of addressing, and tried to encourage them to form an organization and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. I addressed 250 men, all anxious to join this labor movement, and still they are not members of the American Federation of Labor, due to jurisdiction, and they are not affiliated with any of the international organizations.

Here is another communication. These are a few of the communications we have in our possession. We did not know what the attitude of this group would be in regard to our charter. Let us look into the record and see the type of people that are trying to chisel their way into the American Federation of Labor. One group I happen to be president of have a contract in existence with their management. The con-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

tract calls for sixty-one items. I will read a few of them:

"That the plants of the employers above mentioned shall be union shops.

"That all wage earners in the above mentioned plants, regardless of position shall be members of the union.

"That all new members shall be obliged to become members of the union within two weeks of the date of their employment and shall be so advised at the time of employment.

"That no employe be eligible to work after the 15th of any month unless he or she has paid union dues for that month.

"The working week for processing operations shall be from Monday to Friday, inclusive, 36 hours per week, seven hours per shift and four days and eight hours per shift any one day.

"Overtime and Saturday shall be paid at the rate of time and a half.

"The employers shall not permit any work be performed before, after or during working hours unless employes receive compensation for such work.

"That when re-hiring takes place former employes shall be re-hired in the reverse order in which they were laid off.

"That when the employers claim that the union help for any particular job has been exhausted, the union president shall be notified immediately to see if the claim is justified.

"The shop steward shall be notified of all proposed dismissals for cause.

"That the union shall reserve the right to question and investigate any dismissal for cause and where such cause is not justified, the dismissed member shall be reinstated and paid for all time lost at regular rate of pay where the findings warrant this."

These are a few of the sixty-one items we have incorporated in our union shop agreement. I doubt if there is a union in the mass production industry today that can compare with this.

We have heard several remarks here concerning the type of organization I represent. I heard that one delegate said we were parasites. They expect organized labor to do everything for those groups, and yet they do not care to give anything in return. We will send a check for \$3,279.35 to Washington to the American Federation of Labor this month for one local organization. Compare that with the voting strength of national and international organizations in regard to per capita tax paid, and we would have one and one-half times the voting strength of the second largest organization

sitting here. We have forty-six Federal unions. We will show you that we can maintain a national organization that this Federation will be proud of, one that will shorten the hours of labor and increase the pay of workers in our industry.

In the Philco Radio plant they have several buildings that have recently been completed. It was through the influence of the Federal unions that the building trades were called in to negotiate an agreement that called for all new work in any of the plants of the employers of this big Federal union being built by union labor. The engineers in that plant were not formerly organized. Now they are organized.

Recently we had a controversy in Philadelphia regarding the interpretation of an agreement. The representative of the Department of Labor was called in. The company took the stand that they did not feel a majority of the employes favored the union. The union decided to call a labor holiday. The company said if an attempt was made to stop employes coming into the plant the agreement would be void. We agreed there would be no picketing and no demonstration, but we declared the labor holiday. Out of over 7,000 people less than five showed any intention to go to the plant. It was a marvelous piece of organization. These five I speak of were brought before our meeting on charges. The charges were that they were guilty of actions unbecoming a union member. We have stood by other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor time after time. We feel that is our duty and we will continue to do it.

The reason we do not have a national charter at this time is that we have appeared time after time before the Executive Council. Our first appearance was in 1934. We received a letter from President Green which reads as follows, or in part as follows:

"The Executive Council directed that the President of the American Federation of Labor bring about the consolidation of local unions of radio workers now established; that full recognition be accorded to the National Radio and Allied Trades created at the Buffalo conference; that efforts be put forth to organize the unorganized radio workers and to coordinate and develop uniform wage standards and working conditions.

"I hope you will accept this decision of the Executive Council, and I trust that the opportunity will be accorded me in the near future to hold a conference with the members of the National Radio and Allied Trades for the purpose of giving further consideration to your common problems."

We realize that we cannot get charters, and the condition will not change; in fact, I don't believe we will be able to maintain the gains we have made. We are told we cannot get the charter until the industry is fully organized. That is why we want the charter—to fully organize the industry. We have had several strikes in various cities, and of course we have jurisdiction battles, that is, we have discussions and we try to arrange a harmonious basis of settlement, but we were not successful in every case. In some cases it harmed our organizations and in a couple of cases absolutely destroyed them.

I will not hold it against international organizations if some local officials will not co-operate with us. I would like to read a small portion of Chester Wright's labor letter of April 6th. This portion of the letter is under the caption "Radio Trouble," and is as follows:

"**RADIO TROUBLE:**—The Crosley (radios and refrigerators) strike in Cincinnati probably will be concluded *successfully* for the new federal labor union in that industry. Careful planning and management. Negotiations handled well. A *pleasing* contrast to some unions which have *disregarded* advice of seasoned labor organizers and have acted *hastily* and *childishly*."

"Developments in some of these federal labor unions are worth watching. Radio industry organization began a year and a half ago in Philco plant in Philadelphia. Company has had one of the most successful years, has benefited from labor *co-operation*, has made excellent profits in spite of *increased wages*. *Responsibility implied for raising other radio plants to similar wage standard* was recognized by union. (A fair trade practice fundamental. Usually enforced by labor with better results for industry.) Other company's plants have been organized. Organization work is nation-wide. *Skilled mechanics* are concentrated in this type of industries. Organization not too difficult. *Stability* under union contracts has pleased both workers and employers, any reports."

I would like to advise this convention that we are anxious to complete our organization work that we started quite some time ago. We have been stopped and hin-

dered tremendously; in fact, I will advise you that we cannot continue on the basis we have been working. We would organize a group and apply for a charter, but it would not be granted. Then the officers would lose their jobs. Time after time people have been fired from their jobs. We cannot go on in this manner. In one plant we had 230 people discharged from their work because they attended a meeting.

We have tried almost every plan. In a group in Cincinnati we organized a Federal labor union. The machinists claimed jurisdiction over about forty-five of the 200 people we had at that time. They were turned over to this union. It is a difficult proposition for the two groups to work together. It seems every international officer I have met has instructed his organizers to disregard the Federal union. I was born in a union, my education has always been that way and I felt it when we had no place in the international organization.

It happens we had a business agent of the electrical workers go through the entire Philco plant. He advised us that those people did not belong to his organization. We got to work and organized them and then the international organization claimed them. Time after time we have been told that these men did not come under certain organizations, but they claimed them later on. In some cases five international unions can claim jurisdiction over one particular worker. You cannot form an organization on an efficient basis by the methods you have been using.

The Committee on Resolutions said something about the fact that we would naturally take in everything in the radio industry. We haven't gone to the Metal Trades Department to settle many of our problems. It is possible we may have to do that in the future. The employees of radio plants should come under the jurisdiction of our organization. We have the actual number that work in that industry that do various types of work, but there will be no great problem of jurisdiction.

We are going to have difficulty in maintaining the gains we have made. In a communication sent out by the National Radio Manufacturers' Association there are some interesting statistics. Before reading

I will say that during the codes and NRA we were not fighting about the pay these workers should receive, but we did fight about the hours they worked knowing it we could reduce hours it would automatically increase the wages. We fought for a 30-hour week, and then attempted a 35-hour week. We received a 36-hour week and even that is in jeopardy at this time. I will quote from the report I mentioned:

"NRA recognizes the unfairness of the hours stipulated in the code for our industry, but for various reasons an extension to 40 hours a week was never consummated. It is believed, however, that if conditions make it advisable for you to operate on a 40-hour week schedule, you do so but only on condition that you do not decrease the number of your employees."

In other words, the National Electrical Manufacturers' Association definitely instructed their members to increase the hours of labor from 36 to 40 and so caused us a few labor controversies. We had one of nine weeks, successfully fought by the Federal labor union during which they received benefits from the American Federation of Labor. These people work in a seasonal occupation and they do not have strike benefits from their locals, but the members pooled their resources and established themselves in strike headquarters and served three meals a day. We scratched around and managed to pay their rent. Phelps-Dodge Corporation helped to write the electrical code, and they are the ones that gave us opposition to the 30-hour week.

In an organization campaign we must first settle the matter before the body of organized labor. We have evidence here that we cannot continue on the basis we have been. When we go before the management of the plant we have difficulty. They claim we ought to organize the rest of the industry. We are trying to do that. We can defeat the management, we can defeat the Communists or anything else, but the opposition given us by organized labor. It is pretty hard to fight that.

Our application for a national charter was placed before the Executive Council in January, 1934. At that time I attended a meeting of the international and national presidents. At that time a committee of

the Executive Council made a report which said in part, "Contrary to the common belief the American Federation of Labor does not wish to dictate the type of organizations that workers should belong to, but they should be organized under a type most suitable to their interests."

We hailed that committee's report, and then came the action taken by the convention in which they reported that mass production industries will be organized into industrial unions. Now our application is in, it is in your hands for disposal. There is one obstacle we cannot overcome. In Cincinnati we had a strike. We had the machinists group and the Federal labor union faction. There were a couple of hundred people out of a plant that has 3,800. The machinists went in and negotiated an agreement but were unsuccessful. They came out of the plant. The Federal labor union sent word to me and I advised them to get together with the machinists and both go in. They asked me to go there. I was asked by Secretary Morrison to go to Cincinnati and assist in the adjustment of that dispute. I called a meeting of the business representatives of the machinists and Federal labor union. We agreed on a joint agreement. That agreement was referred to the officers of the machinists for their approval. It came back with the answer that we were asking for too much. I advised them it was a collective bargaining agreement.

We had quite a bitter discussion in which the machinists' representative stated that without the machinists' work the radio chassis could not be made. I said "that is so, but if you do not have the other parts on the chassis you would have no music." The machinists demanded that their name be put first. That, of course, was agreed to in the final joint agreement.

A meeting was called with the management, the Crosley Corporation. We had the chairman of the machinists there. He happened to be the chairman of the company union in that plant, and still is. They have two company unions in that plant. When it appeared that we would get control over one company union they formed a dual company union. The name of that man is Ralph Mupkke. We tried to secure per-

mission from the machinists to straighten that out. They advised me that they were going to carry on the way they had been until the Federal labor union was entirely destroyed. But we got harmony and we have negotiated the agreement.

We sat down with Mr. Crosley and told him it would be to his interest to sign that agreement. He stated that he was going to take it to other members of their corporation. I asked if there was anything in the agreement that appeared to them could not be met and he said there was not. He said, however, that he would like further time to consider it. We agreed they would have eight days to consider it. I advised the group that I was going to leave Cincinnati and return within that period of eight days and they would meet with the management.

In the first meeting they had with the management the machinists stood up before Louis Crosley and said, "Our organization is widening its demands." Of course that was the first item. When we saw we could not get together ourselves the management said it was not necessary to sign the agreement. That was in October, 1934. I had occasion to speak before the Central Labor Union of that city and advised them it might be necessary to take that action. They said the Crosley plant was a sore eye in that community with regard to the wages and hours. On the 22nd of March the strike was called. It lasted ten days. The plant was open for two days. At the end of that time they closed the plant, with 200 members in the plant where 3,800 people were employed. I am sorry to say the machinists worked during the time the plant was open. They said they could not strike without the consent of the international union of machinists.

Those problems are hard to meet. The questions we have are far more difficult to answer than the questions the international president has asked from us. We can match anything that has been done by any of the internationals, because we have their experience to go by. We planned a movement to secure a 100 per cent organization. I would like to speak at length on some of the other organizations. The Federal labor union in Marion, Indiana, was organized by the Brotherhood of

Electrical Workers on January 8, 1934.

President Green: I know we are all very patient and the story you are telling about collective bargaining is very interesting, but the convention is nearing the time when it must close. The matter before the convention is the committee's report. The committee recommends that your case be referred to the Executive Council. Please confine yourself to that subject. The question before the house is the application for a charter and the committee recommends that that matter be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

Delegate Carey: That Federal labor union organized under the electrical workers asked that group to turn in their charter in August and apply for a Federal charter. That shows the national and international form of organization is not suitable for the mass production industries.

It will take considerable time if this is referred to the Executive Council. To give an indication of why we are so anxious to organize our industry and maintain the gains we have made I will read some sections of a report of the Radio Manufacturers Association:

"For the month ending May 15, 1935, forty-nine radio and phonograph establishments reported employment of 28,523 employees, compared with 30,499 employees reported by forty-eight companies during the previous month. No wage increases or decreases were reported during May.

"Radio payrolls during May, 1935, decreased 5.1 per cent from April 1935, and were 9.7 below May, 1934.

"Per capita weekly earnings in radio factories reported in May, 1935, however, were \$19.13, compared with \$18.63 during April, 1935, an increase of 3 per cent over the past month and 8.3 per cent above per capita weekly earnings of May, 1934.

"Average hours worked per week during May, 1935, were 33.7 hours, an increase of 2.4 per cent over the previous month, and 2.2 per cent over May, 1934."

Another indication that the average weekly wage in the industry is going up, yet we have figures to show the unorganized groups are going down rapidly. We are not going to give any of the gains we have made to any companies we have contracts with. We have eleven companies under contract with our little group of Federal trade unions.

Delegate Tracy, Electrical Workers: I am not going to burden you with any detailed report of what the electrical workers have done in the last few years to organize men throughout the country. I am not going to burden you either with the success we might have met with in organizing the electrical workers throughout the United States. I have listened very attentively to the very fine report made by Delegate Carey of the Philco Radio plant, and I congratulate him on his efforts in behalf of the men in that plant, but the electrical workers never interfered with his efforts in that plant.

The President of this American Federation of Labor knows what we conceded at that particular plant and we never interfered with Carey or his efforts in other plants, but we did protect our jurisdiction when he attempted to trespass upon it and went into plants other than the plant he got authorization from the American Federation of Labor to go into. He hasn't made any recommendation. The committee's report is the logical one, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers will be glad to sit down with Delegate Carey and a committee before the Executive Council and attempt to work it out. Give us an opportunity to go before the Council with the representatives of the Radio Federal labor union; give us an opportunity to see if we cannot reach some common ground for the settlement of this controversy.

Brother Carey is aware of the fact of what the electrical workers have done to meet a situation that confronted us. He is fully advised of the referendum that was sent out and of the amendment to our laws that was passed to meet this situation. A short time before coming to this convention he was in our office and the matter was discussed fully. I hope he will come back again and discuss it with us.

I hope the report of the committee will be carried and that we may have an opportunity to meet them.

Delegate Carey: I don't think I said we had any jurisdiction troubles with the electrical workers at Philco. We had at other plants. Where we were left alone we made splendid progress. Where we had jurisdiction we met with general success. The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers took a referendum vote to find if they wanted to take in radio workers.

A number of delegates called for the question.

President Green: It seems there is a general agreement that the matter should go to the Executive Council for conference, investigation and final settlement. The question has been called for.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Frey: Before submitting this report to the convention you should know that the committee still has 83 resolutions to report on. Some of these are grouped, but it will necessitate at least 65 separate reports for the convention to pass upon.

Your committee had before it that portion of the Executive Council's report relative to non-partisan political policy. It also had before it 13 resolutions calling for the organization of a Labor Party. Your committee is reporting upon the 13 resolutions and the Executive Council's report. May I add that the action of the committee in preparing its report was unanimous.

LABOR PARTY

Your committee had referred to it Resolutions Nos. 23, 35, 39, 83, 90, 101, 128, 132, 135, 136, 186, 213, 221.

All of these resolutions with the exception of Resolution No. 83 introduced by the delegates of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and Resolution No. 135 introduced by the delegates of the United Textile Workers of America, call for the organizing of a labor party.

Resolution No. 83 calls for instructions to the Executive Council to study the subject of independent labor political action with the view of taking the initiative in the formation of a labor party.

Resolution No. 135 by the United Textile Workers of America delegation, calls for instructions to the President of the American Federation of Labor within three months after the close of this convention to communicate with affiliated unions recommending the formation of state labor parties, and further would instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor within one year to call a national congress of state labor parties to determine whether to launch a national labor party.

In connection with these resolutions your committee directs attention to the report of the Executive Council upon the non-partisan political policy in which trade union membership is urged to go to the polls and vote for labor's friends, those whom they know will support labor and its policies. This report of the Executive Council supports the frequent declarations of conventions of the American Federation of Labor upon the long established non-partisan political policy.

Your committee is in accord with the report of the Executive Council, and therefore recommends nonconcurrence with the resolutions, and approval of the Executive Council's report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Nagler, Ladies Garment Workers: Mr. President and delegates of this convention: Many issues have been discussed on the floor of this convention within the past two weeks which are of great importance. I consider the subject matter before the house at this time is a great principle for the American Labor movement, and it is of vital concern to the American Laboring masses. I realize, Mr. President, the intensity that exists at present among the delegates. The time is short, limited, and therefore I would ask you fellow delegates for your indulgence and to be patient and bear with me for a few moments.

In listening to the report of the Committee on Resolutions, I feel that the committee has made an error, and passed up a great opportunity, in failing to recommend favorably Resolution Number 88, as proposed by the delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. What does this resolution say?

It reads: "Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in 55th convention assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, instruct the Executive Council to study the subject of independent labor political action, with the view of taking the initiative in the formation of such a labor party."

The President of the American Federation of Labor has stated on numerous occasions that when the minds of the workers are crystallized sufficiently on the subject, we shall not hesitate to change our present

policy. Let me quote from our President's opening address to this convention:

"There are some in our ranks who believe that the American Federation of Labor should declare in favor of independent political action, that we ought to favor the adoption of an independent political labor party. Well, my friends, the American Federation of Labor will, in my judgment, declare itself in favor of an independent political party, *when the crystallized opinion of the workers* indicates that they believe their interest can better be served through such action, rather than through the pursuit of a non-partisan political policy, but, when that matter is decided, it will be decided because a majority opinion of the workers believe that the time has come to take such action."

Let it be clear from the outset that the American Federation of Labor is not tied hand and foot to the non-partisan policy. As a matter of fact, there is an ever-increasing number of international unions, state federations of labor and local bodies which are going on record for a labor party. My friends, there is an upsurge, there is an aroused interest on the part of the trade unions affiliated to this Federation. And that explains the first part of our resolution. We request that the Executive Council be instructed to study the subject of independent labor political action today. We did not and do not attempt to commit this Federation of Labor without study and due deliberation. We ask that the Executive Council study the situation and then take action. Even this limited study, however, the Resolutions Committee refuses to endorse. This is a refusal to learn the facts. This is a refusal to ascertain the reasons why there is this growing interest in a labor party among our constituent bodies.

If you will pardon a personal reference, I have never been affiliated with any political party. I have adhered to the policy of the American Federation of Labor, of rewarding friends and defeating enemies of labor. Now, in the city and state of New York, from which I come, it is a matter of record that I supported the election of Honorable Herbert Lehman as governor, a Democrat, and also his predecessor, the present President of the United States and the then governor of our state. I have

also advocated the election of our present mayor, F. H. LaGuardia, who is a Fusion-Republican. I have been truly non-partisan.

And yet, there are a great many, like myself, in all parts of the country, who are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the non-partisan policy. And this is on good hard, practical trade union and labor grounds. Gentlemen, there is no "ism" about me, except trade unionism. I am a practical trade unionist. I am one of a delegation of trade unionists who have fought on the economic field. If you will pardon the expression, we have delivered the goods to some extent at any rate. And I want to tell you that we are passing up a great opportunity, if we do not enter the political field as an independent labor force.

I want to emphasize this thing, therefore, before I go any further. I am not urging that we give up our trade unions, that we give up economic action and concentrate on independent political action alone. The organization, which I represent, stands for a labor party. But no delegate will deny that we have never hesitated to fight to the limit on the economic field. But there is this to be said. New times create new policies. We do not need to slacken our economic efforts one bit. And yet at the same time we can adopt a fundamental and broad program and educate the workers in it through a labor party. At a time like this labor needs political power as well as economic power. You will never have real political power, unless you seriously build a labor party, and above all, educate the workers and the people in the program of that labor party. You must educate the masses in the use of their political as well as economic strength. Otherwise you will never solve our great economic and political problems of today. And I emphasize *today*. I am not interested what took place in the past. That is buried for all time.

A majority of the delegates here may not adopt our resolution for even a study of the problem. But I know that things are in flux. The American Federation of Labor is undergoing tremendous changes these days, and so I am willing to wait. This body—as late as 1931—was opposed to unemployment insurance. Today it is on record in favor of government unem-

ployment insurance. Why did you change? Because some of us advocated this piece of labor legislation? No. It was because the entire economic structure of the nation had crumbled. It was because over ten millions were idle, and twenty millions were on relief. It was because industry could not any longer give work to these millions. Then, it was, that you declared for government unemployment insurance.

And so, today, some of you may be opposed to a labor party, to even a study of the problem. I am convinced, however, that if the present economic depression continues, if industry does not provide an American standard of living for the people, you will change on this proposition also and you will come out for a labor party. To refer back to the words of President Green, I wish to state that the present depression is the most powerful educator and crystallizer of the opinion of the workers for a labor party, independent of the two old parties who never had, do not have today, and never will have a solution of the depression in the interest of the people, the masses, and not the exploiters.

The solution of our economic ills today will not be made by any individual, no matter how exalted a position he holds. I said a little while ago that I supported the Honorable Herbert Lehman for governor of New York State. His excellency is in favor of the adoption of the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States. There is a Democratic legislature in the state. With all of the governor's power, however, he has not been able to force his own Democratic Party colleagues in the legislature to pass that child labor amendment.

I will gladly admit that this governor is in sympathy with some of the demands of labor. But, my friends, there are governors, Democratic governors in the North and South, and Republican governors as well, who have sent the militia into strikes and have broken these strikes. There are Democratic and Republican judges who have issued injunctions in strikes to help break these strikes. There are Democratic and Republican mayors who have used the police in strikes in an effort to break these strikes. It is this bi-partisan combination of the legislatures, the executives, and the

judiciary which are being used against labor and the masses. And in self-defense, in justified resentment against this combination, in a determination to secure justice, labor bodies are coming out for a labor party.

I said a moment ago that our economic ills will not be solved by any individual, no matter how high a political post he holds. I repeat that there are some old party leaders who have assisted in the passage of beneficial labor legislation. These times cry out for a great deal more. Labor and the great masses cannot and will not be satisfied with doles and charity. They want work, they want purchasing power, they want a decent American standard of living.

In every crucial test on this proposition, there is always a Johnny Raskob or an Owen D. Young in the Democratic Party, or an Andy Mellon in the Republican Party to call a halt. It is these bourbons of industry and finance who compel the President of the United States to declare a "breathing spell;" it is these men who compel Congress to knuckle under and become the servant, not of the suffering people, but of the exploiting industrialists and financiers.

More and more, labor will be put on the defensive. Less and less money will be given to the unemployed. I say to you, that the great American Federation of Labor, as the spokesman of labor and the masses, must answer the Youngs and the Mellons, must throw the challenge into the teeth of big business, and say: Labor will organize its political strength. It will not traffic with the agents of big business. Labor will not merely lobby for measures. Labor will put its own party into the field, with its own program, with its own candidates, financed and controlled in every respect by labor. Then and only then, will labor know who are its friends, and whom it can trust to the limit in these trying times. These occasions, such as exist today, demand independence, aggressiveness, and 100 per cent loyalty to labor and the masses.

From the most practical standpoint, let labor assert itself independently on the political field, and then the old parties will make greater concessions than they ever did. Let labor have its own party, and

there will be no "breathing spell," until every worker has a job, purchasing power, and a decent standard of life.

What has really caused the collapse of our industrial structure with its misery for the people? Every one here is aware that this collapse was caused primarily by the lack of balance between production and distribution. We have solved the problem of production. We produce enough and more to satisfy every one's normal needs in this country. This is then the difficulty: while production has made such tremendous gains, distribution has lagged. The purchasing power to buy these goods is not in the hands of the people. What is more, wealth is being more and more concentrated in the hands of the few. At a time like this, for example, with millions out of work, the owners of the industries are increasing the productive power of labor through the introduction of labor-saving devices and not putting on more labor.

Now, my friends, as long as the balance between production and distribution is not equalized, as long as the people are not given the purchasing power to buy the goods that are produced so abundantly, they *will not, they cannot, and they should not* remain quiet, contented and satisfied to be thrown a crumb by the two old parties, or their masters, the owners of industry and finance.

Labor must hammer out its own program to balance production and distribution. Labor must also organize its own party to put that program into effect, for the two old parties will never do it for labor and the masses. The issue cuts too deep. It threatens the greed and the power of the exploiters. And in a crisis the two old parties will never support labor and the masses in that kind of a fight-to-the-finish.

I have faith in the intelligence of the delegates of the American Federation of Labor to draft a program and to organize a labor party to put it into effect. We have built a splendid trade union movement. We can also build a successful labor party, all the doubting Thomases notwithstanding. We have never tried. These are new times anyway. They call for a study of the problem. All we have asked in this resolution of our organization is a study by the Executive Council. It is a serious neglect

of a great opportunity and the Committee on Resolutions refuses to see the needs of the people of this country for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

I know, however, that the delegates will respond, if not today, then in the very near future, just as you have responded on government unemployment insurance. I know that you will not rest content until you have found a solution of our economic ills. I close, Mr. President and delegates, confident that you will work out the program, and will launch a labor party to give the workers hope and courage to carry on in these dark days. I hope that you will vote against the committee's report.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Gorman.

Delegate Gorman, United Textile Workers: Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates. We know that we are placed on the hot spot here this afternoon. Problems have been settled, at least temporarily. The officers have been elected. We are one great, big happy family. A lot of the delegates have gone home. Many of those who supported this proposal and those who remain are impatient and weary. I believe, however, that this question is of sufficient importance to warrant the consideration of the convention. It is not our fault that we are placed in this position today. We would like to have had it over with days ago, but we were unable to get it out of the Resolutions Committee. I therefore ask your permission to place before you the reasons why the United Textile Workers of America support this resolution.

(Delegate Gorman then proceeded with the reading of his statement in support of his position.)

When Delegate Gorman had read from his statement for a period of ten minutes or more, Delegate Anderson, Plumbers, said:

"Mr. Chairman, a question of privilege. Don't you think it would be the right thing to do at this time if the gentleman would turn over his report to the Secretary and have it become a part of the record of this convention? The time is getting late and he is just reciting something that we can all read about at home.

President Green: Delegate Gorman has the floor. He has a paper here that he has submitted to the convention, and of course he has the right to submit it unless the convention desires otherwise.

Delegate Anderson: Then I move, Mr. Chairman, that Delegate Gorman submit his paper to the Secretary and that it become a part of the record instead of taking up the time of the convention.

President Green: That motion is not in order. We can apply the rules of the convention, but we can't do that.

Delegate Moore, Lathers: A question was raised just recently about the rules of the convention, I believe, on some of these questions that many of these unions are complaining about. We asked that privilege. Previous delegates who have spoken have taken up considerable time and as you look around the convention here you will find chair after chair empty. There were numerous resolutions before the convention, and many of the committees have not started to make any report. I would like to see that the rules of this convention be in order and let us proceed that way, so that many of the delegates here who have to go back to their bench or place of employment may be able to reach there Monday morning.

Delegate Gorman: Mr. Chairman, I can assure the convention that I am not going to take up much more of your time. However, I want to make this observation in passing, that those of us who presented this resolution, its supporters, are not important people. This is the first time that we have attempted to take the floor in this convention. It is not sufficient that we should submit a resolution. In our opinion we should defend that resolution. We believe we have done so.

I am willing to abide by the statement of the delegate who has just spoken. He is tired and so am I. I have been tired waiting for this report to come out. I am willing to file our papers for the record.

Delegate Gorman then filed with the Secretary the following statement:

The textile workers are not the only people who want a Labor Party; the textile workers are not the only group of men and women thoroughly disillusioned in the two old political parties. Workers in every

walk of life are moving spontaneously in this direction. Reports pour into the Washington office of the United Textile Workers, and have come in dozens to me here in Atlantic City, supporting our efforts at launching this movement, and telling us that the Labor Party is almost the sole topic of conversation in the communities from whence these reports come. And, fellow delegates, they do not come from one isolated section of the United States; on the contrary, they come from the East, where the party is already under way; from the Mid-West, fast becoming one of the strongholds of a militant labor movement, and from the strike-torn South, where live the Bourbons of industry, those proud and staunch supporters of "Democracy," whose hired thugs murder our people, whose conception of Democracy has long since departed from the hopes and aspirations of our forefathers—those industrial barons to whom, in fact, the word "Democracy" means not "Democracy" for the workers, or for the small bankrupt farmer, but the right of the financially mighty few to trample over the destitute majority. These Southern workers, long schooled in the bitter tradition of slavery, have been taught, sometimes by death, that under the iron rule of the Kings of Southern Democracy there can be no justice for the workers. These people, having learned their lesson, turn now to themselves—to the organized strength of the workers, for protection of the rights granted them in the Constitution by the founders of this country.

Let us be very practical here today. The stronghold of the Democratic party is in the South; the stronghold of the Republican party is in the North, and particularly in the Eastern part of the North (which section, in fact, is the supreme dictator for both parties). The Democratic South is under a Bourbon control that has not changed perceptibly since the war between the States. They do not even need company unions in the South. They need only hired thugs and state troops. Even the President of the United States, for all his prestige, finds his policies bucked in the "Solid South." There is no hope for change for reasons too well known to be stated right here.

Now—a year ago, during the general Textile strike, when I had the privilege of standing before you, I said that 16 of our textile workers had been killed and a score or two wounded. Most of those casualties occurred in the South. In the year that has passed violence against us has continued and within the past two months twenty of our members have been shot—one, a woman, fatally.

We are up against the guns. I ask those of you who may think we are impatient to remember that the interests of the textile workers are precisely the same as the interests of the miners, the teamsters, the oil workers, the electrical workers and every

other kind of worker. The textile workers, though, are the unfortunate possessors of one distinguishing characteristic—we are, with two or three exceptions, the lowest paid workers in the country. We are not only hungry, poorly clad, miserably housed and largely unemployed and destitute—we are up against the guns of the bosses, and the last guns were the newest type of Browning machine guns, bought for the scabs by the company.

We looked with what now seems to us to be naive faith, to the proponents of a New Deal—believing, I guess, that it meant a New Deal for labor, as well as a New Deal for industry. We have been sorely disappointed. We do not impugn the honesty of the President of the United States, because whether or not Franklin Delano Roosevelt is sincere is of little consequence here. He cannot, out of the very nature of the present political machinery, do other than what he has done. We know, for instance, that his electoral success depends upon the "Solid South," and the Southland is composed of the most bitter anti-labor, most viciously unmerciful employer groups in the United States. The Administration has done nothing effective about protecting the Southern workers against this cruel persecution—not because the New Dealers revel in the blood spilled on the economic battle front, but because Franklin Roosevelt must have the Southern employer in order to be re-elected President of the United States. So—what difference does it make if he be the most ardent of the so-called supporters of the working man? There is nothing he can do, nor has done, and stay within the limits of our present order.

Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, said to you here at Atlantic City, that one dependable sign of "recovery" was the fact that industrial unrest has abated during the New Deal Administration. The plain truth of the matter is that there were, according to her own Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1,770 strikes, involving 1,353,008 workers during the year 1934—as opposed to 1,574 strikes, involving 818,187 workers during the year 1933; and that the month of January, 1935, represented an increase in the number of strikes occurring during the same month in 1934 of 48; that the month of February of the same year represents an increase in 1935 of 49, and that for the month of March, 1935, there were 71 more strikes than there were the year preceding. Industrial unrest is not abating! On the contrary, it is increasing!

Let us examine the progress labor has made under the New Deal. In so doing we must examine the progress made by industry, also, for in some respects, their gain is ultimately our loss.

Under the Hoover regime and under the New Deal Administration, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation handed out billions of dollars to the financial institutions of this country—to corporations which were grossly

overcapitalized, at the public's expense, during the World War. How much of the re-financing done by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under Hoover and under the present Administration ever reached the masses of our people? It did not go out in wages. For the total manufacturing wage bill increased only 5 per cent from 1932 to 1933, and only 21 per cent from 1933 to 1934.

From 1932 to May 31, 1935, the R. F. C. loaned a total of \$7,210,451,107.81 and has up to the last report authorized a total of \$9,698,036,848 in loans to private institutions, financial and industrial. On the other hand the Federal Emergency Relief Administration had spent from 1932 to June 30, 1935, a total of only \$2,778,625,000, which when added to the expenditures of the erstwhile CWA makes a total of \$3,523,630,000 for relief. According to the Congressional Intelligence there are 19,828,358 persons in the United States, either dependent of direct relief or working on relief jobs. This is 16 per cent of our population. In other words, a total of five or six thousand banks and corporations, representing a pitiful minority of our population received from the Government only three billion dollars, which, when added to the \$4,500,000,000 recently appropriated, but not yet spent, only totals \$8,823,630,000 or \$1,374,400,848.28 less than the financial and industrial groups. Yet pressure is applied and is felt for a "balanced budget"; for secession of the "spending joyride"!

Let us further examine the New Deal. Under the present Administration the average weekly manufacturing wage decreased .05 per cent from 1932 to 1933, and increased only 11 per cent from 1933 to 1934. At the same time, however, corporation profits soared.

The National City Bank of New York reports that new profits of 260 industrial companies rose from \$265,000,000 for the first half of 1934 to \$313,000,000 in the corresponding 1933 period. Moddy's Investment Service reports that first-half year profits of 168 industrial companies rose from \$247,340,000 in 1934 to \$300,302,000 in 1935. Standard Statistics Corporation reported that for the first five months of 1935 profits of 306 corporations rose nearly 29 per cent over corresponding 1934 period.

We could go on indefinitely. For instance, Raymond Moley's magazine, "Today" (Sept. 19, 1934), featured a compilation of net profits of 392 companies in 26 industrial groups which showed an increase of 609 per cent. in profits from the first half of 1933 to the same period in 1934.

The NRA Research and Planning Division reported that in December, 1934, pay rolls were only about 60 per cent of the aggregate 1926 level, but dividends and interest payments of corporations were 150 per cent. of the 1926 total. The Federal Reserve

Board reported that industrial profits increased more than 70 per cent in the first nine months of 1934 as compared with the corresponding 1933 period.

Robert F. Wagner, in a recent defense of the Democratic Administration, declared that the profits of all manufacturing and trading corporations, which were \$640,000,000 in 1933, rose to \$1,051,000,000 in 1934—a gain of 64 per cent.

Let us turn to the distribution of the nation's wealth and income. Commenting on income tax figures of 1933 as compared with 1932, Robert H. Jackson, counsel to the U. S. Internal Revenue Bureau, stated at the Senate Finance Committee's tax hearings in Washington, Aug. 6, 1935:

"Even the informed observers were startled at the tendency to concentration, and the rates of concentration indicated by the 1935 returns. The number of persons filing income tax returns decreased from 1932 by 3.8 per cent. Not all who file returns pay taxes, because of exemption, so that only 1,747,740 persons out of our entire population reported taxable incomes and the total amount of income reported fell by 5.5 per cent.

"Yet in the face of generally declining incomes, and in spite of the bank holiday and other events of that year, the number who reported net taxable incomes of \$1,000,000 or over more than doubled. . . .

"The base for our income tax is now seriously narrow and results in part from the fact that the number of people having incomes above a generally accepted subsistence level is seriously small."

The best study of income distribution in the United States was published by the Brookings Institution in 1934 and applies to the year 1929. It reports:

Nearly 6 million families, or more than 21 per cent. of the total, had incomes less than \$1,000. About 12 million families, or more than 42 per cent had incomes of less than \$1,500. (The A. F. of L. estimate is much higher for this same income group, their figure being 70 per cent.). Nearly 20 million families, of 71 per cent., had incomes less than \$2,500. Only a little over two million families, or 8 per cent, had incomes in excess of \$5,000. About 600,000 families, or 2.3 per cent, had incomes in excess of \$10,000. The report continued:

"The aggregate income of the 6 million families at the bottom of the scale, even when the negative incomes shown by some families are eliminated, amounted to 3 and a half billion dollars. The 11,653,000 families with incomes of less than \$1,500 received a total of about 10 billion dollars. At the other extreme, the 3,600 families having incomes in excess of \$75,000 possessed an aggregate of 9 billion 800 thousand dollars. Thus it appears that 0.1 per cent of the families at the top re-

ceived practically as much as 42 per cent of the families at the bottom of the scale."

The income gap between capital and the workers has further widened during the crisis and depression. A special report on National Income, 1929-1932, prepared by the Department of Commerce and the National Bureau of Economic Research, showed that during these years total wages paid in certain basic industries and returns to independent business men (all industries) dropped by 40 per cent; dividends to stockholders and rents fell by 55 per cent; but wage totals in the selected basic industries fell by more than 60 per cent.

An analysis by the Research and Planning Division of N. R. A. on this gap, reports (quote) "that capital is spared from bearing a proportionate share of the risks of business ups and downs, for while laborers participated fully in the decline in national income, those receiving dividends and interest found their incomes not only increasing faster than national income during the boom, but declining less than national income during the depression."

Leaders of the American Federation of Labor have already discovered the fallacies of our system. It but remains for them to put their economic criticisms into logical and effective action. In July, 1935, one of our most outstanding trade unionists, John P. Frey, published an article in the "American Federationist" entitled "The Calamity of Recovery." Our analysis of the "calamity of capitalism" is, in part, but a paraphrase of Brother Frey's discourse.

"Something has been radically and vitally wrong in our national economics," Brother Frey states. "Something has been most unsound in our finances, our industry and our commerce. . . ."

"The National Bureau of Economic Research," he further states, "in its Bulletin for June 28, 1934, estimated the increased per capita production in the manufacturing industries from 1929 to 1933, to be 27 per cent. . . . This tremendous increase in the workmen's per capita production in industry since January, 1933, would leave the country with an added army of unemployed in the manufacturing and mining industries if we should return to the per capita production of the year 1932. . . ."

Thus, we see that Brother Frey is in agreement with us in our statement in the resolution to the effect that under the present economic controls there must of necessity be an army of permanently unemployed; that increased mechanization, speedup and stretch-out must, under capitalism, rob the workers of whatever benefits they may have theoretically received under the N. R. A. through increased wage-rates and decreased hours.

I beg to quote him further. In this same article Brother Frey points to the dangerous, ever-increasing concentration of our nation's wealth. He cites the fact that there can be no return of prosperity as long as mass consuming power remains at the bare subsistence level. He proves the fact that pursuit of private gains at the expense of the workers and small business men and farmers of this country, proceeded apace during the depression and is even more rapidly increasing under the New Deal Administration.

"Since 1929," Brother Frey points out, "the larger corporations have increased their share of the goods purchased, strengthened their assets and increased their cash on hand or its equivalent. It was during these years that labor was displaced by technological methods more rapidly than ever before."

In conclusion, Brother Frey says, "It is in the division of wealth created by industry that the trouble lies—the grievous, destructive trouble. . . . The production of wealth should not be restricted; instead, it should be stimulated and increased by every legitimate method possible . . . so that the creation of wealth and its control cannot be carried on in a manner which works injury to the welfare of the nation and its individual citizens."

We heartily concur with Brother Frey in that. We wish, however, to carry the argument but one step further—to its logical conclusion. Events in the past, present tendencies and our knowledge of what has happened in other countries (as was most emphatically pointed out to you by Spencer Miller last week) tells us the grim tale that there can be no equitable distribution of wealth, no curbing of the concentration of the nation's income until we have a workers' government, until we have a government of the people! We, together with the rapidly dispossessed middle class, are the people. Not a handful of rich merchants and bankers and industrialists, but the workers, agricultural and industrial, and the small business man and bankrupt farmer are the people. And only through a people's government can we hope for justice for the majority of our population.

The Government's Bureau of Labor Statistics made a study of wages in the Cotton Textile Industry. Their conclusions are startling and irrefutable proof that labor did not reap benefits from the so-called New Deal, and from the New Deal's National Recovery Administration.

In studying average weekly earnings, the Bureau of Labor Statistics discovered that, because of increases in the prices of the commodities necessary to our everyday life, real earnings, the purchasing power of the workers' dollar, both in the North and the South, have fallen drastically.

"For a family with a single wage earner," the study states, "at average weekly earnings prevailing in July, 1933, the cost of goods purchased rose from June 1933 to August 1934 by 9 per cent and rose by 12 per cent. to October, 1934. . . ."

Estimating the effect of this increase on real earnings, the Bureau states: "When a comparison is made between August, 1933, the month with the largest average real earnings after the codes, and from August, 1934, the loss of real income to the workers . . . is seen to be large. In the North the purchasing power of the average workers was 15 per cent. less in August, 1934, than in August, 1933. In the South it was at least 25 per cent. less."

Not only real earnings decreased then, according to the Government's own statistical agency, but in this industry—and, of course, this applies to every worker, in no matter what industry he may work—but money income too, actually declined. The Bureau of Labor Statistics study says: "The decline in money incomes from August, 1933, to August, 1934, becomes more serious if change in prices is considered. That average money earnings of males and females in the North declined about 8 per cent. Their real incomes declined about 18 per cent. The average weekly earnings of males and females in the South decreased about 18 per cent, but the purchasing power of these earnings diminished about 25 per cent." Though this study is confined to cotton textiles, it does not take a seer or an economist to see that the rise in prices, and the consequent decline in real incomes, applies to every single wage earner in this country. It does not take a wonder man to realize that the standard of living and working standards, against, in fact, complete destruction of the trade union movement, by entering the political arena with a party of their own, with a party not bound up with political and financial obligations to the very interests who seek to destroy them, but with a party built on themselves and by themselves, and pledged only to support the execution of their own economic needs and demands, and the economic needs and demands of the rest of our destitute population.

Does it seem fair to you that the Government should lay out over 7 billion dollars in loans to industry and to the banks, while at the same time it begrudges its relief workers even the miserable privilege of working at the prevailing wage rate? It is not fair and furthermore, it is not economically sound. The everwidening breach between wages and profits is the cause of these horrible depressions. And, remember, fellow delegates, that the Government cannot continue to lay out even the tiny sums it has for relief and for made work, without resorting to inflation. It refuses to levy effective excess profits and corporation taxes, and so the whole popula-

tion must be made to liquidate the public debt. It is estimated that the present public debt can only be liquidated through a 50 per cent increase in taxation or by further inflation. And further inflation spells disaster for the workers. Prices have already increased more than 50 per cent, and under the program of crop restriction, it is inevitable that these prices will climb even higher. They are, at the present time. Thus, we see, on the one hand, rising prices and increased profits for the employers, and on the other hand, a reduction to even below a subsistence level in real earnings for the workers!

War is at hand. The world waits in strained anxiety for the next development in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, and for the possible war between Great Britain and Italy. What will France do? What will Germany do? What will Russia do? What will the United States do? We must ask ourselves these questions and remember that the answer lies with the working classes of all these nations, for it is us, not the bankers and bosses, who fight the wars.

We know one thing right now. Industrialists in the United States will profit by war. We may not ship ammunitions to warring countries, but we may ship raw materials. Fabrics will have to be woven and made into uniforms; Great Britain, Italy and Japan have been buying our cotton by the millions of pounds, our copper and iron and steel scrap by the millions of tons, a recent New York Times dispatch informs us. The canning industry, according to the financial journal, Barron's reports phenomenal prosperity, and never since the beginning to this last crisis, has the wool industry been in such a prosperous condition.

What does this mean to labor? You may say increased wages. You may say that labor profits by war, though we know that most of you do not believe that. But remember that labor's share in wartime profits is negligible. Wages may be increased, to be sure, but profits treble, quadruple, and prices shoot skyhigh. Increased wartime prices, however, are not the gravest consequence labor faces with war. The most devastating thing which can happen to labor has already begun to occur. Employers have been viewing with alarm increased labor unrest; their eyes are, subconsciously, perhaps, on the possibility of war. And during a war there must be no strikes. There must be no interruption in the pace and the limit to which they may exploit labor. Thus, they have renewed their vicious union-busting efforts; they are conducting new and more bitter campaigns aimed at the destruction of the entire labor movement. There can be no disputing that this is happening. We know that it is a historical fact that as militancy develops in the labor movement, the efforts of anti-labor, open-shop employers to kill trade unionism redouble. We have already seen that they

stop at nothing to stamp out the constitutional and civil rights of the workers to organize and bargain collectively. They murder our people; they frame our leaders; they arrest our pickets; in short, they resort to the crudest and most vicious forms of coercion and intimidation in order to maintain a "docile" labor army.

This we have learned to expect from big business and the financial tycoons of this country. But we have learned an even more important lesson—we have learned that the efforts to destroy the trade union movement will go untrammelled by the Government. We have learned that the Government leans on big business. We have learned that the Republican party means destruction to the workers, and that the New Deal means a New Deal for big business and a Raw Deal for labor.

Labor's right to organize and bargain collectively was not protected under the New Deal. We can prove this by the phenomenal growth of company unions under the New Deal. We can prove this by looking at the facts. On whose side was the Government in our thousands and thousands of cases of discrimination? On whose side was the government that promotes through subsistence work relief and rising prices, starvation wages? On whose side is the Government which contributes to the destruction of the trade union movement? Not on the side of the workers. How can we defend a government which promotes sweatshop and open-shop conditions through its own system of awarding government contracts to the lowest bidder? Some of you may have profited by the government contracts. But most of us have not. The Kohler workers did not. The textile workers have not. I could cite many other instances.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics furnishes us with some startling information. Company unions, euphemistically referred to as "employee representation" plans, or "industrial association," or "industrial democracy," increased in number under the New Deal, 64 per cent. The Government agency's sample was small, but represents an unmistakable trend. It reported that these company unions affected 20 per cent of the total number of workers found in the industries reporting to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The Company Union study referred to above, recognizes that company unionism is bound to continue at an even more rapid pace, when it states: "Almost 15 per cent of the company unions in the study were established during the war periods; and 64 per cent were established during the period of the NRA. Reports of trade union membership show that these two periods were also times of rapid growth in union membership." Yet, what protection can we expect from a Government which not only does nothing to prevent their further development, but also actually sanctions them?

We wish to repeat—with world war possible, there can be not the slightest doubt but that the trade union movement, not only in this country, but all over the world, is seriously, dangerously threatened. We have only to look across the ocean to our brothers and sisters in Europe to understand that.

What shall we do in the face of these dangers? Sit supinely back and allow the bosses, with the help of the Government, to destroy us? Shall we discourage the militancy, the intelligence and the foresight with which large bodies of our workers are attempting to meet these situations, by discouraging them in the development of a Labor Party? Are we not supposedly the *leaders of the American working class*? And as such, is it not our solemn duty to assume that leadership?

We have discussed the destruction of the economic rights of the masses of our population. Let us now turn to the destruction of their political rights.

The Republican and Democratic parties have completely broken faith with the workers by placing at the disposal of open-shop anti-labor industrialists few in number, forces designed and created under our Constitution for the maintenance and protection of the general welfare—the welfare of the many. We speak, of course, of the use of the National Guard, the State Militia, in times of economic struggle.

By what right, by what mandate from the people, may we ask, does the State Government take upon itself the privilege of crushing trade unionism by means of forces over which the people themselves should have sole control?

There can be no justification for that. Yet, we are forced to admit, that by the very presence of state troops in areas in which there are strikes, the Government unmistakably demonstrates that its sympathies, its allegiance, lies not with the workers, not with the overwhelming masses of our people, but with the bosses with the small but mighty minority.

One of the most illustrious of our forefathers foresaw this danger, as indeed he foresaw most of the evils which now beset us, when during the drawing up of the Constitution of the United States, Patrick Henry said:

"My great objection to this government is that it does not leave us the means of defending our rights; or, of waging war against tyrants. It is urged by some gentleman that this new plan will bring us an acquisition of strength, an army, and the militia of the states. This idea is ridiculous . . . Have we the means of resisting disciplined armies when our only defense, the militia, is put into the hands of Congress?"

Patrick Henry was right. We have not the right to defend ourselves against the tyranny of autocracy, we cannot resist the disciplined army of capital which confronts

us, because the people's army is in the possession of the Government; and because the Government is not a "people's" government.

Since the textile strike last year the Guard has already been called out several times. In Terre Haute, for instance, where the workers were striking for a miserable \$20 a week, and where the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Co. brought in a squad of gunmen from Chicago to break the strike. Because labor throughout the city rose in protest against this importation of thugs and declared a general strike, the Governor of Indiana, instead of demanding that the Chicago racketeers be sent home, ordered out the state troops to preserve "law and order." On whose side was the Government in this case?

When the West coast lumbermen struck for their economic rights and for abolition of the company union, the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, which union was organized, incidentally, by the Regular Army, under Col. Brice P. Dickey, according to Walter Wilson, who just completed a study on the use of troops in times of economic struggle.

Other recent instances are too numerous to allow for more than a citation. The troops called out in Omaha, to break the strike of the street car men, were brutal and ruthless in their tactics. Two strike sympathizers were killed and scores wounded in one incident. Governor Cochran, according to Mr. Wilson, said to the General of the National Guard troops: "The strike is going to be settled immediately. If the disputing parties can't agree on a third member of an arbitration board, I'll name one myself, and the troops will see that the Board's decision is enforced." This comes from the Governor of one of our 48 states!

I could name many, many other incidents occurring in 1935, but time prevents it. I merely wish to state that we have no Democracy when these conditions exist. Furthermore, we need not expect the American people to submit to this opposition indefinitely. They never have in the past, and they will not in the future. It is for this reason that we urge the American Federation of Labor to sanction the people's resistance to these destructive efforts of the bosses, and their agents, the Democratic and Republican parties, through approval of a Labor Party. The American Federation of Labor must do this, if it is to live up to its position as the leadership of the American working class.

Let us turn now to the gravest of all dangers, to the fast-approaching, universally hated and dreaded danger of fascism. To deny this danger, is to play ostrich and betray the entire American labor movement.

We have only to look at Germany, at Italy, at Poland, at Austria. We have only to remember that the hasty events which led up to the ascendancy of Hitler, and we can see what is happening in this

country. The labor movement in Germany and Italy were unprepared for the monster. German workers looked with unseeing eyes to Italy and said: "But this is Germany; This can never happen to Germany." And as they were saying this Thyssen, Krupp and the big financiers and industrialists in Germany were equipping Hitler, and coaching him in his role of Dictator. At the time of Hitler's ascendancy to power, the workers, through their various political parties had a majority of seats in the Reich. But they did not use them. The Social Democratic workers went to sleep; they refused to join the rest of the workers' political factions in a united program of resistance to Nazism. What were the consequences? Too terrible to describe. Brother Wolf gave us his report on this subject. Hundreds upon hundreds of the German working class leaders lie in torture in the barbarian Nazi concentration camps. Thousands of militant German workers have been beheaded for resisting the cruel, inhuman, anti-labor policies of the Nazi Government or worse still, for ever having even been anything but a Nazi. The German trade union movement has been completely destroyed—except for its underground activities.

In France, on the other hand, the workers were more wary. They looked to the mistakes of their fellow-workers in Germany, and when the fascist organization, the Croix de Feu attempted a coup a united front of all the workers, regardless of race, religious creed and political affiliation, prevented it. The continuance of this valiant resistance on the part of the French workers has made a repetition of the fascist attempt impossible so far, and indeed, has been the vital factor in determining France's pacific policies. But remember, only if the French workers strengthen their ranks can fascism be warded off.

You may ask: And what has that to do with the American workers? And we would answer you: It has everything to do with the American workers. We cannot close our eyes to the significance of the American Liberty League; of the subsidized Press, which screams for Americanism on the one hand, and prints tales lauding the accomplishments of Herr Hitler and Premier Mussolini on the other; the subsidized trade papers, house organs of the most powerful industrial interests in every business, and which express the trend locally. And many, many other manifestations too numerous to recount here today.

We must not forget, for instance, that the corporate state is but a partnership between the biggest industrial interests and the government, and that that is precisely what the New Deal was. We cannot, as labor men, ask for another New Deal.

The impetus and motive force of a successful Labor Party must come from the organized labor movement. Organized workers are already partially schooled in the methods and techniques of fighting for and achieving their economic demands; we have

the machinery to use against the well-organized, determined opposition from controlling employer groups. Furthermore, the wage earners of our nation, together with those who have been deprived of the fundamental right to work by virtue of the breakdown of the system, form the overwhelming majority of our population. Under the present decadence of our scarcity economy, other groups of people are in ever increasing numbers finding their way into the ranks of the workers. I refer to the small, so-called independent business man, who was unable to stay in competition with the powerful monopolistic trade association groups which ran the codes under the National Recovery Administration. I refer also to the vast army of technically trained young men and women, graduated from our colleges into a world of hopeless confusion, and into a world in which the employment opportunities are constantly and inevitably under the very nature of things decreasing. I refer likewise to the small farmer, crowded out of existence by the burden of debt, by rising prices of processed commodities, necessary to their very existence. And, lastly, I refer to the large body of farm laborers and tenant farmers, scarcely able to eke out a bare, miserable existence and so necessary to that portion of the organized labor movement which finds itself in agricultural areas. The Labor Party must be for all of these people, for everybody whose right to live under decent conditions, and to take a hand in the guiding of his own destinies, must be protected. But, let me repeat, if it is to be successful, the basis of the party must be the organized labor movement.

There have, in the past, and at the present time there are, Third Party movements, based on the discontent of the destitute farmers, which movements have as yet been unsuccessful in their attempts at expanding this base. In addition, their programs have been nebulous, rambling allusions to "scarcity," to social reforms not clearly nor concisely enunciated. The programs of a successful Labor Party must be definite, must be built on the immediate demands of the workers, with a definite eye toward an expanding, even more inclusive program. It cannot be successful on any other basis.

But let us not talk of "third parties." This Labor Party must never be confused with a *Third Party*. The Labor Party is a *Second Party*. I think you will have by now agreed with me that there is slight differentiation in the two old political parties, and I hope to have convinced you that a confusion of the Labor Party movement with a Third Party movement will be a confusion of the fundamental aims of a Labor Party.

And if the large body of so-called "liberals" who form the foundation of the Third Party movements, be really sincere, we do not need

to invite them to join with us in the Labor Party. They will do so on their own initiative.

Labor can no longer protect itself against the onslaughts of employer groups, of rich, plantation farmers, of banking and financial interests, unless it enters the political arena. And Labor must enter the political arena with an understanding of the struggle into which we are moving, and with the grim, uncompromising determination to win. Therefore, our aims must be as clear as crystal, and our program as bold and as true as our aims.

Until we have a new economy, permitted of the full utilization of our productive capacities, abolishing the destructive, demoralizing consequences of unemployment, guaranteeing a decent annual income, the rights of our people to achieve a maximum in this life cannot be preserved. For the workers, it means the preservation of the fundamental, absolutely necessary right to organize and bargain collectively; to achieve their economic demands by strike, if necessary, and without intervention by state militia, or the National Guard.

We cannot in faith to ourselves, and to the people whom we represent continue to support political machinery, and an economic system which constantly enlarges, makes permanent and concentrates in subsistence areas an ever-growing army of unemployed. Let us give them more than lip service. We must protect the right of the people to work. We must do that not only because the people now unemployed are jobless through no fault of their own, but because we know each one of us gathered together here today, that inevitably we also shall be unemployed; that mechanization and the desperate fight of the moneyed, industrial interests to maintain their fat profits at the expense of the workers, will eventually claim us if we do not fight it now. We know, further, that while we are employed today, the vast army of unemployed is a constant threat to the already niggardly, miserable starvation wages of the workers now employed. The right to work is the basic right of everybody in the world. And the right to work is being denied millions of our people, because we find ourselves within the rigid limits of an economic program based on the restriction of production; based on the restriction of our natural and human resources. Shall we continue to permit a small group of selfish, private interests to destroy us? To deny us our constitutional rights? Obviously not. When in 1776 the American people could no longer bear the yoke of imperialist power of their Mother Country, they rose together as a man, and threw off that yoke. When the American people can no longer live under the oppression of finance, capital and destructive monopolies, will they lie quietly on their backs and die of starvation and disease? Obviously and certainly not! The American people have never been quitters. The American people will fight for their rights.

Shall the American Federation of Labor, the spearhead and bulwark of the American labor movement, sit back smugly and refuse the leadership now being proffered by their own people? The American Federation of Labor must assume the leadership which is naturally theirs.

The present Democratic Administration passed a "Social Security Act." This plan is designed to protect the worker against the limitations of our system, guaranteeing him a "security" wage during our periodic depression. But consider the contradictions of this Act. Consider the idiocy of asking the employed workers, scarcely able to keep body and soul together, scarcely able to buy bread for their wives and children, to support their fellow workers who are without jobs! Is there a logical reason why those members of our society who are responsible for unemployment, responsible for the contradictions and incompetency of our industrial system, should not be made to bear the burden of their own selfishness, aided by the Government, whose sole duty is to protect the broadest interests of the people? There is no logical explanation for such myopia and we can only achieve bona fide unemployment insurance through our own economic strength; through the militant demands of the workers themselves.

In its recently released report to the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council of the Federation clearly recognizes the validity of the remarks I am making here today. It recognizes the changing economy; the fact that our system of mass production has wrought necessary changes in the economic system. It merely remains for this Council to accept the only logical method by which this reorganization can take place.

"Clearly," the Council's report states, "the United States, like all other industrial nations, is passing through a period of fundamental changes in economic institutions and practices. Wage earners must be alert and prepared to take advantage of this change to secure recognition of their rights and increasingly adequate acceptance of them in the habits and practices of business."

Clearly, we wish to state, the Council is correct in this statement. And we feel confident that we have adequately and faithfully

demonstrated here today that the only way in which the workers may find themselves "prepared" and "alert" is through a political party of their own, based on the achievement of their own economic needs and demands.

The Council finally enunciates the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, and clearly paves the way for the formation of a Labor party, by a quotation of the declarations of the American Federation of Labor convention held here in 1925. The Council states: "At the same time that convention, among other things, declared that 'The American Federation of Labor stands unequivocally for democracy, for the right of people to rule themselves and to control their destinies through political machinery of their own making.' That is precisely our point. The people can no longer rule themselves. We are ruled over. And the people can never rule themselves unless they own the party through which they seek to achieve their aims. Labor wants this Labor Party, and, by the pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor itself, labor has an inalienable right to the creation of this.

You may say, "the time is not ripe. We are not yet strong enough for a labor party movement." And in answer to you, I would like to quote one of our distinguished forefathers who answered the same criticism on the eve of the American Revolution:

"You say we are not yet strong enough. And I say to you—When shall we be strong enough? When the enemy is firmly entrenched in every house in our country?" Remember that, fellow delegates, for the enemy is today at our gates!

It must be remembered that in 1776 the revolutionists were a minority—yet the American spirit, American courage, American independence led the country to victory. Today the workers are in the majority, and it will be a betrayal of our working population if the leaders of the organized labor movement do not endorse the totally necessary move on the part of their workers to create and develop to the point of victory a party of the workers, by the workers and for the workers!

There is foresight and there is intelligence in the leadership of the American labor movement. But this foresight and intelligence must not be allowed to spend itself in temporary gains, the ultimate result of which will be detrimental to the American labor movement. The brains, integrity and conscience of the American labor movement must be mobilized behind a concerted drive for a labor government.

It is high time we faced the situation as workers—not as obligating members of existing parties, or as officers of trade unions. Our interests are the workers' interests, and it would be folly not to realize that. We can fail to meet our responsibilities, but we cannot evade the consequences of such evasion.

Whatever may be the proclamation of either of the two major political parties, the fact remains that the one great party is the creature of reaction in the South, and the other is the creature of reaction in the North, and it cannot be otherwise within the span of the system in which we find ourselves today.

I know it will be said if we adopt this resolution, or any like it, that we shall lose whatever influence we may have with whichever party is victorious in the coming election. *Remember, brothers and sisters, that the only impression we have ever made on either party has been by the simple expedient of throwing the fear of God and the wrath of man into that party.*

We make no claim for perfection in this resolution. We make claim only that its purpose is sound, that its premise is sound, that whether it comes now or next year, it must come and it cannot be otherwise.

There is for us no boyhood economic stronghold to which we may go back, tired and hungry, as to a parental roof. The ravages of time and poverty have precluded this possibility. If we are to live, we must march on, and if we march on, we must march toward a new goal and by a new road. For all of the old ones are torn up and useless. You know that, and so do I.

Why do we stand here, then, in fear and trembling, as though there were some curse upon doing what a decade ago was not necessary to be done?

There is before you but one alternative to the course of action which we suggest. While the dead past has always been reluctant to bury its dead, and the live future has ever been afraid of its own possibilities, such fallacies have never served as alibis for reasons, or excuses for the absence of reason. Your alternative is a long, long road of agony, such as 11 million travel today, in which those millions are but products of decay. Your alternative is a plunge into Fascism, and if there is any among you who sees an escape from this alternative except through the proffered program of united political action, under our own trade union banner, then we should like to hear it. We think we are thoroughly conversant with all your arguments.

We can make a sound decision on this floor, but that decision, if it be sound, must look forward to the independence of this labor army from reaction, from deception, from demagoguery, whether it be from the Bourbon of the South, or from the financial magnates of the North.

Will you kindly pause in silence a moment and ask yourselves what, were they here today, would be the words of Patrick Henry, of Thomas Jefferson, of Stephen Decatur, or Andrew Jackson? We are here today because at every crucial hour in our nation's history there have been men who have been defiant of tradition, unafraid of scorn, undaunted by the NEW and constitutionally determined to do the right thing, and to stand by freedom and democracy at all costs. We will be violating a time-worn and sanctified tradition if we do not emulate our forefathers.

Remember fellow delegates, we are here to represent our people, to speak for them, to fight for them, to see the way clear for them—not to find excuses, not to falter and not to be tied to the chariots of those who sit in the seats of the mighty and watch their dividends increase even as their new machines which we have made, send more of our fellow workers to the bread line and the scrap heap; even as these machines, which we have made, dig the pit for the next depression.

This country of ours belongs to the workers. We have made everything in it, we created the wealth, made the machinery with which more wealth can be created, and yet we do not even receive enough in return to buy food and clothing for our wives and

children. The way is clear, the path lies ahead of us and we can see further ahead than around the first bend.

There is very little difference of opinion between President Green and those of us who are supporting the formation of a Labor Party. He said in substance that the A. F. of L. would lend itself to this principle when the workers of the country were ready for it. We contend that the workers of the country are ready for it. We contend that the A. F. of L. should be preparing its lines at this time, not waiting for the crash. The workers of America want a Labor Party, the movement springs fresh and clean from the hearts of the people.

In closing I should like to lean once more upon the support of the noblest, wisest and most courageous of our forefathers—the one man who stood for the rights of the common man, in opposition to the selfish property interests of such men, Madison and some of his other colleagues, then engaged in the serious business of drawing up our constitution. I refer again to Patrick Henry.

"Our situation will be deplorable indeed," he stated at the 1788 Constitutional Convention "nor can we ever expect to get this government amended, since I have already shown that a very small minority may prevent it; and that small minority interested in the continuance of the oppression. Will the oppressor let go the oppressed? Was there ever such an instance? Can the annals of mankind exhibit one single example, where rulers overcharged with power willingly let go the oppressed, though solicited and requested most earnestly? Sometimes the oppressed have got loose by one of those bloody struggles that desolate a country. But a willing relinquishment of power is one of those things which human nature was, nor ever will be capable of."

I say to you here today, brothers and sisters, of the American Federation of Labor, that *we are the oppressed people!* That we, the majority of the people, have been robbed of our constitutional and civil rights by a powerful minority. And I warn you with utmost seriousness and emphasis that we shall never free ourselves from bondage unless we take the reins of the Government ourselves. Our only salvation lies in a militant, courageous, and statesmanlike Labor Party Movement, based on the organized workers of America,

and pledged to a program protecting the rights of the people. If you turn us down here today, fellow delegates, do not for one moment believe that the labor party movement will die. It will not. It will go on, growing and growing. The people want it, and once the people get in motion, neither you, nor I, nor the hired assassins of the employers can stop them. We want your approval and your sanction for this resolution. We want you to go on record as leaders of the American workers; not as followers. But if you do not, the American workers will lead you, for the will of the majority ultimately wins.

We put the question to you bluntly. Is the American Federation of Labor ready to accept its sacred duty to lead, bravely and without compromise, the workers of this country? We must meet the challenge of the employers who flatly declared that the age of trade unionism is dead. You can only meet this question one way—through a militant, organized labor party movement.

Delegate Gorman (continuing): I want to say in closing that the Committee on Resolutions has voted against our proposal. The workers of the United States if given a chance would vote for it. They are going to have it. This convention should know the temper of the times.

I am going to ask permission as a part of my time for the speaker following me, who will give you an idea of how this movement is progressing throughout the country. We are not "ismites." We have no instructions from foreign lands. The only instruction we have comes from our organization.

We believe sincerely that the American Federation of Labor should sponsor this movement. It is now an infant growing rapidly. It should not be deformed. The American Federation of Labor should exercise guidance over its growth. That is what our resolution calls for. Regardless of your action here today, the Labor Party movement is spreading all over the land. No one in this convention can stop it, because the workers themselves want it. We had hoped that the convention might have given more time to the consideration of this question. We have listened all week to the insiders and the outsiders, and while we may not be so important the question

which we are discussing is important, and if the delegates to this convention would know the signs of the times, they would give a little more study to the question before the house.

We are asking you to vote against the report of the Committee on Resolutions. We are asking you to vote in favor of a Labor Party. Whether you do or not there is going to be a Labor Party and it may not be the sort of a Labor Party that many of you in this convention want.

Delegate Kuehnle, Typewriter Workers Union, No. 18920, Hartford, Connecticut: I am quite certain I will need not more than ten minutes to tell you my little story. I come here to you today as a worker who has been very ably referred to here today as one of the "7-A models." I come from Connecticut and I represent a Federal labor union in the firearms industry and a Federal labor union in the typewriter industry and I speak to you not only in that capacity, but also in my capacity as President of the Hartford Central Labor Union.

I have had considerable experience in organizational work, in assisting organizers of the various trades not only in Connecticut and Massachusetts, but in Rhode Island. I know through these experiences and through the experiences which I have had and I have seen my fellow workers have in the various industries in New England out of the hard times and the conditions under which they are existing. I know my own experiences in the textile strike, when we went to a State Convention of the Connecticut Federation of Labor a few weeks prior to this strike, and there sat the present Governor and the then Governor of the State of Connecticut, and in a very ringing speech informed all and sundry that were present of his great love for labor, how hard he would labor and work for the industries of this great labor movement in the State of Connecticut. Hardly ten days had elapsed from the time that he was on that platform, when he gave the orders that sent the militiamen against these courageous textile strikers in the State of Connecticut. That is Indictment No. 1, which I place against the employer party, either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party.

I can tell you quite frankly that in the textile region many selectmen who have been elected as friends of labor, having first been consulted by the constituted authorities to get the permission for the militia to be quartered in their town, gave that permission—friends of labor they were!

I can refer you to the last General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, in which the Secretary of our Connecticut State Federation of Labor worked hard in his capacity as legislative agent among these friends of labor, and I saw hundreds and hundreds of opportunities for the improvement of labor defeated by these friends of labor. Those are the conditions that exist, not only in the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island, but throughout this country.

My experiences in the Colt Firearms Company strike were such that finally I could not stand the condition any longer, and a group of friends in the labor movement discussed What next? In that discussion it led to a meeting of the Central Labor Union of Hartford, Connecticut, in which it was decided that some decisive action must take place immediately. A call went out from the Central Body for a state-wide conference on June 30 of this year. To that conference, fellow delegates, 150 trade unions sent representatives. We had over fifty representatives from farmers organizations, consumers clubs and women's clubs and various kinds of societies, all kinds imaginable, and at that conference a thorough discussion of everything possible in the economic and political field took place. It was decided by this very representative labor group that it was time that we set up a committee that would work for the organization of a Labor Party and that they would work to have the Connecticut State Federation of Labor Convention endorse, or set the machinery in motion to endorse such a movement. I am happy to say that the Connecticut State Federation of Labor, in its fiftieth jubilee convention, took a great forward step. They are going to send out a referendum to every affiliated local of the American Federation of Labor in the State of Connecticut.

I would like to refer to the great metal industry in Eastern Connecticut in which there are over 13,500 people employed, a

metal industry that is controlled by the Anaconda Copper Company, if you please. I would like the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to listen to this—and in which industry the people are working for tremendously low wages, in a community where their rents are high and living conditions are very bad for them.

I can refer to the highly industrialized small towns in which the workers of these towns are at the mercy of either one or two corporations. Is it a very great wonder that these people have decided that the traditional policies of defeating our enemies and electing our friends is the wrong policy? They have come to the realization, after years of trial, after years of tribulation, that these people do not honestly represent them, either in the councils as selectmen, as members of the general assembly or otherwise.

We know that President Roosevelt has had some mighty fine ideas. But what has happened to these ideas. What has happened to the carrying out of these ideas? It is the same thing that happened to me—I am a "7-A model," and I am only one out of hundreds of thousands who are martyrs to the conditions under which we exist today.

I don't want to take up any more of your time. I have been waiting all week to get on this platform, but I do want to say this to you, as far as supporting this particular movement is concerned, I can just refer to the fact that in the State of Connecticut a committee was set up which was called a Continuance Committee to carry on the work for the benefit of a Labor Party. At that meeting there were such organizations present as Barbers, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Tailors, Paper Makers, Moulders, Jewelry Workers—there is no use in my citing all these to you.

I also have here further evidence of the fact that we have nation-wide support and not state-wide, or only city-wide. In my office in Connecticut I have stacks of telegrams and letters a foot high that I could have brought down here to show you the support that this movement is getting. Just look here at some of the telegrams I have—here is the evidence to support my conten-

tion and I have further evidence in the matter of correspondence in every State in the union but two. If that does not prove the contention of the previous speaker and my contention that the workers of America are waiting for the American Federation of Labor to give them the leadership in the political field that they are given in the economic field, then I don't know what constitutes proof of that contention.

I thank you.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers: I want to state in the beginning that I do not question the integrity or the honesty of purpose of any delegate on the floor advocating at this time the formation of a Labor Party. I believe they are all sincere and that their only purpose is to present a view calculated to serve the best interests of labor in this country. While I do not question their sincerity or their honesty, I do at this time question their judgment with respect to the formation of this particular policy.

In passing I want to say that I am one of those who has had some experience more or less, in relation to this subject, and while at the present time I happen to hold a relatively high office under the auspices of the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania, when the American Federation of Labor endorsed the candidacy of LaFollette and Wheeler for President and Vice-President respectively, I was one of the candidates on that ticket, as presidential elector in the State of Pennsylvania. And so I approach this question, not as one who is opposed to a Labor Party as such, but as one who has certain views on this matter at this time, which I think the convention ought to have.

In the paper read by the Vice-President of the Textile Workers Union, the question as to the part played in this great drama on the part of President Roosevelt was brought into view. Speaking as one who has had more or less experience in legislative matters, in my opinion labor never did get a break from the days of Woodrow Wilson until Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president of the United States. As to the sincerity of this man in the White House, it has to be taken into consideration despite the statement made

to the contrary in the paper read by Delegate Gorman.

We had a fight in Washington recently, a fight to pass the Guffey-Snyder Coal Stabilization Bill. Many Senators from the South and many Congressmen from the South were against that particular piece of legislation. The railroads were against it. Wall Street was against it. All of those interests which the resolution from the Textile Workers alleged by inference controlled the National Democratic Administration opposed that resolution.

Let me say to you here this afternoon that the President of the United States kept faith with us in our attempt to pass that legislation. He went down the line and as a result of his influence and the influence of the Administration we were able with our own strength to pass that particular legislation.

Measure that achievement by what has occurred in other industries with respect to legislation, with respect to the administration of our affairs and I believe you will agree with me that there is no question as to the sincerity of the President of the United States and his immediate official family. That has not only been true in our case. If you recollect there were many other questions in which the President took the side of labor against those influences as represented by the Liberty League.

We may speak about two or three billion dollars that have been appropriated for relief and for investment in industry, but my friends, when we recognize the fact that under the past Administration we got absolutely nothing for relief and did not even get the consideration for having unemployment relief met, then the comparison is odious at this time.

However, the most important point in this whole affair at this time is this: There is no question in the minds of any man or woman who has analyzed this situation but that we are rapidly approaching the point where, before the next Presidential election, all of the reactionaries in the Democratic and Republican parties will be on one side and all the progressives and liberals will be on the other side. And I think it is fair to assume,

judging by the program and policy of the Liberty League and of the leaders of the former dominant Republican party that all of the conservatives and reactionaries and vested interests will be on that side of the fence in the next campaign, and the liberals all on the other side, lined up with Franklin D. Roosevelt.

I say to you that if, in any event, labor next year divides the forces that would naturally come to the assistance of the President of the United States we would be playing into the hands of the very people that we condemn in these resolutions before the convention today. I say in all sincerity that in my judgment, next year we will be forced into a labor party to the extent that labor in this nation will have to give of their service and of their finances, if you please, if we hope to keep this responsible Democratic Administration as represented by Franklin D. Roosevelt in power for the next four years. All of the money that Wall Street can raise, all of the reactionary interests in this country, will endeavor, first, to secure that election, if possible, by propaganda, and if not by that means then they are going to try to buy it, and it occurs to me that labor, whether they like it or not, will inevitably have to take a united position in support of the continuance of this Administration as represented by our great President who now occupies the White House.

These are the few thoughts that I want to leave with you this afternoon, and, my friends, it is my judgment that the action contemplated in the report of the committee will serve the best interests of labor. It will permit labor to unite in support of the greatest humanitarian of this country and his administration—our man of the people, the distinguished President, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

A number of delegates called for the question.

President Green: The Chair has recognized Delegate Howard.

Delegate Howard, International Typographical Union: I find myself in disagreement with many of the statements that have been made by speakers upon both sides of the question. During the forty-four years it has been necessary for me to maintain myself in the industry I have endeavored to retain sufficient

idealism to want to be progressive. I have also endeavored to retain sufficient conservatism to want to be practical. There is only one point I desire to make in connection with the question of the establishment of a Labor Party at this time.

I am advised, from what I have read on this subject, that there are a number of countries in the world where they have a Labor Party. I am informed as a result of what I have read that in some of these countries the Labor Party has become the party that was at least in part responsible for government, and I fail to find in the records where a Labor Party has been successful in any degree that it has established for the workers any condition that has been promised in the platform this afternoon by those who advocate a Labor Party. I have no reason to believe that a Labor Party in this country would be any more successful or would have the opportunity for success that labor parties in other countries have had. Our form of government is not responsive to rapid changes, not nearly so much as in countries where labor parties have been organized and have attained some degree of success.

I have no hopes that we are going to have a Labor Party in this country that would secure control of our Government in the next twenty or twenty-five years, and, so far as I am concerned, I am not willing to wait that long for any relief from the conditions which are being suffered by millions of industrial workers in this country at this time. At any time the practical test can be applied and it can be proved to working men and working women that the solution of our economic problems lies in the establishment of a Labor Party, I believe the majority would favor the establishment of such a party, but until that time does come, I submit to you that this American Federation of Labor should not engage upon a program for the establishment of a Labor Party and destroy old practices that have at least in some degree been successful in the past.

A motion for the previous question was carried.

The report of the committee was voted on and unanimously adopted.

Delegate Baron, Delegate B. S. & A. G., and Delegate Harper, No. 20049, desired to be re-

corded as voting against the report of the committee.

President Green: The report of the Committee on Resolutions will be interrupted long enough to receive a report from the Committee on Law. The Chair recognizes Chairman Tobin, of the Committee on Law.

Chairman Tobin: We have just one subject left. It is an amendment to the constitution. It requires a two-thirds vote and we are anxious to have it heard and discussed, if necessary, before all the delegates leave the convention. The report will be read by the Secretary of the Committee.

Secretary Volz, of the committee, read the following:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Pages 168 and 169

In order to combat the propaganda and activities of the Communists we recommend that Section 5, Article IV of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended as follows:

No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, and no organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any national or international organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such relationship or under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any central body, state federation of labor, national or international union connected with the American Federation of Labor under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Your Committee desires to submit factual data for consideration from which can be determined the past and present attitude and intentions of the Communist Party toward the trade union movement.

Much has been said recently of a change in Communist policy and it has been contended in some circles that they are now genuinely in favor of a united workers front.

In refutation of these contentions the following is submitted:

EXCERPTS FROM OFFICIAL COMMUNIST DOCUMENTS

International Press Correspondence, (Official Communist News Bulletin) English Edition 19 Sept. 1935.

The Resolutions of the Congress.

Resolution on the Report on the Activities of the Executive Committee of the Communist International ADOPTED on the Report of Comrade Pleck on August 1, 1935.

"5. Pointing out the underestimation by Young Communist Leagues as well as Communist Parties, of the importance of mass work among the youth, and the weakness of this work in a number of countries, the 7th Congress of the Comintern instructs the E. C. C. I. and the Executive Committee of the Y. C. L. to take effective measures to overcome the sectarian seclusion of a number of Y. C. L. organizations and to make it the duty of Y. C. L. members to join all mass organizations of the toiling youth (trade union, cultural, sports organizations) formed by bourgeois democratic reformist and fascist parties, as well as religious organizations, and to wage a systematic struggle in these organizations to gain influence over the broad masses of the youth."

"6. The Seventh Congress points out—that the most important task of Communists is not to rest on successes already achieved, but to advance toward new successes, to extend contacts with the working class, to gain the confidence of the millions of toilers, to transform the various sections of the Communist International into mass parties, to bring the majority of the working class under the influence of the Communist Parties and to secure the conditions necessary for the victory of the proletarian Revolution."

From Resolution on the Report of Comrade Dimitrov, adopted on August 20, 1935.

"III The Unity of the Trade Union Movement."

"In countries where there are small Red Trade Unions, efforts must be made to secure their admission into the big reformist trade unions, with demands put forward for the right to defend their views and the reinstatement of expelled members. In countries where big Red and Reformist Trade Unions exist side by side, efforts must be made to secure their amalgamation against the offensive of capital and a guarantee of trade union democracy."

"It is the duty of Communists to work actively in the reformist and united trade unions, to consolidate them and to recruit the unorganized workers for them, and at the same time exert every effort to have these organizations actually defend the interests of

the workers and really become genuine class organizations."

"If the reformist leaders resort to the policy of expelling revolutionary workers or entire branches from the trade unions, or adopt other forms of repression, the Communists must rally the entire union membership against the splitting activity of the leadership, at the same time establishing contact between the expelled members and the bulk of the members of the trade unions, and engaging in a joint struggle for their reinstatement, for the restoration of the disrupted trade union unit."

"The Red Trade Unions and the *Red International of Labor Unions* must receive the fullest support of the Communist Parties in their efforts to bring about the joint struggle of the trade unions of all trends and establish unity in the trade union movement both nationally and internationally, on the basis of the class struggle and trade union democracy."

Workers' Age

Organ (Weekly) of the Lovestone Group. Com. Party (opposition).

January 19, 1935 (with supplement for a Labor Party in the United States).

Resume and Comment.

In a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, Jay Lovestone, writing for the National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A. (opposition) continues the effort to bring about rapprochement between the two wings of the Communist Movement. (Copy of this communication we are advised is in the hands of President Green since Sept. 7, 1935.).

This letter quotes the trade union policy of the Comintern as announced by A. Lozovsky, head of the Red International of Labor Unions, from the February 15, 1932, issue of R. D. L. U. Magazine, English edition. (Copy to be found in the New York City Public Library.) The quotation is as follows:

"That we want to break up the reformist trade unions, that we want to weaken them, that we want to explode their discipline, that we want to wrest the workers from them, that we want to break up the trade union apparatus—of that there cannot be the slightest doubt."

The communication states that co-operation between the two wings of the Communist Movement in the New York area will be possible when certain alleged dual union groups are abandoned. These are said to be in the dressmakers union, the silk workers union, the show workers union, in the miners union, the automobile unions and the teachers union.

We, your Committee, submit that the American Federation of Labor, a volun-

tary organization, has the right to determine who shall constitute its membership and by what methods it shall protect its own identity. We must protect ourselves against all our enemies. We are continually being attacked on the one hand by anti-social groups such as the American Liberty League and by such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and others who share their point of view. These groups seek to destroy our movement; seek to deter our work; seek to defeat our every social purpose. Their methods of attack are particularly vicious. They misrepresent the facts involved in every case; for example they say that the Child Labor Amendment is a means of taking a child away from its family's care. They attack our leaders unfairly, seeking to discredit them by unfounded charges, by untruthfully attributing certain acts to them, by misquoting them. They speak disparagingly of every achievement which our organization may rightly claim. They endeavor to create confusion and dissension in our ranks, particularly in times of industrial strife. And when all else fails they endeavor to damn us completely by calling us Reds and Communists. Red baiting is a vicious form of attacking our sound American Trade Union Movement.

Yet here is the paradox. The Communists themselves are using the identical tactics which unjust employers engage in and which they, the Communists, so vociferously denounce. As we have already shown, the Communists desire to come into our unions to engage in destructive tactics. Would time permit we could quote page after page of inaccurate presentation of facts—definitely planned misrepresentation—of data and events concerning the American Federation of Labor disseminated by the Communists. There is not a delegate in this Convention who is at all conversant with the problems of the movement who is not thoroughly familiar with the fact that the Communists, in telling of the affairs of the American Federation of Labor, will not be troubled with telling the truth. They do not hesitate to misstate the facts at any time.

Comparing the methods further of our foes of both directions, we also know that

the Communists attack our leaders unjustly and seek to discredit them before the public. They, as much as the Manufacturers' Association, which they denounce, seek to minimize any of our accomplishments.

On one point and on one point only do they differ with the outspoken foes of labor. The Communists pretend to be friendly to our social objectives; the Manufacturers' Association does not.

We have in this body often denounced the foes of labor, the anti-social manufacturers and financial interests.

Your Committee is of the opinion that we must protect ourselves against the other foes of Labor, the Communists. They attack our organization, and our work. They seek to destroy our movement—a reformist movement they call it—and would have us sit idly by while they accomplish their own ends and our destruction.

Your Committee without one dissenting vote and by unanimous action approve of the purpose of the proposed amendment of Section 5, Article IV of the Constitution as submitted by the Executive Council.

To avoid confusion and misunderstanding however and in an effort to clarify the issue we recommend retaining Section 5 of Article IV in its present form with an additional paragraph reading as follows:

"No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor."

The entire amended section to read as follows:

"Sec. 5. No, organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section."

"No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of

our institutions, shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor."

Your committee moves concurrence in its report and recommendation.

Secretary Voll: This is a unanimous report of the Committee on Law, and I move you the approval of the report and the adoption of the amendment.

The motion was seconded by Chairman Tobin.

Delegate Rand, No. 20039: I am speaking against the amendment. Before we came to this convention there was a barrage of heavy artillery in the newspapers and on the radio by prominent officials of the American Federation of Labor that Communists would be thrown out of the American Federation of Labor; that everybody espousing a proposal that could be purported to be an instruction or a method of coercion by some meeting from a foreign land, that these delegates would have to watch their step, because they would be branded as Communists, no matter what they said, if it was a progressive measure, and the Communists would be thrown out.

For instance, Brother Green in his opening report made remarks about people on a foreign shore being linked up with the program of a labor party with Communist espousals; other delegates linked up Russia with our industrial unions, giving the implication that everybody who speaks in favor of a labor party would be classed as a Communist and thrown out of the organization. Workers who dare to get up on the floor and demand honest elections of officials and oppose secret ballots are called Communists because they have the nerve to challenge officials.

William Randolph Hearst, the National Civic Federation, and Chambers of Commerce attack officials of the American Federation of Labor if they dare go out on strike as Communist strikes, and call them Reds. It is nothing new to us, and then they use the same methods against any member who advocates progressive ideas and class them as Communists and advocate that they should be thrown out of the organization. New members are coming into the organization who are demanding changes of methods, and they are termed Communists.

I feel that this amendment is but a weapon in the hands of conservative, reactionary leaders to attack trade unionists who dare to fight for their ideals. This amendment is opposed to the traditional policies of the American Federation of Labor, which declares that no member shall be discriminated against because of race, creed or color. It is bad enough when the workers in mass production industries who wish to come in, who feel they should have industrial unions, should feel themselves cramped and choked and stifled by the methods used, not only in their struggles on the picket line, not only when injunctions are brought against workers, against the unions, against union officials, but when the workers persist in their strikes, despite decrees and judges, they are condemned as Communists.

We have with us in any labor union the constant menace of gangsterism, the menace of those who have made a racket out of the labor unions, especially since prohibition. In the last convention I believe a resolution was passed for an investigation of the racketeers, but none of us heard about it. Matthew Woll made an investigation in New York City, but we never heard about it. However, the District Attorney heard about it. The workers who stood up and dared to defy these racketeers were beaten up here and there, workers were put in the hospital for months because they dared to challenge the racketeers. This menace of gangsterism has corrupted unions until it is a national scandal, to such an extent that William Randolph Hearst is using that against the labor unions. Meetings of honest workers are broken up by labor officials who are gangsters themselves, and they are broken up under the assertion that these strikers are Communists.

This has gone to such an extent that newspaper articles have time and again brought to the attention of the American Federation of Labor that certain organizations are controlled by gangsters. That is something for the American Federation of Labor to look into, not to conduct a heresy hunt. In New York City we have had, especially among the painters and other building trades, where the election of officials was so rotten that it stunk to high heaven, and when a responsible committee of labor officials investigated they were called Reds.

President Green: Your ten minutes are up, Delegate Rand.

Delegate Rand: I feel that this issue is so great that every one should be given unlimited time to discuss it.

Delegate Ryan, Longshoremen: I don't want anybody to think I am imposing upon you by coming on this platform. Our organization is engaged in a gigantic struggle in the South and my presence is needed there immediately. My organization has not taken the floor in this convention, despite the fact that we were vitally interested in many of the questions that were settled in the last few days. Our former president, T. V. O'Connor, has died and his funeral will be held Monday. After I attend that funeral I will go South immediately.

I should take far more than ten minutes to go into the details of what the Communists have tried to do to our organization, but I know the majority of your organization have been faced by the same menace that we have. What I do know is that we will be able to meet and adjust our differences in this convention or any other convention of the American Federation of Labor, and that after the heat of this discussion has died down the Executive Council will deal with the matter.

This is a question on which there is no common ground. If we expect to preserve the American Federation of Labor we have to meet the challenge that has been thrown down to the American Government itself in the recent meeting they had in Moscow. Previous to that they were supposed to be working under cover, boring in, and so on, but supposed to be trade unionists—Dorsey on the Pacific Coast is one of them—went there and reported on the activities they have been carrying on in the past year to disrupt this labor movement. They were instructed to go in and get control of the labor organization so that in turn they could get control of the Government of the country.

They claimed that they called the strike on the Pacific Coast in which our men were concerned. They did not. That was called by our organization. They claimed there would be another strike on October 1st. Our organization weeded them out and there was no such strike. You will notice in the New York papers that a group has instituted a suit against "The United Front." The men

who have applied for it in our name are Communists.

Down in New Orleans, where I am going on Tuesday or Wednesday, they have been flooding the waterfront with malicious propaganda of how "International President Ryan has sold out the men in the South"; and so on. A colored elevator man in the apartment where I live asked me if they could not advocate refusing to unload the Italian ships because of the war in Ethiopia. I explained that we were covered by contract, and so on, and we could not do that. The editor of the "Daily Worker" then said in his paper, "Ryan Turns Thumbs Down On Ethiopia!" He was inciting the colored membership in our organization, both North and South, to think that International President Ryan is a traitor to his members.

The brother said we have agreed to recognize no class, color, creed or political lines, and that is true. I have respect for the radical member, because if it were not for him we would grow lax in our efforts, but they have no respect for our labor movement or even for our country. So we are going to keep Communists out of the ranks of our international organizations, and even if we have only three and one-half million, that number can take care of the problems of the 40,000,000 workers in this country, and it will do it.

Chairman Tobin: I just want to explain to the delegates that the action of the committee was unanimous and signed by fifteen or sixteen representatives of international unions. On two or three occasions we discussed this change in our law. We express our sympathy with the amendment of the Executive Council in our report, but we set aside in its entirety the amendment and the law recommended by the Council and we added one single paragraph to the law as it now reads.

It isn't anything new for this Federation to say to central bodies and state branches—and that is all the amendment deals with—who they shall and shall not admit as delegates. The adoption of this amendment has nothing at all to do with the membership of international unions. In other words, you can hold the Communists

in your international unions under this law if you so desire, but if you elect a professed, proven Communist as a delegate to a central body or a state branch, the state branch or the central body has the right to reject him as a delegate under this law.

It is not the intention to railroad any man out of his position as a delegate. It must be proven beyond the question of a doubt that he is guilty of the charges against him, the same as it is now if a man is charged with being a suspended member. The law now reads and has read so for many years, "No organization or person who has seceded or has been suspended shall be admitted as a delegate," so if a man who is charged with being a suspended member of another union denies the charge, then it is up to the central body to have a trial. If the decision is against him he has a right to appeal to the state branch and from there he has a right to appeal to the Executive Council.

Every method of protecting the individual is provided for, so that nobody can be railroaded, because some of us in our early days and some of us in our later days have been called radicals. There is no intention of preventing a man from being a delegate because he has radical ideas, but Communists have gone in openly in places and avowed their intention of destroying a labor body and the trade union in that district.

Central body after central body has appealed to the Council to give them some means of protecting themselves. I could name central bodies that are now appealing for relief. All the committee has done is to add one paragraph to the present law, which I repeat does not deal with the membership in any international union. We have an organization now in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor that we know is officered and controlled by Communists. With regard to state federations and central bodies the amendment reads:

"No organization officered or controlled by Communists or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, and no organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any national or international organization connected with the Federation

shall, while under such relationship or under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation or in any central body or state federation of labor."

That is plain. Local bodies will have the right, if you adopt this law, to refuse to seat a known Communist, with the provision that he has the right of trial. If you want Communists as members of your national or international unions or in local Federal unions you can hold them in membership, but you cannot send them into central bodies to destroy those central bodies.

Delegate Davis, Boilermakers: Personally I don't believe that the amendment offered by the committee goes far enough. I personally believe that perhaps I should offer an amendment to this body before I take up discussion on it, so that the delegates may know what I have in mind, and I am going to offer, if I am in order, to amend the report of the committee by adding, "All organizations aiding and abetting organizations or individuals connected with any of the various Communistic movements."

President Green: The amendment is in order.

Delegate Davis: My organization, perhaps, is about the least affected by Communistic movements of any international union affiliated with this American Federation of Labor, but we are confronted with what might be termed dual movements, movements that have been inaugurated and started for the purpose of destroying the effectiveness of our organization. In addition to that, in order that I might be brief, I might say that we are of the opinion, in fact, we know that some of the dual movements are connected with the Communistic movement. They do not deny it, in fact they make no bones about admitting it.

We further know that some of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor have been contributing financial support to at least one of those organizations. So I hold, Mr. Chairman, that the report of the committee does not go far enough. I don't think there should be any place on the floor of this Federation for any national or international union that is using the funds of its organization to aid the Communistic movement.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: The report of the committee is quite satisfactory to the representatives in this convention of the United Mine Workers of America. I don't know whether the previous speaker was referring to the United Mine Workers—he didn't name any organization—but if he was, I want to hurl the charges back into his teeth. The United Mine Workers has made some contribution to some struggling organizations in the mass production industry, and we are going to continue that course, but we are not supporting any Communistic organization. We have probably had more trouble with the Communists than any other organization in the movement. We know their objectives, we are not in sympathy with any of them.

Delegate Woll: I rise to support the committee's report and to oppose the amendment offered to the committee's report. My position on the question of Communism is well known, and I am not going to burden this convention with a recital of a knowledge of facts with which I am fully familiar, and of the tactics and policies and plans made by Communistic organizations to destroy the American labor movement.

I hold that this convention and this Federation is wholly within its rights to lay down the rule of eligibility of representation within the state and central bodies; but when we attempt by action here to determine the eligibility of membership within our respective national and international unions, then we are infringing upon the autonomous rights of our affiliated organizations, and once we venture into that field we will no longer have a federation of unions, but a single organic organization, one big union. I realize, of course, the processes that have moved the sponsor of the amendment to the committee's report. It is unfortunate that in our labor union we often follow a path that may ultimately undo the very thing we are trying to do and reach an object we are trying to avoid. I hope the amendment will be defeated and the committee's report unanimously sustained.

Delegate Lawrence, Casket Makers, Chicago: The question is not whether a man be a Communist and a member of a trade union, but whether an organization officered or controlled by a Communist, or person espousing Communism, or wanting to overthrow the United States Government, may be a delegate to a

central labor body or a state federation of labor.

Brother Tobin tells us that we needn't worry about it, that there will be a fair trial in any such case. I have been listening for two weeks and I have found that in the convention there are people who know how to use fair and seductive words—they were used in San Francisco and they are being used here—but who is to know that they will abide by what they say here?

Who is going to decide whether a man is a Communist or whether he wants to overthrow this Government by violence? Will it be those who are accustomed to use these fair and seductive words? I am going to give you proof of how this can be abused. An industrial union resolution was introduced at the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor last month. Brother Victor Olander, Secretary of the State Federation—and this can be seen by anybody in the proceedings of that convention—rose to the occasion and he made a long speech in which he said that "there is no question of industrial unionism before the convention, but there is a question of whether the American labor movement is going to accept orders from Moscow." Mr. Olander concluded his speech by saying, "A vote for the industrial union resolutions will be a vote to destroy the American Federation of Labor and the American Government."

It is on the records of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and I am surprised that the other day there wasn't an intimation that John L. Lewis was not in secret correspondence with Stalin.

We will have to quit intimidating our membership with the Red scare. I entered the trade union movement to join with others who want to fight for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. The other day when the Law Committee heard this question I appeared before it with about twenty others, and I asked this question of the committee: "Can you give any evidence of any trade union organization, officered or controlled by the Communists, where the wages were lowered, where the hours were increased, where the working conditions were in worse shape and the membership was reduced because the Communists secured control?"

And the answer in the presence of these twenty-odd people and the whole committee

was that they had no such information. The members of any union are interested in union conditions, they judge their leaders by results and not any by their color. And on this question I would say, let the American Federation of Labor quit giving assistance to the National Civic Federation and William Hitler Hearst. Let us go to work and organize that 25,000,000.

President Green: May the Chair take the liberty of saying just a few words on this subject. I would not interfere with the autonomous rights of any international union to exercise complete authority and control over its administrative affairs. That is a fundamental principle that has been recognized by the American Federation of Labor ever since it was formed; but the American Federation of Labor has been confronted with a very grievous and most difficult situation. It has been assailed by the hostile employers of labor from without and from the opposition of pretended friends from within. That has made its task very difficult.

The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor are tolerant. We have respected the opinions of men because we have been the defender of free speech, free press, free assemblage and we protect the rights of all workers to worship in accordance to the dictates of their conscience, and to exercise their political beliefs. We discriminate against neither creed, color nor nationality, but the trouble has been that under the guise of a political party men have been attempting to strike right at the heart of our great American labor movement and at its leaders. We are the keepers of this Ark of the Covenant, to our hands has been entrusted as the common heritage and the safety, the preservation and the protection of this dearly beloved organization.

Now, while we are tolerant we cannot be deceived, because when conventions of the American Federation of Labor decide upon a legislative policy it becomes the duty of the Executive Council to carry out that legislative policy. Isn't it the duty of every one connected with the American Federation of Labor and our friends to help us in every way to realize our legislative objectives?

The convention ordered the Executive Council to support the Wagner bill. That

was a mandate. Very well, we supported the measure, we appeared before committees in Congress and appealed to committees in Congress to report the bill favorably. We appealed to members of Congress to support the measure personally. We did work through correspondence and through personal appeal.

We appealed to the members of Congress to vote for the measure. We did personal work, we did work through correspondence and through personal appeal. Now we assumed that the Communists would be with us. The understanding is that they would stand with us in support of America's legislative program, particularly when it involved economic improvements. But what happened? I appeared before the committee appealing for the passage of the Wagner Dispute Act, and behold you, the chief spokesman of the Communists in the United States appeared in opposition to the American Federation of Labor and the Wagner Disputes Act. Here is the record, reading from page 580 of a volume published by the National Labor Relations Board, "Hearings Before the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate," statement of Mr. William Dunne—and I understand Mr. Dunne is the chief spokesman of the Communist Party in the United States. I don't know whether he is the editor of "The Daily Worker," or not, but I understand he is closely connected with it. Here is what he said:

"Mr. Dunne. May I file a statement, Mr. Chairman? It is in the name of the Communist Party which I represent here. My name is William Dunne.

"The Chairman. What is your residence, Mr. Dunne?

"Mr. Dunne. New York City.

"The Chairman. What office do you hold in your union?

"Mr. Dunne. I am connected with The Daily Worker in a journalistic capacity.

"The Chairman. You are presenting a brief?

"Mr. Dunne. It is in opposition to the Wagner Bill, for the record. We are also submitting our own proposals for the record in the same document."

And then follows a long statement in opposition to the Wagner Disputes Act. Following him came Mr. Abraham G. Feldman, President and Treasurer of the Storkline Furniture Corporation of Chicago. And

then I think following him came the representative of the Manufacturers Association—all of them along with Mr. Dunne, standing there in opposition to the Wagner Disputes Act.

When we were battling for the 30-hour work week bill, the bill we talked about the other day, this same Mr. Dunne appeared in opposition to that bill. I quote now from the hearings before a sub-committee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate. On Thursday, January 12, 1933, there appears the statement of William F. Dunne, representing the Trade Union Unity League of New York, and as I understand it, that is a Communist organization. In this statement he declared his opposition to the 30-hour bill, as follows—and I quote from page 88 of that record:

"Mr. Dunne. Our opposition to the Black Bill, as it is formulated, is that it is merely a continuance of sharing-the-work plan, in another form."

In supporting his argument, on page 86 of this record, he states:

"In southern Illinois, where the coal miners were affected by the crisis in the mining industry long before the general crisis, and where there has been real mass hunger for four or five years, yes, for seven or eight years, a permanent mass unemployment for practically that long, where the miners have been fighting against the onslaught of the coal operators, dominated by the Peabody Coal Company, the Democratic administration in that state has just distinguished itself in carrying through its policy for taking care of the forgotten man by sending in five companies of troops to defend the Peabody Coal Company and its gunmen in their attacks upon the miners.

"From 1925 to 1930 miners were in jail charged with murder by the Attorney General for defending themselves against these attacks. Martial law or semi-martial law has been established and a real reign of terror initiated by the Peabody Company's gunmen, troops, and a special form of thugs recruited by John L. Lewis, head of the Peabody Coal Company."

Now, my friends, when we are made acquainted with opposition of that kind, is it possible that we can or must refuse to take such action as may seem necessary in order to protect our interests? I have the highest admiration for men of vision and men who are progressive. I wish to encourage it, but I think that this great movement entrusted to our care ought to be protected.

I have appeals in my office now from Central bodies and State Federations of Labor asking the American Federation of Labor to do something to save them and to protect them from these attacks that are constantly being made from within, at every meeting of the Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor. The report of the committee will give us that relief, and I hope it will be adopted.

Delegate Olander, Seamen's Union: Mr. President and delegates—I had no intention of entering the debate until my name was mentioned in a matter that calls for at least a brief reply. It is true, as the delegate has stated, that at a convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor I used some language similar to something that he said. However, he left the impression that I had undertaken to say there that those who believed in industrial unionism were in some way disloyal to the movement.

I think most of the delegates in the American Federation of Labor know that I am not likely to make any such foolish statement as that. But left unsaid was this, that I pointed out to that convention that the alleged industrial union resolution was couched in language calculated to enable agitators outside of the movement and some within, in the event that the resolution was passed by the State Federation of Labor, to use it in villifying and attacking the national and international officers and national and international trade unions all over the United States, in the name of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

I said that that resolution was never prepared in any trade union circles, it was drawn outside of the trade union movement, brought in here to defraud and cheat and trick the members of the legitimate trade union movement into taking a position that afterwards could be misrepresented in their name. That is the part of it he forgot to state. There were some 600 delegates present at that convention. We were meeting in Belleville, Illinois, in the heart of the rebellious Progressive Miners' field. We had a difficult situation confronting us. We handled that situation to the glory of the Illinois trade unionists in a way creditable to all of them. The

statement that I am discussing was made in the presence of these delegates, many of whom were earnest advocates of industrial trade unionism, and when the vote was taken on that resolution there were only three or four votes heard against the position I had taken at that time, because they understood the trickery the fraud and the cheating that was being perpetrated in the name of industrial unionism at that time. Of course we had nothing to do with the question of the form of organization. That is the whole story of that particular event.

Mr. President, I favor the report of the committee.

A large number of delegates called for the question.

President Green: A sufficient number has called for the previous question. All those who favor the previous question being now put will say "Aye," those opposed, "No." The Chair is of the opinion that more than two-thirds of the delegates have ordered the previous question.

Delegate Krauss, Linoleum Workers Union No. 19990: I would like to submit an editorial in the New York Post of Monday, October 7, with the title of "American Federation of Labor Blesses Enemies Again." Of course it is a lengthy editorial.

President Green: That hasn't anything to do with us. That is a propaganda paper.

Delegate Davis: Since my purpose has been served, with the consent of the Chair and the delegates I beg to withdraw the amendment to the committee's report, realizing that the chairman has adequately explained the policies and principles of this Federation.

President Green: Delegate Davis asks to withdraw his amendment. If there are no objections it is withdrawn. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

The question recurs on the adoption of the report of the committee which must be carried by a two-thirds vote.

After the vote had been taken by show of hands President Green said:

The Chair is of the opinion that the amendment has been adopted by more than the necessary two-thirds vote. It has been thus adopted, and it is so ordered.

The following delegates asked to be recorded as voting against the adoption of the committee's report: Sam Baron, Bookkeepers and Stenographers Union No. 12646; Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union 18456; Louis Harper, Federal Labor Union 20049.

Chairman Tobin: Mr. Chairman and delegates, this concludes the report of the Committee on Law, which is signed by the committee:

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman,
EDWARD J. VOLZ, Secretary,
THOMAS F. BRODERICK,
THOMAS F. McMAHON,
LOUIS VOGLAND,
THOMAS FLYNN,
WM. P. WALSH,
JOHN CONWAY,
FRED J. DEMPSEY,
W. J. GORMAN,
DAN HAGGERTY,
PAUL M. PETERSON,
WM. A. COLLINS,
A. GORDON,
DENNIS LANE,
CHARLES ANDERSON,

Committee on Law.

Vice-President Tobin: I now move you, Mr. Chairman, that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, as amended and adopted, be approved as a whole by the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by a practically unanimous vote.

Your committee presents for the approval of the convention its conclusions upon a subject called to its attention since the convention began its sessions.

Labor was gravely disturbed after the enactment of Section 7 (a) which invalidated company unions, to learn that instead of diminishing in number they had rapidly increased. The purpose of the law was to make company unions unlawful because they were, in the great majority of instances, an organization devised and controlled by the employer, and forced upon the workmen without their consent. Reports made by governmental agencies, and statements contained in the official publications of employers' associations, indicated that after the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act, company unions instead of decreasing increased by over 200 per cent, despite the efforts of the proper Federal

authorities to enforce the law. It was open rebellion on the part of many large corporations against the law.

Because of the far-reaching problem involved it was deemed necessary that some governmental agency should make a careful unbiased study relative to the entire question of company unions. This study was made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor. It was released since this convention began its sessions. It is evident that the facts disclosed supported all of the major contentions of our trade union movement relative to the increase of company unions since the National Industrial Recovery Act was enacted, and that the great majority of these company unions were forced upon employees and were largely a sounding board to approve of company policies. The report further made it evident that most of the company unions were financed by the employer, and were wholly lacking of any condition under which the employees could freely discuss their grievances, and present them to the employer for adequate consideration.

It is now evident that several national associations of employers became so enraged over the facts presented in this report that they endeavored to have employers boycott the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This would mean, among other things, that employers would refuse to fill out questionnaires forwarded by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, that they would refuse in any way to co-operate with that Bureau by supplying information essential to studies and

reports upon the many features affecting labor and industry covered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The "Journal of Commerce," published in New York, in its October 15th issue, said in part as follows; under the caption, "Company Union Study."

"Although resentment in industrial circles against the recent study on Company Unions prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics continues high, it now seems doubtful that an organized boycott of the Bureau will result."

The inference is unmistakable. Employers associations on second thought realize the position in which they would be placed if they declared for a general boycott, but the suggestion is plain that this should not interfere with a boycott by individual employers.

This effort by a large number of organized employers to interfere with any study made by the Government which would supply facts relative to any industrial situation is in keeping with a policy they have adopted in the past which has created the conviction among many that they considered observance of the law and co-operation with the Government only when their own ends are being served.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Union: I move you that we now recess to reconvene at eight o'clock tonight.

The motion was seconded and carried.

At 6:40 p. m. the convention was recessed to 8:00 o'clock p. m.

ELEVENTH DAY—Saturday Evening Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 8:30 o'clock.

Delegate Beardsley, Jewelry Workers: A point of personal privilege. I rise on a question of personal privilege for the purpose of making a statement for the record in the minutes of the convention and for information to the delegates.

I tried to get the floor while the debate was on the question of the amendment to Section 5 of Article IV of the constitution. Not being able to get the floor, I want to make the statement that I would have made at that time, and I want to briefly preface my statement.

In 1920 our organization passed through a disastrous strike in the city of New York, involving one of the largest locals, which left our organization in a helpless state for many years, during the time when we were fighting for our very life to keep our organization alive, not only contending with the indifference and apathy on the part of our members and also the antagonism of the employers, but also the activities of a group of Communists in Local No. 1, the Local that had the disastrous fight.

In 1929 this group formed a dual organization in Local Union No. 1 known as the Jewelry Workers Industrial Union. That group was headed by a group of Communists. We brought before our organization five of this group who were the active ones in carrying on the work, and we told them that they would have to give up this organization or they would be expelled from the Local. They refused to give it up and they were expelled from the Local. They appealed to the local body and were expelled by the local body.

I find that the leader of that group, whose name at that time was Abraham Rubin and who was afterwards active in organizing the work for the Metal Workers Industrial Union and also for the Marine Transport Workers Union, and one of the speakers on the floor of this convention in the debate on Section 5 of Article IV is that same Abraham Rubin who was ex-

pelled from our local organization in New York City for Communist activities and dual unionism. He is here as a delegate from the Display Fixtures and Figure Workers Union No. 20039, under the name of Jack Rand.

Delegate Costello, Federal Labor Union 18456: I would like to ask a question. If that is true, why didn't Delegate Beardsley bring this question up on the floor of the convention earlier, when Delegate Rand was present? I don't know whether he is here at this time or not, but I believe this should have been taken up on the floor of the convention previous to the last day of the convention.

Delegate Randolph, Pullman Car Porters: Mr. Chairman, I rise to inquire as to when the Chair proposes to submit the supplemental report of the Executive Council on the question of discrimination against negro workers. I am waiting to hear that report, and I want to know when it is going to be presented.

President Green: That report was filed with me last evening. I have sent my assistant for it and it will be here in just a few moments and will be submitted to the convention.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

I now desire to submit a supplemental report of the Executive Council containing the report of Brother Dennis Lane, one of the fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. It will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's convention.

The report is as follows:

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

Atlantic City, New Jersey,
October, 17, 1935.

Wm. Green, President,
Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The British Trades Union Congress convened at Margate, Kent, England on Monday,

September 2nd. My colleague, Delegate Schmal, and I arrived at Margate on September 1st. We were met by a committee from the Trades Congress, provided with very good hotel accommodations and made to feel that we were among real friends.

I learned that the British Trades Union Congress handles the business of its convention quite different from the procedure practiced by the American Federation of Labor. I learned that all resolutions were submitted to the executive council of the Congress not later than six weeks prior to the convention. The executive council makes an analysis of the resolutions and reports its recommendations to the convention, which is equivalent to the report made by our various committees to our convention.

The business before the convention is chiefly embodied in the report of the executive council, which includes all subject matters referred to by resolution.

I also observed that the British Trades Union movement is closely allied, or in fact part and parcel of the British Labor Party (political) and their efforts to secure advantages for the workers seems to be worked out largely through the political arm of their movement (the Labor Party).

There were two matters that seemed to be of primary importance before the Congress. One dealt with the trouble that has developed between Italy and Abyssinia and the Trade Union Congress in no uncertain terms condemned the actions of the Italian government and particularly its head, Premier Mussolini, and declared the position of the British Trade Unionists would be that Mussolini must be stopped in his efforts of aggression toward Abyssinia, even though it would have to be accomplished by force of arms. This matter was disposed of after considerable debate pro and con. There were those in the Congress that opposed the use of arms while others, and in fact, the majority, placed the Congress on record as being favorable to the use of arms if all other reasonable means failed to stop Italy's transgression upon Abyssinia.

The other question that seemed to me as being of major importance before the convention was what we here in America might term "depressed conditions." In the British Congress it was referred to as "depressed areas" and among the many areas that were enumerated the miners employed in the Welsh coal fields seemed to be in a greater depressed condition than others reported from other areas. The action of the Congress on this matter spurred its officers and leaders in parliament on to greater efforts to secure from the present government a greater measure of relief for the peoples of the depressed areas.

Although my time was very much limited for observation, yet it was not hard to conclude that there is still lots of room for improvement within the British industrial field

in a similar manner as we are experiencing here in the United States.

The Congress adjourned Friday evening, September 6th. My visit and association with the British trade unionists was quite educational and very pleasant. The officers and members of the Congress were very generous with their hospitality. They did everything possible to make the visiting delegates comfortable and our stay with them enjoyable. I shall always entertain many happy remembrances of my visit and association with the British trade unionists.

Further details of actions taken by the Congress will be mailed by the Congress to the office of the American Federation of Labor in a bound copy of its proceedings. This copy, I believe, will contain the messages delivered by Delegates Schmal and myself to the Congress in behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

In closing, I want to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to the delegates attending the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor for choosing me as one of the American representatives to the British Trades Union Congress at Margate in the year 1935.

With kindest regards, I remain,
Fraternally yours,

DENNIS LANE,
Secretary-Treasurer.

The Chair also desires to announce that there will be a meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in Room 104, Ambassador Hotel, tomorrow afternoon at 2:30 o'clock. The Chair requests that a representative of the Hotel, Restaurant and Waiters organization be present, also a representative of the Railway Clerks, Sleeping Car Conductors, and Sleeping Car Porters.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee submitted the following report:

RESOLUTIONS NOS. 13, 41, 84, 104, 146,
187, 188, 205, 214 and 218
Amending the Constitution of the United States.

FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Wm. M. Brandt, Missouri State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, May 27, 1935, the Supreme Court of our Country declared unconstitutional the NRA and that on May 28th, the Chicago Daily Tribune, carried a news article in which one reactionary member of Congress was quoted as saying, after this decision was rendered, "We lawyers are on top;" and

WHEREAS, Conditions as they now confront us is whether the Courts and the lawyers, representing a small percentage of the population of our Country, shall rule our Country, or the great mass of the people shall rule it; and

WHEREAS, The delegates to this Convention must know, that in the darkest days of Kaiserism in Germany, that any law enacted by the German Congress, the same could not be set aside by the Kaiser, or any of his Courts; and

WHEREAS, We must also know that in Great Britain when the British House of Commons passes a law, the King of England, the House of Lords nor any of the Courts of that Country can set aside said law; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed, working with other liberal forces of our Country, to prepare a Federal Constitutional Amendment, to the effect that when any elected Representatives pass a law, or any law enacted by the referendum of our people, whether these laws be made by the Federal Government, State Government, County Government or City Government, that no law enacted by the Representatives or the referendum shall be declared unconstitutional by any Federal Court, State Court, County Court or Municipal Court.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT (H. J. Res. 327)

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Wyndam Mortimer, United Automobile Workers' Union No. 18463, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States have seriously endangered the future of all legislation on behalf of farm and city workers, and also legislation looking toward greater control over transportation, industry and business by the government; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has gone on record in favor of a constitutional amendment which would legalize such legislation; and

WHEREAS, Representative Vito Marcantonio, of New York, has introduced in Congress a proposed amendment known as the Workers' Rights Amendment (H. J. Res. 327), which would legalize such legislation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, White Motor Local of the International Union of the United Automobile Workers of America, go on record in favor of this resolution; and be it

RESOLVED, That we urge all members to actively support this amendment and bring it to the attention of farmers and workers everywhere, and that copies of this resolution and notification of this action be sent to Representative H. W. Sum-

mers, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, the Congressmen from this County, Frank Morrison, Secretary of the A. F. of L.; Ed. Hall, Secretary of the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America, and the Labor Committee for the Workers' Rights Amendment, Cleveland, Ohio.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO U. S. CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Isidore Nagler, Julius Hochman, Basilio Desti, Abraham Snyder, Nathan Margolis and Reuben Zuckerman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, Development of industry in the United States today, transcends state barriers and creates problems affecting the vital interests of the American wage earners which could be effectively dealt with only through national legislation; and

WHEREAS, Every important attempt made heretofore by Congress to enact economic welfare and social security legislation, such as the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Child Labor Act, the Railway Employees Pension Act, and many others, have been declared void by the Supreme Court either as being outside the scope of the Federal Constitution or as conflicting with the rights of the individual States; and

WHEREAS, These adverse judicial decisions are stifling the legitimate progress and aspirations of the American workers and are being utilized by the enemies of the trade union movement as a weapon of reaction in the struggle of the wage earning masses for the improvement of their economic and social status; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in 55th Convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., endorse the following amendment to the Federal Constitution and instruct the Executive Council to work energetically for its submission by Congress for ratification by the various States.

Amendment to the United States Constitution:

Article XXI

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws throughout the United States to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age; to limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage earners and employees; to provide for the relief of aged, invalided, sick and unemployed wage earners and employees, in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation, or indemnities from the public treasury, from contributions of employers, wage earners and employees, or from one or more such sources, and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers of the United States.

Section 2. The power of the several States to enact social welfare legislation is unimpaired by this Article, but no such legislation shall abridge or conflict with any Act of Congress under this Article.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO U. S. CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, a Joint resolution, H. J. R. 827, which calls for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, said amendment reads as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of said Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States as provided in the Constitution:

"Article—

"Section 1. The Congress shall have power to establish uniform laws throughout the United States to regulate, limit, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age; to limit the work time and establish minimum compensation of wage earners; to provide for the relief of the aged, invalided, sick, and unemployed wage earners and employees in the form of periodical grants, pensions, benefits, compensation, or indemnities from the Public Treasury, from contributions of employers, wage earners, and employees, or from one or more of such sources; to establish and take over natural resources, properties, and enterprises in manufacture, mining, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities, and other business to be owned and operated by the Government of the United States or agencies thereof for the benefit of the people, and generally for the social and economic welfare of the workers, farmers and consumers.

"Section 2. The power of the several States to enact social-welfare legislation is unimpaired by this article, but no such legislation shall abridge or conflict with any Act of Congress under this article." therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby goes on record favoring this amendment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO U. S. CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate C. S. Taylor, Federal Labor Union No. 19311, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court decision of making NRA unconstitutional was fol-

lowed by a volume of attacks against the labor movement to undermine the conditions gained through the battles of labor in the past two years, and

WHEREAS, This evidence carried in the press and those of us working directly in industry can openly see the drive to discrimination, discharge and lengthen hours of labor; and

WHEREAS, The experiences gained in the past two years, prove one main factor resulting in those gains made; that labor organized and fought militantly to raise the American standard of living; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-fifth Convention go on record to open up a drive of organizing the unorganized to check the attack against labor and through the militant action of labor force an amendment in the Constitution against the power of the Supreme Court to nullify legislation in the interests of labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 187—By Delegate E. Brown, Office Workers Union, Local No. 20048.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court decision nullifying the NRA showed the determination of the industrialists to destroy whatever gains labor has made through the magnificent battles it has waged in the past two years and to launch a more formidable drive to undermine completely the American standard of living by wage cuts, increased speed-up, longer hours, and the increased use of child labor, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council has submitted abundant evidence to the press that the Supreme Court decision has already resulted in the discharge of thousands of workers, in wage reductions and increased hours of work for at least one million workers affecting textiles, food, fur, automobile and other industries, and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court decisions on the NRA and on railroad pensions constitute a serious threat against all social and labor legislation, and

WHEREAS, The experiences of the workers under the NRA provides ample proof that not a single major case which was sent to the Labor Boards was a victory for the workers; and that only where the unions are powerfully organized and carry out a program of persistent and militant struggle can labor force concessions, achieve a higher standard of living and withstand the employers' efforts to reduce these standards, and

WHEREAS, The force of the Supreme Court attack brought about by the most reactionary and fascist circles must be met by a solid labor front in which all trade unions inside and outside the American Federation of Labor will stand united to defend the interests of labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record to ward off this blow to labor by:

1—Launching an organizational drive in every industry to strengthen the power of labor.

2—Calling upon all unions to unite for strike action against any encroachments upon our living standards.

3—Continuing the fight for genuine social and labor legislation and through militant action force the adoption of a constitutional amendment to strip the Supreme Court of its power to rob labor of legislation for which it has fought.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 188—By Delegate Emil Costello, Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, Recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court on the railway pension act and the NRA have endangered the future of all social and labor legislation and legislation which would give the government greater control over industry; and

WHEREAS, Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York has introduced into Congress H. J. R. 327 which proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States known as the Workers' Rights Amendment; and

WHEREAS said resolution is now before the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS the passage of this amendment would legalize afore-mentioned legislation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of said Workers' Rights Amendment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request from the House Judiciary Committee an immediate hearing on H. J. R. 327 so this vital amendment can soon be brought on the floor of Congress for action; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to Representative Hatton W. Summers, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and to all United States Congressmen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 205—By Delegate J. A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The founders of our Nation, in framing our Constitution provided three branches, namely, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial, expressly designating the powers of each, the legislative, and executive branches, and then by implication only, gave the judicial branch through the medium of the Supreme Court, certain powers expressed in the following language: "The Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction in all matters of the law and equity"; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court has assumed from the above quoted language, that it is within its power to nullify the expressed will of the legislative and executive branches, and have on numerous occasions exercised such power; and

WHEREAS, It is desirable that a reasonable check should be placed upon the legislative branch, to the end that hasty action in times of great stress which upon mature consideration may prove to be not in the best interests of the nation might be prevented from becoming effective; and

WHEREAS, The constitution provides proper means of changing its provisions, through amendments, and the right of the people to petition for such change as they may desire; and

WHEREAS, We do not believe that it is desirable or reasonable that the Supreme Court constituted of nine members should have the power to declare an act of the Congress null and void by a five to four decision, such as has been done in a number of cases. A five to four decision emphasizes the fact that the members of the Court, even though they may be the most learned, and the highest type of character, are human and subject to the errors of the mind and flesh just as other citizens are; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we petition Congress to submit to the people an amendment to the Constitution having for its purpose the limiting of the power of the Supreme Court to nullify an act of Congress only by a seven to two decision, and that should the number of members of the Court be increased in the future that the same ratio be retained.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 214—By Delegate Hartwick Dahl representing Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court on the railway pension act and the NRA have endangered the future of all social and labor legislation and legislation which would give the government greater control over industry; and

WHEREAS, Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York has introduced into Congress H. J. R. 327 which proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States known as the Workers' Rights Amendment; and

WHEREAS, Said resolution is now before the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives; and

WHEREAS, The passage of this amendment would legalize afore-mentioned legislation; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of said Workers' Rights Amendment; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we request from the House Judiciary Committee an immediate hearing on H. J. R. 327 so this vital amendment can soon be brought on the floor of Congress for action; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to Representative Hatton W. Summers, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and to all United States Congressmen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMENDMENT TO U. S. CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 218—By Delegates Marx Lewis and I. H. Goldberg, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is on record as being opposed to the continued exercise by the courts of the power to declare legislation unconstitutional, having declared that such power "is a most flagrant usurpation" and a "repudiation and denial of the principle of self government," and having in the past urged the Executive Council and all State organizations to exert every effort to arouse the public mind and conscience to the danger which the exercise of such power exposes the liberties of our people; and

WHEREAS, Since the Federation has expressed its opposition to the "judicial autocracy and despotism which has been slowly developing in our midst" legislation intended to afford labor a measure of protection against the continued encroachment and domination of special interests who have been the beneficiaries of governmental aid and bounties, has been nullified by the Supreme Court of the United States, and there is a danger that other measures bene-

ficial to labor may suffer the same fate when passed upon by that Court; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor at its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention that it reaffirms its opposition to the power of the courts to nullify the acts of the chosen representatives of the people, and that it instructs the Executive Council to renew its efforts to have the people, through the adoption of a Constitutional Amendment deprive the Court of such power; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, pending the adoption of such Amendment, consider the possibility of drafting an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon Congress the power to enact social welfare legislation and legislation enabling the fixing of minimum wages and maximum hours in industries that are intrastate as well as interstate in their character.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Your committee had referred to it Resolutions No. 13, 41, 84, 104, 146, 187, 188, 205, 214, 218, all of which relate to amending the Constitution of the United States. Some of these resolutions would deny the Supreme Court the power to declare unconstitutional any municipal, state, or federal legislative enactment, others would enlarge the legislative powers of Congress, either by enlarging the conception of interstate commerce, or by more specifically providing for Congressional power to enact social legislation. The recommendation is also made that the power to declare legislation unconstitutional can only be exercised by a two-thirds vote of the members of the United States Supreme Court.

Your committee is advised that this subject has already received consideration by the Executive Council, and is now being carefully studied. Many amendments for the purpose referred to in the resolutions have been proposed by various groups of citizens.

Your committee is of the opinion that at the present moment it would be unwise for the convention to declare itself in favor of any specific amendment, for the Executive Council should have the fullest opportunity of studying this important question before its approval is given to an amendment which is to have the support of the American trade union movement.

Your committee therefore recommends that these resolutions be referred to the

Executive Council with instructions to draft an amendment and have it submitted to Congress.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters: I move that the whole matter lay on the table.

The motion was seconded and carried.

REV. CHARLES E. COUGHLIN

Resolution No. 201—By Delegate Tom S. Johnson, United Automobile Workers No. 19374, Detroit, Mich.

WHEREAS, The anti-union activities of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, of Royal Oak, Michigan, have been a subject of discussion at two previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Reverend Charles E. Coughlin has recently added to his activities directed against the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions by lending his name, his support and his services as a speaker to a dual union movement in the automobile industry, the Automotive Workers' Industrial Association; and

WHEREAS, In a speech delivered in Detroit on September 5th, 1935, in behalf of this dual organization the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin opened a vicious attack against the United Automobile Workers of America and the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Policies advocated by the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin for the Automotive Workers' Industrial Association are obviously designed to destroy the United Automobile Workers of America, to present any militant action whatsoever by the Automotive Workers in defense of their interests and thereby play directly into the hands of the open-shop employers; and

WHEREAS, A careful examination of the writings, speeches and other public utterances of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin led to the inevitable conclusion that the tendency of his proposed political program is unmistakably in the direction of Fascism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby condemns the anti-labor record and present activities of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin and recommends that this decision receive the widest possible publicity in the labor press and otherwise to the end that the eyes of the workers of the nation shall be opened to the true character of this self-styled "friend of the oppressed."

In connection with Resolution No. 201, your committee directs attention to the fact that the Washington Convention 1933 received Resolution No. 91, which contained a condemnation of Father Charles E. Coughlin because of the alleged employment of non-union labor in the erection of his edifice at Royal Oak, Michigan, and the further al-

legation that he had his printing done in non-union shops. Because of the respect for the cloth of all religious denominations, and so that nothing might occur which would create the impression that reflection was being made upon a clergyman or a religious denomination, the 1933 convention of the A. F. of L. referred Resolution No. 91 to the Executive Council with instructions to appoint a committee of its members to interview Father Coughlin in an effort to bring about an adjustment of the conditions which had been alleged, and to establish good-will and co-operation. The Executive Council appointed two members of its body—Frank Duffy and the late Martin F. Ryan. Charles P. Howard, President of the International Typographical Union, was appointed as the third member of the committee.

At the 1934 convention of the A. F. of L., the Executive Council expressed regret in being compelled to report that despite every effort on their part, and on the part of their committee, it had been impossible to conform with the convention's instructions, as Father Coughlin declined to confer with them.

The President of the American Federation of Labor also reported upon the unsatisfactory results of the correspondence with Father Coughlin in connection with the convention's earnest desire to have the question in dispute adjusted upon a friendly and satisfactory basis.

Resolution No. 201, upon which your committee is now reporting, relates to the efforts made by Father Charles E. Coughlin to organize a dual union of automobile workers. Your committee does not commit itself or this convention upon that part of the resolution which asserts that Father Coughlin's proposed political program is unmistakably in the direction of Fascism, but with this exception your committee recommends that Father Coughlin's efforts to organize a dual union meet with our vigorous disapproval, as it divides instead of unites.

The report of the committee was adopted.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Resolution No. 250—By Delegates United Mine Workers of America.

RESOLVED, That the American Federationist is hereby prohibited from the ac-

ceptance of advertisements or paid printing of any character from concerns which do not generally recognise and practice collective bargaining with legitimate organizations of labor.

The Executive Council is hereby expressly directed to execute this policy.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution and refers the subject to the Executive Council to administer the policy.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Peterson, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers: I am very glad that the committee saw fit to bring this resolution out for favorable report, as some of the toughest companies my international has ever been called upon to face are advertising in the American Federationist. I heartily support the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION

Resolution No. 251—By Delegates, United Mine Workers of America.

RESOLVED, That no officer of the American Federation of Labor shall act as an officer of the National Civic Federation, or be a member thereof.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The motion to adopt the committee's report, seconded by Vice-President Woll, was carried.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has set up Federal labor unions, considered a valuable asset to the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Many of these Federal labor unions are composed of numerous members who in all probability could be drafted into craft unions; and

WHEREAS, Craft unions have been demanding that members of Federal labor unions leave their unions and become members of the craft unions, which dismemberment of Federal labor unions, if permitted, would in time abolish all Federal labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That any movement designed to break up Federal labor unions after they have successfully organized such union be immediately discouraged; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That wherever Federal labor unions exist, their membership shall remain under the jurisdiction of said Federal labor unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record favoring Federal labor unions, insofar as such organization does not conflict with the jurisdictional rights of any union now in existence.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

GERMAN BOYCOTT

In this section of the Executive Council's report reference is made to the boycott against Germany declared by the Washington Convention 1933, and the reaffirmation of this boycott by the San Francisco Convention in 1934. The Executive Council recommends that the boycott against German goods and services should be continued until there is adequate recognition and protection of the rights of the minority groups in Germany—political, religious, and economic.

As your committee in portions of its report already presented has expressed its opinion of the brutality, the terrorism, the savage persecution which has prevailed under the Nazi Government it is unnecessary to again express in detail the reasons for our indignation.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council's recommendation to continue the boycott be approved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HARRY L. HOPKINS, WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATOR

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates J. W. Williams and Herbert Rivers, Building Trades Department, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, As originally drafted the Works Relief Program was a menace to wage and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Harry L. Hopkins, Works Progress Administrator, in the exercise of power vested in him by the President, has so liberalized and rationalized the regulations as to make possible protection of our wages and working hours, and has shown every desire to deal fairly with organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention extend its thanks to the said Harry L. Hopkins and express its appreciation of his fair attitude.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution and further recommends that the same sentiments expressed be extended to Secretary Ickes for the position he has taken relative to the prevailing wage.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RADIO ALLOCATION

Resolution No. 198—By Delegates International Typographical Union, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, Brotherhood of Bookbinders, International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union and International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, recognizing the importance of radio communications, has specifically reserved control of radio to Congress, and specified that radio broadcasting licenses be issued only to serve public interest; and

WHEREAS, Contrary to the pronounced intent of the Congress two monopolistic groups now virtually dominate American radio broadcasting and use these radio facilities, the property of the people, simply as a means for additional enrichment rather than to serve public interest; and

WHEREAS, In their mad desire for additional enrichment these radio monopolists have been able to divert almost one hundred millions of dollars of advertising from newspapers and magazines to radio, thereby depriving some 40,000 or more skilled printing trade workers of much-needed employment opportunities; and

WHEREAS, These radio monopolists now operate theatres to which are exclusively invited—free—those who advertise by radio and friends of those advertising agencies, which agencies control the placing of advertising; and

WHEREAS, It is apparent that public interest will not be served by those who seek only additional enrichment for themselves and render no service in the public interest and experience has proven that public interest will only be served by having the government, as is done in Great Britain, Canada and most all other countries, exclusively operate such radio broadcasting stations as are necessary to truly serve public interest; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, authorize and direct its officers to petition the Congress of the United States for the enactment of legislation wherein all

existing radio broadcasting licenses be cancelled at the expiration of the present license period and that all radio broadcasting thereafter be operated exclusively by a governmental agency, to be set up by action of the Congress, with commercial advertising on such radio stations restricted to not more than two hours of each day, of which not more than one hour be used for advertising after sundown; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all local unions, central labor unions and State Federations of Labor be directed to interview the Congressmen and United States Senators from their respective Districts and States, and secure from them a pledge, if possible, that they will work in Congress for the enactment of the legislation herein proposed.

Resolution No. 198 introduced by the delegates of the Printing Trades International Unions deals with monopolistic control of agencies of public information. It calls upon the convention of the American Federation of Labor to authorize and direct its officers to initiate legislation in the Congress providing for government ownership and control of radio broadcasting stations. It also provides for limitation of time to be devoted to commercial advertising. We are informed the resolution is not intended to outline the provisions of the legislation to be prepared and submitted to the Congress; its purpose being to declare the policy of the American Federation of Labor upon a subject which is of paramount importance to all the people. As a substitute for Resolution 198 your committee recommends as follows:

Available information is conclusive that the ownership and control of radio broadcasting is rapidly passing into the hands of the daily newspaper publishers. There being but two avenues by which the great mass of our citizens can be reached, your committee believes that to permit a monopolized private control of either or both methods would constitute a serious menace to political democracy and the welfare of our people. Newspaper publishing and radio broadcasting are rapidly passing under a more centralized control. While the Constitution guarantees a free press, it is observed only in maintaining freedom of expression for those who own and operate newspapers and those whose utterances the publishers desire to admit to their columns.

Your committee believes that radio and newspapers and all sources of public information should be freed from monopolistic

control and operation. Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to investigate the subject and cause to be prepared and introduced in the Congress during its next session, legislation which will make effective the purpose declared in this report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Mr. President, I would like to consume about two minutes' time of the convention to call the attention of the delegates to the importance of the committee's report dealing with this fundamental question. It is well known to every delegate in the hall that there are but two methods by which the people of this country can be reached with information. It is also well known that the opinions of the people are based upon the information they receive. This is a fundamental question, especially in a democracy such as ours, where the people must be guided by their opinions in passing upon legislation and in the election of officers from the highest to the lowest office.

There is a condition rapidly growing in the United States which will, at an early date, result in monopolistic control of both of these methods. At the present time there are in the United States 165 cities in which the newspapers are under the control of one individual firm or corporation. The development is along the lines of purchases, suspensions and mergers, which means that the newspapers of the country are rapidly passing to a centralized control.

The same can be said as regards the radio, which is the second method by which the people can be reached. At the beginning of 1934 there were 100 radio stations owned or controlled by newspapers through interlocking directors or through stock ownership. During the year 1934 there were 34 applications approved by the Radio Commission for radio stations for newspapers, and there were some twenty that have not yet been acted upon.

I believe that is sufficient to indicate the development along the line of centralized control of both agencies, the newspapers and the radio stations of the country. There is a new development more important and taking control of the radio than the daily news-

papers. A patent has been issued or is about to be issued under the name of what is known as a facsimile radio, which means that when you go to bed at night you can turn off your radio, and in the morning you can go to a basket in the front of the machine and pick out a facsimile of the morning newspaper. I consider this one of the most important questions in which the American Federation of Labor should interest itself. It appears to me it is the only avenue by which they can be reached and saved to the people, through nationalization of the radio, and I am heartily in sympathy with the report of the committee and trust that the Executive Council will initiate action along this line before it is too late.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

A. F. OF L. LEGAL DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. 220—By Delegates Marx Lewis and I. H. Goldberg, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The preservation of rights acquired through the enactment of legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor requires adequate legal machinery which is frequently beyond the means of smaller trade unions to provide, with the result that rights won by legislative enactment are lost through inadequate and ineffective representation in the courts and before commissions charged with the enforcement of such rights, and decisions and rulings are made which become precedents difficult to combat in subsequent cases; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention, that the Executive Council be, and it hereby is, authorized and directed to call a conference of representatives of affiliated international and national unions with the view of providing ways and means for the establishment and maintenance of a Legal Defense Department as part of the American Federation of Labor financed, if necessary to the successful conduct of such Department, by a per capita tax, or by such other means as will insure adequate legal facilities to trade unions requiring such facilities and unable to provide for them themselves.

Resolution No. 220 calls for a conference of National and International Unions to provide ways and means for the establishment and maintenance of a Legal Defense Department, and if required to finance such De-

partment by an increase in the per capita tax or by other means.

The purpose underlying is to aid smaller and weaker trade unions in their legal defense and to assure proper representation of fundamental issues in all instances of litigation involving legislation in which labor is vitally concerned. It is likewise believed such a Department might well aid in other directions in defending our trade unions against legal attacks.

Your committee concurs in the purposes sought. It recognizes the need of all possible aid in the direction indicated. It approves the suggestion for legal defense activity by the American Federation of Labor in connection with the re-establishment of the Legal Information Bureau. While in favor of the foregoing objectives your committee does not believe that the situation requires the calling of a special conference of National and International Unions, but does believe that the Executive Council can well undertake this work in so far as its further study of this subject will warrant, and as may be within the means of the American Federation of Labor, or as may be contributed by National or International Unions.

With this understanding we recommend reference of the resolution to the Executive Council for its further consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. OF L. AFFILIATION WITH INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Isidore Nagler, Julius Hochman, Basilio Desti, Abraham Snyder, Nathan Margolis and Reuben Zuckerman, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions from 1910 to 1921; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council to this Convention, in dealing with this topic, substantiates the fact that the International Federation of Trade Unions has become the "spearhead of the free trade union movement in Europe," recounting its activities especially in disarmament action and the agitation against war, in the fight against reaction and Fascism, in workers'

educational work and in trade union work among women; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has already displayed its sincere interest in worldwide economic and industrial conditions of the workers by affiliating with the International Labor Organization in Geneva and by taking an active part in its deliberations and purposes; and

WHEREAS, The International trade union movement, weakened by the practical destruction of the trade unions in Germany, Italy, Austria and other lands, would become immensely strengthened and encouraged in its fight against Fascism, Nazism and other influences which serve to demoralize the free trade union movement; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in 55th Convention assembled in Atlantic City, N. J., instruct the Executive Council to take steps for affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions on terms consonant with the general and special objectives of American organized labor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROTESTING ADMISSION OF ALIEN THEATRICAL WARDROBE ATTENDANTS

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Augusta Ocker, Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants Union No. 16770.

WHEREAS, Foreign Theatrical Companies, entering the United States, to perform before the public, bring Costumers and Wardrobe Attendants with them, to take charge of the Wardrobe Department; and

WHEREAS, Approximately eighty per cent of the Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants, in this country, have been unemployed most of the past five years, and they never travel to foreign countries to work; and

WHEREAS, We can supply these foreign companies with the help required, and thereby lessen the unemployment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its fifty-fifth convention, authorize the Executive Council to consult with the United States Immigration Department, regarding this matter, for the purpose of procuring this work for the American Citizen.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

URGING COMMUNITY STRIKES TO ENFORCE OBSERVANCE OF LABOR DAY

Resolution No. 164—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahan, Francis J. Gorman, Alex McKeown, Emil Rieve, Wm. F. Kelley and Frank Schweitzer, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Through the insistence of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of the United States set aside by law, the first Monday in September as a day belonging to the workers of this country, a day when the hosts of labor could gather together in their respective communities and celebrate the occasion; and

WHEREAS, Labor Day is recognized and observed in every progressive state. In some states, however, the workers are not permitted to enjoy this holiday owing to the opposition of the employers to grant the same; and

WHEREAS, This is not only in defiance of the Labor Movement and unfair to the workers, but also gives these employers a competitive advantage over those who do observe the holiday; it is, therefore

RESOLVED, That this Convention authorize the President of the American Federation of Labor to communicate with all affiliated unions urging a one-day strike on Labor Day, 1936, and every succeeding Labor Day in any community where the employers refuse to grant the same.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

OPPOSING PRIVATE OLD AGE PENSION PLANS

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin, Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mills and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, There is now pending, before the Congress of the United States of America a Social Security Program which will be of benefit to the laboring class of the country as a whole; and

WHEREAS, Certain corporations are now attempting to coerce their employees to accept private old age pension plans that will be of little benefit to the laboring class, especially in the mining industry, due to the short life span of men employed in and around mines, mills and smelters; and

WHEREAS, The burden of maintaining such pension plans is placed entirely upon the employees of said corporations; and

WHEREAS, The corporations' major reason for the adoption of old age pension plan is to forestall legislation by the Federal Government on the Social Security Program; and

WHEREAS, the adoption of private old age pension plans will lead to elimination of the older men in the industry by physical examination and placing them in the care of the already overburdened taxpayers, now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in convention assembled go on record as being opposed to the private old age pension plan as being proposed by the employers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being opposed to the private old age pension plan as being proposed by the employers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being opposed to the adoption of the Clark Amendment now pending in the United States Congress; and, be it still further

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be immediately urged to veto any or all legislation that provides for a private social security plan.

The enactment of the Federal Social Security Act has materially affected private pension plans whether carried on by private employers or trade unions. Your committee, because of vital issues involved, recommend that the subject be referred to the Executive Council for their careful and thorough consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROTESTING DISPLACEMENT OF NAVY YARD WORKERS BY WPA WORKERS

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Men employed in navy yards for a considerable number of years are being laid off for lack of funds; and

WHEREAS, Their places are being filled with men from the WPA at considerably lower wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to apply their energetic efforts to the end that this unsatisfactory condition be eliminated.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROPOSING ESTABLISHMENT OF ADJUSTMENT BOARDS IN NAVY AND WAR DEPARTMENTS TO DEAL WITH LABOR GRIEVANCES

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, A multitude of grievances affecting all trades have existed or developed in the Navy Yard service during the last several years involving such matters as efficiency markings, interpretation of Civil Service Rules and Regulations, trade jurisdiction, encroachment of the enlisted personnel on work which should properly be assigned to the civilian personnel; the encroachment of naval officers upon duties which should be retained by civilian supervisors, alleged discrimination against employees for union activity, rights of employees to be represented by union committees or representatives, and numerous other matters which have resulted in dissatisfaction and inefficiency; and

WHEREAS, While progress has been made in the Navy Department in the adjudication of these complaints, there still exists no adequate machinery within the Navy Department for the satisfactory adjudication of these questions, and to that extent the Navy Yard employees are denied the right of appeal through their chosen representatives; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor endeavor to have established in the Navy Department a Board of Adjustment, similar to the Navy Department Wage Board of Review, which is composed of two representatives of the Department appointed by the Secretary of the Navy, and one representative of Labor nominated by the President of the A. F. of L., and appointed by the Secretary of the Navy, whose duty it shall be to hold hearings upon Navy Yard grievances, and reach decisions in relation thereto; and that the representatives of Organized Labor shall be entitled to appear before such Board to discuss pending grievances in the same manner as such representatives were, and are, entitled to appear before the Department Wage Board of Review in relation to the wage question; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That an endeavor be made to have a similar Board established under the War Department for the adjudication of grievances arising at the arsenals and the several activities coming under the Chief of Engineers of the War Department.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OPPOSING DISPLACEMENT OF WORKERS WITH CIVIL SERVICE STATUS BY EMERGENCY WORKERS

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., is definitely opposed to any change in the status or abrogation of civil service rights of civilian employees,

classified or unclassified and known as permanent employees; and

WHEREAS, Maintenance and repair work is and has been performed by emergency employes on United States Government property, endangering the continued employment of permanent employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue its efforts to prevent displacement of permanent employes by emergency workers.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTIONS NOS. 57, 62, 63, 64 AND 167

APPRENTICE TRAINING—NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING AND DRY DOCK COMPANY, NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Your committee had referred to it Resolutions Nos. 57, 62, 63, 64, and 167. Two of these resolutions specifically relate to a so-called apprentice school in the plant of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company. All of the resolutions deal with use of Federal funds for the maintenance of Apprentice or other Training Schools in private establishments, and call attention to abuses which have developed under the administration of the Smith-Hughes Act.

Since the adjournment of the Convention of the Metal Trades Department, Friday, October 4, 1935, official information has been received by your committee that all Federal and State funds have been withdrawn from the Apprentice School in the plant of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company.

Upon the general question of abuses which may have developed under the application of the Smith-Hughes Act, your committee has received official information that an Advisory Committee has been created by the Federal Government to consider all questions in connection with Vocational Training, and that Mr. Henry Ohl, President of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, is labor's representative on this committee.

Your committee is further informed that Mr. Ohl's recent appointment has made it impossible for him to sit with the committee. Your committee believes that it would be unwise for this convention to take any condemnatory action until the Advisory Com-

mittee has met and Mr. Ohl has had the opportunity as a member of the committee to present to the committee some of the questions raised in the resolutions.

In view of these facts to which the committee directs your attention, the committee recommends that this convention request the Federal Commissioner of Education to appoint a committee for the purpose of advising him in connection with all questions surrounding plant training. This Advisory Committee to consist of nine members, three to be outstanding representatives from the ranks of organized labor; three to be outstanding representatives of employers; and three to be recognized authorities in connection with State and Local direction of Vocational Education.

During the reading of the report Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, said:

May I interrupt the reading of the report to say that these funds were withdrawn because of the resolution that had been passed by the Metal Trades Department.

The Advisory Committee referred to has been created by the Federal Government.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

Your committee upon its initiative submits the following report:

It is recognized by your Resolutions Committee that each succeeding year there are introduced into conventions of the American Federation of Labor an increasing number of resolutions which the convention is required to consider and approve or disapprove. The number of such resolutions has increased to a point where it is entirely impossible for your Committee on Resolutions to conduct hearings, give proper consideration, and report to the convention. Many of the resolutions come from sources which are unfamiliar with policies of the American Federation of Labor, and the declarations contained in such resolutions indicate a complete lack of understanding of the questions with which they seek to deal. A number of the resolutions, many of which deal with the same subject, are introduced in the name of the Central Labor Bodies and Federal Labor Unions. Again there are many resolutions of a purely administrative character.

To facilitate the business of conventions without impairment of free and full discussion, and because of the rapidly increasing volume of business which each convention is required to transact, your Committee on Resolutions recommends that the Executive Council be requested to give serious study to the problem presented for the purpose of submitting to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, some plan or procedure or method by which the problem referred to may be satisfactorily dealt with.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CLEARING HOUSE OF INFORMATION ON STATE LEGISLATIVE PROBLEMS

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Selma M. Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Legislation of vital importance to the organized workers is presented and acted upon by the legislatures of many of our states yearly; and

WHEREAS, The arguments used by the workers and by those opposed to the workers in connection with the legislation in one state is of great value to the workers of all other states; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, direct the Executive Council to establish a clearing house on state legislative information where there shall be gathered, compiled and analyzed and then distributed in summary form, at stated intervals, during the legislative session to the officers of State Federations of Labor:

1. Reports of legislation affecting labor pending in each state.

2. A list of those groups which are co-operating with labor, and of those who are opposing labor, with a report of the arguments used in support and in opposition to such legislation.

3. The problems (administrative and others) which may arise as a result of the enactment of labor and other social legislation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That officers of State Federations of Labor be requested to furnish to the American Federation of Labor or such bureau as may be established as a result of favorable action on this resolution, such information as they may be asked for while the respective legislative bodies are in session.

Your committee is in favor of the purpose of the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OPPOSING MEANS TEST IN RELIEF ACTIVITIES

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Selma M. Borchardt, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The federal government, and the agencies which administer relief, have placed in operation, a Means Test, which test forces the applicant for relief to prove, in order to obtain relief, that he is absolutely destitute, and further to prove that no member of his family is earning anything, and that neither he nor any member of his family holds a job, not even a casual one for a day or more per week; and

WHEREAS, This practice is anti-social in principle and in practice, for it forces a worker to a statement that he has become a pauper, and further results in a worker's hesitating to accept work which is not permanent, lest he, therefore, be denied needed relief; and

WHEREAS, The moral degradation which this test forces upon the workers and their families is extremely harmful; and

WHEREAS, The free trade unions of other countries have found that this so-called Means Test results in tragic consequences, and they have therefore vigorously and successfully opposed the continuance of it; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, condemn this so-called Means Test (actually a destitution test) and that we direct the Executive Council to use every means at its command to bring about its elimination.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

OPPOSING UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN OLYMPIC GAMES

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Selma Borchardt, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has in the last two conventions pledged its moral and economic force to fight Hitlerism for its destruction of the trade union movement and for its denial to its citizens of their religious liberty; and

WHEREAS, The Olympic games, which should promote sportsmanship and good will, are being used by the Nazis to intensify hatreds and race discriminations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled,

reaffirm its determinations to use its full moral and economic force to fight Hitlerism; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in keeping with this declaration of the American Federation of Labor that it oppose the participation of the United States in the Olympic games in Berlin, 1936.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

UNEMPLOYMENT STAMPS

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates J. F. Frederick, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wisconsin and J. J. Handley, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In these times of great economic instability many organized as well as unorganized workers are subject to unemployment, during the period of which their income is cut off; and

WHEREAS, because of this condition many members of Federal Labor Unions and of local unions chartered by National or International unions cannot pay their dues and in consequence become suspended from membership; and

WHEREAS, members so suspended are apt to feel that they have been unfairly treated and often become discouraged or even antagonistic to our organizations; and

WHEREAS, it requires a great deal of energy and expense to get such members back into the organized labor movement and, therefore, every reasonable method of keeping them in our movement should be used; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the incoming Executive Council set up a system of unemployment stamps for Federal Labor Unions so that members of these local unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor will be adequately protected against loss of membership because of unemployment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the Executive Council, after the American Federation of Labor itself has set the example, give to all affiliated National and International unions the information gained by them on this matter with the recommendation that such National and International unions which have not yet instituted a system of unemployment stamps for the maintenance of good standing for unemployed members, give such matter most serious consideration.

Your committee recommends that the last "resolved" be disapproved and the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for its consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CHILD LABOR

Resolution No. 223—By Delegate William B. Clark, Cleaners, Pressers and Dyers Local 20001, New Haven, Conn.

WHEREAS, the economic plight of the workers has brought thousands of children into industry; and

WHEREAS, these children are forced to work at occupations and hours in excess of their strength, and the wages that are paid offer a direct threat to the scales and demands of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, By virtue thereof and the need of some substance of sustenance for these children child labor has increased and continues under even worse conditions, homework, bootlegging of children in shops, etc.; and

WHEREAS, This situation is depriving these children, and sons and daughters of workers and farmers of this nation of the right which is theirs, namely to a normal healthy development; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor declare itself for the abolition of child labor for youth under sixteen years, with government maintenance for children displaced from industry, agriculture or street trades at no less than three dollars per week, and for vocational training at a graduated scale for youth between sixteen and eighteen at the expense of the employers and the government. This training to be under trade union direction with all youth receiving full wages for the type of work performed.

Your committee directs attention to the fact that this resolution is not in conformity with the Child Labor Amendment which the trade union movement is working so energetically to secure. Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee considered Resolutions Nos. 145, 162 and 245 together. The resolutions are as follows:

COMPANY UNIONS

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate C. S. Taylor, Federal Labor Union No. 19311, Cleveland, Ohio.

WHEREAS, Company Unions have long been the weapon of open shop employers against real trade union organizations, to split the ranks of the general labor move-

ment, as the lever to keep the workers at their mercy, and

WHEREAS, According to reports, over five million workers have been driven into Company unions, and

WHEREAS, The Company Unions are resorting to various methods of disguise, such as getting of State Charters, collecting of dues and using every fraud to mislead the workers, and

WHEREAS, The Wagner Labor Disputes Bill gives recognition to Company Unions which are appearing in disguise and only an effective campaign of education and militant struggle involving the entire membership will be able to combat this menace; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That 55th Convention instructs each City Central Labor group wherever, the problem exists, to establish local committees to launch the campaign against Company Unions, with the perspective of uniting all labor organizations in such a drive, with the Executive Council taking the necessary steps to make it nation wide.

COMPANY UNIONS

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate Elizabeth Nord, Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Government's own Department of Labor shows a sixty-five percent increase in the growth of Company Unionism under the New Deal; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner Labor Disputes Act does not protect the labor movement against continuing growth of Company Unions in that it contains a section defining the "employer unit and employees' representation plan" as a bona fide collective bargaining unit, thus legally sanctioning company unions; and

WHEREAS, Continued growth of these company unions, which occur in their most vicious forms in the basic, mass production industries such as steel, automobile and textiles, will completely destroy the American Labor Movement, and serve as a primary aid to the development of Fascism; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of the leaders of the American Labor Movement to protect the workers against the bosses, and against the ever-increasing danger of a Fascist dictatorship; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor commit itself to the following program and policy:

1. To publicize the growth of Company Unionism, and its consequent menace to the development of a strong, militant labor movement.

2. To force, through our organizational strength, a recognition on the part of the various Governmental agencies of the growing menace of Company Unionism, and its Fascist implications, and through this recognition, to force these Governmental agencies to take immediate steps toward removing the legal possibility of company unions.

3. To organize immediately an educational campaign amongst the workers who belong to company unions in an attempt to win them away from these company unions and to make them members of bona fide American Federation of Labor trade unions.

COMPANY UNIONS AND COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

Resolution No. 245—By Delegate Geo. O. Buckingham, York, Pa., Federation of Trade Unions.

WHEREAS, The growing of company unions during the past two years has been alarming embracing over three and one-half million workers and in the steel industry alone covering nearly 90 per cent. of the workers; and

WHEREAS, This growth which came immediately following upon the enactment of the NRA can be directly charged to the aid and encouragement given the company union form of organization by the Labor Boards which pursued a policy of recognizing company unions on election ballots giving them equal status with the bona-fide organizations of the workers and otherwise stimulated their development; and

WHEREAS, These organizations dominated and controlled by the employers are created in order to drive down the conditions of the workers, to prevent them from fighting for improvements and so stifle the free expression of the workers, thus serving as semi-Fascism instruments; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner Disputes Act contains a specific provision defining the "employer unit and employees representation plan" as units of collective bargaining thus giving legal status to company unions to forestall and prevent the development of the real trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, The trade unions have learned that they cannot depend upon or rely on any other means except their organized power and strength to win their struggles and that only strong trade unions will free the workers in the powerful trustified industries from the yoke of company unionism; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record:

1. To arouse the labor movement and the public generally to the menace of company unionism and the Fascist danger inherent in their development.

2. To fight unceasingly to defeat compulsory arbitration and for the right of the workers to strike, to organize and picket.

3. To give aid and support to the workers in the company unions who seek to smash the chains of company union domination and join the free trade unions.

Your committee had referred to it Resolutions Nos. 145, 162, 245. These resolutions refer to company unions and the necessity of combating them, and of organizing those workers who have been forced to join company unions.

Your committee would be negligent if it failed to remind you that the American Federation of Labor amended the original Section 7 (a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act so that it read as it was finally adopted by Congress. The American Federation of Labor used its full energies to secure the enactment of the Wagner Bill re-establishing the National Labor Relations Board, and conferring upon it an authority which did not previously exist.

Your committee therefore recommends approval of the substance of the resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 173 — By Delegate Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The decision of the Supreme Court in the Schechter Case invalidates for the third time basic Federal legislation whereby the exploitation of child labor was restrained uniformly throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, It again becomes evident that the exploitation of children in trade and industry can legally be prevented only through the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment which now has received the endorsement of twenty-four sovereign states out of the necessary thirty-six; and

WHEREAS, In opposing the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment by legislatures of certain states, representatives appearing on behalf of Roman Catholic bishops have given the impression that the Catholic Church opposes the adoption of this Amendment of the Constitution as contrary to the interests of the Faith and have thereby in certain legislatures assured the rejection of the ratifying resolution; and

WHEREAS, The Amendment, which was drafted and endorsed by eminent Americans,

including individual Catholic laymen and priests, seems to the delegates to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to be a matter of which individual members of the Catholic hierarchy may with propriety speak only as individual citizens; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that the speedy adoption of the Child Labor Amendment is essential in the interests of social justice and in the relief of unemployment among adult workers and is in accordance with the ideals contained in the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In convention assembled by the delegates of the American Federation of Labor that this resolution be respectfully presented to the Apostolic Delegate at Washington with the request for an official decision as to whether the Child Labor Amendment may not be considered a matter of economic and social legislation on which Catholic priests, laymen and legislators may speak and vote according to their individual judgment as citizens of the United States.

Your committee calls attention to the fact that this resolution requests the convention to approve of its presentation to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington accompanied with the request for an official decision relative to the Child Labor Amendment which would be a guide for Catholic priests and laymen.

Your committee is not aware of the authority of the Apostolic Delegate over the attitude which may be taken by Bishops, Archbishops or Cardinals in connection with social or other legislation by the several states or the Federal government.

Your committee therefore recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF UNITED BREWERY WORKERS

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Reid Robinson, Alex Cashin, Paul M. Peterson, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

WHEREAS, The International Union of Brewery Workers have been deprived of the jurisdiction over the teamsters and chauffeurs in the delivery of their product by a ruling of the convention of the American Federation of Labor and said jurisdiction granted to the International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In many parts of the country the members of the International Union of Brewery Workers have refused to work with members of the Teamsters' Union who were taking their rightful jobs, said Brewery Workers being on strike; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs are furnishing strike-breakers in all departments of the breweries and furnishing them with a card sponsored by the International Union of Teamsters and Chauffeurs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in convention assembled this 5th day of August, 1935, at Salt Lake City, Utah, do reaffirm our allegiance to the righteous cause of the International Union of Brewery Workers in their fight for jurisdiction over all employees in and around and about a brewery, including the delivery of their products; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to vote for and sustain the International Union of Brewery Workers in their just cause of industrial unionism.

This is a resolution which contains instructions to the delegates of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and therefore is not properly before this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee considered Resolutions Nos. 124, 137, 195, 217, and 246 together.

The resolutions are as follows:

PROTESTING EMPLOYMENT OF RELIEF WORKERS BY AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Leif Dahl, Farm Laborers' Union No. 19996, Bridgeton, N. J.

WHEREAS, Local, State and Federal relief agencies and officials have in the past co-operated with large vegetable, cotton and other produce growers and agricultural interests to force unemployed workers off relief lists and onto farms, canneries and packing houses at below Union rates and in some cases even below relief rates, and

WHEREAS, Local and State relief projects have been delayed and shut down completely to carry through these forced labor practices in the interests of agricultural employers, and

WHEREAS, Studies by the Federal Government have completely exploded the specious excuse of a shortage of labor in

these rural areas during harvest seasons used to justify these practices, and

WHEREAS, These forced labor practices if permitted in the agricultural field will spread to the industrial field to further enslave American labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as unalterably opposed to all forced labor practices, and specifically open co-operation of government agencies and private employers in the agricultural areas, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution or a statement embodying its content be sent to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in Washington and to all State Relief directors in the country.

UNION CONDITIONS FOR WHITE COLLAR WORKERS ON WPA WORK

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Louis O. Harper, Technical & Research Employees Federal Union No. 20049, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, With more than ten millions unemployed three and one half millions of jobs are obviously insufficient and an indication of a concerted effort to demoralize the American worker; and

WHEREAS, There is now conclusive evidence of the underrating the skilled status of workers by the WPA and in consequence white collar workers will be put in place of manual and other workers; and

WHEREAS, In Chicago there is clearly evidenced a desire by large numbers of white collar workers to join the ranks of organized labor and recognize the unique opportunity to do so under the WPA, now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, convened in this 55th Convention, pledge itself to an untiring effort to force the Government to provide jobs for each unemployed, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand the expansion of WPA Administration Order No. 15 to cover all white collar and other workers and that the limitation imposed by the clause "work done under contract" be withdrawn, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the established trade unions extend to the newly organizing white collar workers their co-operation in establishing union conditions on WPA jobs for the white collar workers.

CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

Resolution No. 195—By Delegate Morrie Fine, Merchandise Service and Delivery Workers Union No. 20036, Chicago, Ill.

WHEREAS, Some 600,000 young men today in the Civilian Conservation Corps

are being used to build roads, clear forests, fight fires, and carry through other government projects at approximately one dollar a day; and

WHEREAS, They have displaced men who would ordinarily receive union wages for that type of work thus contributing greatly towards reducing the standard of living of all labor; and

WHEREAS, The Fifty-fourth National Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructed the Executive Council to "lend their every effort to secure the payment of such union scales for all workmen doing skilled work in these camps"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm and go on record demanding that anyone employed by the government in these camps be paid union wages for all labor performed; be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be submitted to President Roosevelt and that all affiliated bodies with the American Federation of Labor be regularly informed of efforts to secure union wages for Civilian Conservation Corps workers.

PREVAILING UNION SCALE ON RELIEF PROJECTS

Resolution No. 217—By Delegate Jack Rand, Display Fixtures and Figure Workers Union No. 20039, New York City.

WHEREAS, Organized labor is threatened with the destruction of its union wage standards built up by the greatest self sacrifice, due to the determination of the government to force men to work on relief projects at a 50 per cent cut in the hourly union wage rates; and

WHEREAS, The government wage scale of \$19.94 monthly was adopted despite overwhelming opposition by organized labor, constituting a threat to trade unionism and established a precedent by means of which private industry may smash trade union standards; and

WHEREAS, Relief workers in many sections of the country are on strike or are preparing to strike to defend the union scale; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges to carry on a persistent fight to establish the prevailing union scale of wages on all relief projects; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all possible aid and support be given to the strike movement and struggles of the relief workers to enforce the prevailing union scale of wages on relief projects; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council carry out immediately the promises made

by President Green to aid in organizing the unorganized workers on every relief job to enable them to defend their interests and maintain union standards of employment.

WPA

Resolution No. 246—By Delegates Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor, Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For many years the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions in the building industry have fought militantly to secure a decent standard of wages on all construction work; and

WHEREAS, The recent interpretations of State Administrations in certain states of orders promulgated by the officials of the Works Progress Administration destroy the prevailing union wage standards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention that they record themselves as vigorously opposed to a lowering of the standards of wages for construction workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor immediately request Administrator Harry Hopkins to place in effect in the various states through the State Administrator of the Works Progress Administration the prevailing rate of wages on all projects under his supervision and control.

Resolution Nos. 124, 137, 195, 217, 246, relate to various phases of payment by the government for work done in CCC Camps by WPA, and upon relief projects, also to the apparent practice of certain governmental representatives in forcing agricultural labor to work for private employers in the agricultural areas.

Your committee recommends the adoption of all of these resolutions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Harper, Technical Research Employees Union No. 20049: I regret very much that the Resolutions Committee saw fit to lump Resolution No. 137 in with these other resolutions.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: If the delegate will pardon me, the committee has recommended adoption of all of these resolutions. It is not opposing them, it is recommending the adoption of the resolutions.

Delegate Harper: There is a section in this resolution that deals specifically with an issue that I would like to speak about. The matter before us is that on certain governmental projects there is given to the American Federation of Labor affiliated organizations the right to act as the recognized agency that will give workers to these projects. However, in the field of the professional and technical workers, so-called by them, under which our union operates, we fall outside of that ruling that has been granted. We went to Washington to confer with the Administrator of the Works Progress Administration. He informed us that he could not stretch to us the ruling that they had given to the building trades unions. He suggested that our people join the American Federation of Labor. When I told him we were members of the American Federation of Labor then he said it might apply.

However, the wording of the Works Progress Administration states "to those people who work under contract." We don't work under contract. We asked him if this would be amended and he said it might. That was two months ago. Up to the time I left Chicago we still had received no consideration.

We had one resolution in all of this group pertaining to our union, which is a newly organized group that is today facing unemployment because of the fact that we do not have this. The only reason I raised the point of lumping the resolution is that it will not appear as definite, because of the fact that it had one special point in it, wherein we demand that WPA Administration Order No. 15 be extended to our field. I am not objecting to the report of the Resolutions Committee, I merely wish to state it is a particular thing that cannot be lumped with the CCC and the other things there. It stands out by itself, because we need very much to have the Administration in Washington extend to us the right to be the hiring agency of the workers who work in our field. We stand in Chicago as the only organized group in our field, and yet we cannot come on strike.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: If the delegate will permit, the committee brought in all these resolutions, to

save time, and said it recommended approval of each one of them, and each one will be separately in the report and approved, so why keep on talking about something you want?

Delegate Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor: I would like to ask if one of these resolutions is the resolution on the CCC camps providing that the prevailing wages be paid to the CCC.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: The resolutions are No. 124, by Delegate Leif Dahl, Resolution No. 137, by Delegate Louis O. Harper, Resolution No. 195, by Delegate Morrie Fine, Resolution No. 217, by Delegate Jack Rand, and Resolution No. 246, by Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor, and Robert J. Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, and the committee reports on each one of these and they are separately approved.

Delegate Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor: Mr. President, I would like to say something here that will carry some information to the delegates in the hall relative to the way that the CCC has cut the wages of the lumber workers in the western states, where the boys have come in from the eastern states to the CCC camps and have displaced men in the camps who were receiving from \$90 to \$125 a month and more. These men were discharged and the boys from the east at \$70 a month were given their work.

This comes under the administration of the Department of Agriculture, and I want you to listen to this, for it is important. The fire fighters in the western parks, when the depression came on, were receiving 50 cents an hour, and they worked an unlimited number of hours because they were fighting fires. The CCC camps are now doing the work at \$70 a month, and they are working as high as 16 hours a day and fighting the fires, putting our men who were the forest fire fighters out of work. During the depression they brought in these men who were unemployed and trying to earn a few dollars in fighting fires, and now they bring their CCC boys to fight fires at \$1 a day and work them 16 hours a day.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors: I would like to interrupt the committee for a moment, if I may. I want to make a motion, and before you recognize me as having authority to do it, I will read it. It will be necessary for a few brief remarks.

During the intermission a number of delegates asked me when I thought we would get through. I said I did not know. I inquired of the committee how many resolutions they had, and they said they had about 35. I asked if any of them were controversial. They said there were a few that were semi-controversial.

I have sat here listening to the resolutions that have been acted upon and now, Mr. President, if I am in order, I would like to make the following motion: I move that resolutions as yet undisposed of by this convention be referred to the Executive Council, together with the reports and recommendations of the committee on all such proposals, and that it consider all such proposals in that light.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman, I think we have demonstrated that we have wonderful endurance, and I don't think it has been tested to the limit yet. I therefore offer an amendment, that we continue in session until midnight in an effort to finish the business of the convention, and at that time any unfinished business be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: I rise to oppose the motion because the Sleeping Car Porters are interested in the report by the Executive Council on the matter of discrimination against negroes. This report has been so handled as to delay its presentation at this convention until the time when it will not be possible to have a full discussion. I think that that smacks of a very questionable procedure in this matter. Therefore, I think it is very, very important that this convention listen to a discussion of the report on discrimination in trade unions against negro workers. This phase of the matter is just as important as anything else that has appeared in this convention.

I take it that there have been three important questions before the convention; one, industrial unionism, one the Labor Party, and this race question. So I want to request, Mr. Chairman, that the convention be permitted to listen to a discussion of the question of discrimination in trade unions against negro workers. It is a very important matter. The report which has been made is very inaccurate, fragmentary and absolutely unsound and ought to be examined by the convention.

Delegate Feeney: As the mover of the motion, I have no objection if we consider the resolution he speaks of.

President Green: Are there any objections to delaying putting the motion before the convention until we dispose of the question raised by Delegate Randolph?

Delegate Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Union: I would like to ask what resolution the brother might object to. Are we going to be governed by the objections of one individual, or are we going to act democratically?

President Green: The convention can direct the Chairman and the officers of the convention what it wishes to do. The Chair asks if the mover of the motion will withhold the motion until after we have disposed of the question raised by Delegate Randolph.

Delegate Feeney: I will agree with that. President Green: Then the motion is withheld, and after that the convention will have a chance to vote on the motion.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle: Might I ask for another exception in the case of Resolution No. 206, introduced by the Washington State Federation of Labor?

President Green: The convention can determine that after it disposes of this question.

The Chair submits the supplemental report to which Delegate Randolph refers—the supplemental report of the Executive Council, and the committee, as I understand it, recommends concurrence in the report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL COLORED WORKERS

The 1934 San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor directed

the President to appoint a committee of five to investigate the conditions of the colored workers of this country. Pursuant to this direction a committee consisting of John E. Rooney, Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers, John Brophy, United Mine Workers of America, John W. Garvey, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, Jerry L. Hanks, The Journeymen Barbers International Union and T. C. Carroll, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees were appointed.

The Committee conducted an investigation and obtained considerable information on the subject. Opportunity was afforded those interested to present their views.

The report of the Committee indicates that there are a few National and International Unions that deny membership to negroes. In most of these instances special provisions are made to organize the negroes into Federal Labor Unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. In some National and International Unions admitting negroes they are placed in separate local unions with varying rights of membership.

We are of the opinion that since each affiliated National and International Union has complete autonomy that the welfare of the negro worker will be best served by a campaign of education of white workers to bring to them the necessity of solidarity in the ranks of the workers and the voluntary elimination of all restrictions against full rights of membership to the negro.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently advocated the organization of all workers and we reaffirm that policy. The economic welfare of the workers can best be served by complete unity of purpose and action. We therefore recommend

That all National and International Unions and the American Federation of Labor conduct a continuous campaign of education to bring to the white worker the necessity for greater unity of the workers in the labor movement to the end that all discrimination against negroes will be removed.

Your Committee has considered the Supplemental Report of the Executive Council dealing with the Committee having investigated the conditions of the colored workers of this country and recommends concurrence in the Executive Council's Report.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor—the report of the Executive Council I consider quite inadequate; it does not meet the issue in any respect, and, in the first place, it has not followed the procedure laid down by the San Francisco Convention.

I wish to read from the records of the San Francisco Convention relating to this question.

In that convention Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters, asked: "What was the final recommendation of the committee?" The Organization Committee non-concurred in the resolution, which dealt with discrimination against Negro workers.

Then Delegate Hutcheson moved as an amendment: "Therefore, I move as an amendment to the committee's report that there be a committee of five appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the conditions of the colored workers of this country and report to the next convention."

That report was not made here by the committee which was appointed by President Green. President Green appointed five persons on that committee as follows: John G. Rooney, Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers; John Brophy, United Mine Workers of America; John Garvey, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union; Jerry L. Hanks, Journeymen Barbers International Union; and P. C. Carroll, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees. These were the men who were appointed on that committee. They were bona fide trade unionists, men in organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The committee met in Washington and held hearings for two days. Representatives of various negro organizations appeared and presented data with regard to discrimination against Negro workers. The committee considered the recommendation for holding regional hearings in the centers where negroes were in great numbers working at various industries, New York, St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago—places of that sort. The committee made its recommendation to the Executive Council. The Executive Council appointed one of its members to make the report of the matter. This is the report, but the recommendations of the committee appointed by President Green are not in this report. I think they should be included. As a matter of fact, this report of the Executive Council I will regard as merely a dignified, diplomatic camouflage.

This is the report which was made by the committee appointed by President Green, signed by four of the members of the committee of five. It reads:

"First. That all International Unions, who bar Negroes from membership in any way or discriminate against them through separate local systems or forbid them representation at conventions or on committees, will take up the Negro question at their next convention for the purpose of harmonizing constitution, rules and practices to conform with the oft-repeated declaration of A. F. of L. conventions on equality of treatment of all races within the trade union movement.

"Second. All charters issued by A. F. of L. shall be in conformity with both declared policy and law on the subject of membership.

"Third. The A. F. of L. through its officers, the American Federationist, A. F. of L. Weekly News Service, Workers Education Bureau and other mediums, conduct a continuous active campaign of education within the trade union movement on the Negro problem. The purpose being to get the white worker to see more completely the weakness of division and the necessity of greater trade union unity between white and black workers to the end that all workers may be organized.

"Respectfully submitted,
"John E. Rooney,
"John Brophy,
"T. C. Carroll,
"John W. Garvey."

Now, I want to know why these recommendations were not included in this report and presented to this convention. As a matter of fact, the motion in the San Francisco Convention provided that both recommendations and findings should be presented to this convention. And, by the way, the findings are important because they represent the basis upon which those conclusions were drawn.

Now, fellow delegates, it is not the purpose of the Sleeping Car Porters to claim that all of the unions of the American Federation of Labor discriminate against Negro workers. The United Mine Workers, the Hod Carriers, Butcher Workmen, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the Carpenters, Teamsters and unions of that sort include Negroes in their membership; but other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor either have color clauses in their constitutions or color pledges in their rituals that directly bar Negroes from the unions. Not only that,

but there are other devices and subtle ways by which some of the unions that do not have these color clauses discriminate against Negro members.

We have had the occasion to examine material presented to us again and again where Negroes have gone to certain jobs to work and they were told by the contractor: "You cannot work here because you haven't a union card. You have got to get a union card." Then the Negroes went to the unions and asked for a card. They were told they could not get cards unless they were working on the job. You can readily see what a dilemma certain groups of Negroes are in because of this discrimination practiced by some of the unions.

The report of the Council states that provision is made for the organization of Negroes in Federal unions. We find that the Federal unions that include Negroes are racial unions. There is no justification for a racial Federal union. There is no more justification for it than to have Federal unions based upon sex or religion or nationality. It is against that very thing the Negro workers are protesting, and consequently the report of the Executive Council does not meet the issue presented.

Let us take the freight and express handlers. They are under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks is supposed to make agreements covering all the workers that come under their jurisdiction. Now, the freight handlers and express workers in the various Federal unions have no power to negotiate an agreement concerning rates of pay or working rules, and yet the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has no machinery whereby the members of these Federal unions may present their grievances to that organization, to the end that that organization may properly adjust those grievances.

The national unions that cover Negroes who are members of the Federal unions say they make agreements for these Negro workers. Under the Railway Labor Act as amended by the 73rd Congress you have definite ways in which grievances are handled. Now a Federal union where Negroes are members—let us say one of those members discharged by the carriers. That union hasn't the right nor the power to present a grievance to the National Railroad Board

of Adjustment. The Federal union is an isolated, separate body, it has no connection. For instance, a Federal labor union in Chicago has no connection with the Federal labor union in New York. They have no national structure, and therefore cannot make use of the Railway Labor Act. They have no way to appeal to the National Labor Board.

A Federal union based upon race is a dual union, because the National union covers the same class of workers that are covered in the Federal union. The Federal union has no power under the law.

The Federal form of organization that the American Federation of Labor provide for Negro workers is virtually no organization at all. I know of no Federal union of Negro workers which has negotiated a contract with the employers; consequently you can see that the Federal unions, as organized by the American Federation of Labor, neither have the power to protect the interests of the Negro workers nor does the Federal unions organize Negro workers to any appreciable extent. Therefore it is purely evasion of the question to point to the fact that the American Federation of Labor has such Federal unions.

The Negroes in the Federal unions have found that in some instances, although they get the results, they are called upon to pay fees to various agents that come around and pretend they are going to get results for them. Now we are calling upon this convention to give serious consideration to this question. We have evaded it for a long time, there is a conspiracy of silence on the question right here in this convention, because there is no reason why the supplemental report of the Executive Council should be presented to the convention about the time we are ready to adjourn. In order that we might be able to meet this issue properly we have got to be frank, honest, and candid about it. There may be claims to the effect that the Negroes have not joined the trade union movement in as large numbers as they ought to join. That is like a policeman knocking a man down on the sidewalk and arresting him for blocking the traffic.

The Sleeping Car Porters want this convention to know that the Negro workers want to come into the American Federation

of Labor, they want to share in the defense and help bear the burdens. We want to go through all the trials and tribulations with the white workers. They want to stand arm to arm and shoulder to shoulder and face the problems as they are. They don't want charity, they don't want philanthropy, they want to come into the American Federation of Labor on a basis of equality with other workers. Whenever one group of workers is barred the stigma of inferiority is attached to them.

No national or international organization in the American Federation of Labor has the moral right to claim the privilege and the right to write an agreement covering the wages and working conditions for a given class of workers and then except a section of those workers because of race or color. No national or international union has a right to claim the benefits of Federal legislation which gives them the right to negotiate a contract on the basis of majority representation, and then keep a part of the workers from enjoying that privilege.

There is no reason why any national organization should attempt to evade that issue and run to the refuge of trade autonomy. That question has been raised from time to time, but this convention has found ways to deal with organizations that discriminate against workers in other cases. The Federation in this convention forced a certain department, the Building Trades, to accept certain national and international unions. If the Federation can do that it also, by the same token, is able to compel certain national and international unions not to discriminate against workers because of the accident of color or race.

The American Federation of Labor has taken cognizance of racketeering as a general proposition. There is no more reason why the convention should not take cognizance of race discrimination and wipe it out. We do not claim that all the organizations affiliated with the Federation discriminate against Negro workers. A number of them accept Negro workers. Negroes constitute one-tenth of the population of America, they constitute a larger proportion than there are people in Canada.

The Sleeping Car Porters conquered the Pullman Company, and on the board of

directors of that company were J. Pierpont Morgan, Mellon and Whitney. The Sleeping Car Porters conquered this mighty corporation in ten years of struggle. This is an indication that Negroes will stand up and fight for their rights just as well as white workers will. There is no reason under the sun why an organization of labor which is interested in the organization of workers, regardless of race, creed or color, should single out the Negro workers and attach to them the stigma of inferiority and say, "Although you are workers, you haven't the right to join an organization. We will make contracts for you but you will not have a voice in the organization making the contract." Think of a national organization making a contract for a group of workers and not allowing those workers to have a voice in the determination of that contract. That is a reflection upon the spirit of this great organization.

We are living in times of storm and stress. Right here on this floor experiences were related where men in a certain village were shot down. It showed that the employer was not concerned about race or color. Then why should the worker be concerned about race or color? The labor organizations will always suffer, the American Federation of Labor will always suffer for that fact until it is corrected.

No doubt there is considerable power possessed by this organization, but, after all, when there is a fundamental error in the philosophy, in the program of an organization based upon the exclusion of a worker because of the accident of his color, that is certainly a serious handicap.

Why should a Negro worker be penalized for being black; why should anybody be penalized for something over which he has no control? The American Federation of Labor will not be able to hold its head up and face the world so long as it permits any section of workers in America to be discriminated against because they happen to be black. We are living in a time when there should be no division of race, religion, creed or nationality. The workers are facing the possibility of the abrogation of civil and political rights, because in every industrial crisis in America the civil liberties of the workers have been abrogated. It happened in a San Francisco general strike, it hap-

pened in Toledo, it happened in Minneapolis, it happened in the textile workers' strike.

In Arkansas the share croppers decided to organize. They were both white and black. Black and white organizers were sent there and talked to the share croppers, and the white share croppers were thrown out of their shacks and left on the roadside to suffer. Both black and white workers were misled. The black workers were told, "Don't have anything to do with that white worker because he lynches you." Then they go to the white worker and say, "You are better than these black workers, you are of a superior race, you are a Nordic." As a result they were able to exploit both classes of workers.

Not until the workers themselves understand that there is no fundamental difference between the white and black workers, that it is all superficial, that there is no difference in the capacity of black and white workers, their brains are alike, their physical makeup is the same, except that there is a different pigment in the black man's skin.

The workers in America have been victimized by propaganda by people who are keeping the workers divided because they know what a power they will be when once they are united, when once they are bound together in one organization fighting for one object.

I have this report and recommendation presented by the committee appointed by President Green, signed by four members of that committee. I move that this report be adopted by the convention as the spirit of this convention in order that the world may know that the Federation is taking a different position on that question of the Negro, and that it is looking upon every worker as a worker, whether he is black or white, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant.

Secretary Frey: I desire to approve both of the Executive Council's report and the report of your committee on that report. I am in very large agreement with what the delegate has just said. I sympathize deeply with his problems, I know something of what it is through personal contact. Thirty-five years ago, against the objections of the members of my local union in Chattanooga, Tennessee, I organized a union of Negro

molders and my reward was an attempt to run me out of town by the white molders and foundry workers.

My regret is that an outstanding member of his race should have felt the report of the Executive Council is evasive and insufficient. That will be published in the report. It will be widely read, and every one interested in the Negroes' welfare and in his rights will find that this outstanding delegate, whom we all have an affection for, said the Executive Council's report was not only inadequate, in his opinion, but was evasive.

Like many other delegates in this convention I have the privilege of associating with leaders of the Negro race. Let us recognize the fact that all human beings are the children of the same Creator, but although we recognize that we cannot escape the fact that in some parts of the world some of the Creator's children have a prejudice against others. I accept the responsibility of the trade union movement to break down that prejudice, and I think I am not exaggerating when I say the efforts of the American Federation of Labor have done more to break down racial prejudice, particularly in the South, than all the other institutions which the South has.

In my organization in the South and in many others we have broken down the prejudice so much that when the Negro becomes a member of the union he sits with the other members. But there is a prejudice in the South which has not been overcome yet. The Christian churches have not been able to overcome it. The large number of members of the Baptist Church and the Methodist Church are in the South, yet there remains something in the South which makes it necessary on Sunday morning or Sunday evening for members of these two religions to go to their separate churches. Christianity in the South has not been able to break down the prejudice to the extent that both races can meet together.

We have gone farther than that. There is a danger that we may create prejudice instead of breaking it down if we make too strong an effort in that direction. I knew the beloved Booker T. Washington as a man and I admired him because of the work he did. He knew of the efforts I was

making to break down racial prejudice on the part of any trade unionist, and as I was meeting with difficulty I requested him to give me a letter saying he favored the Negroes becoming members of our trade unions. I knew he could not publish it through the press. I wanted a letter to use when I came in contact with his people. He declined to give me that letter, and I agreed that his reasons for doing so were sound. He said, in substance, "If I should give you such a letter and it should be known the manufacturers in the South would allow members of my race to be discriminated against by the employers. They would not want members of the Negro race in their factories because they might be organized." Because of my close association with leaders of the colored race, when I became a member of the Labor Advisory Board, NRA, the national secretary of the leading Negro organizations in the country wrote to me and said, in substance, "We know we can depend upon you because you understand the problems. We expect that you will see that the Negro receives the same minimum wage rate as the white in the codes."

Now, everybody knows the struggle we had to prevent differences in the wage rates, particularly in the South. The minimum rates in the South were there, not so much to protect the whites, but to protect the Negroes. He said in substance, "These codes which have been enacted are working to the benefit of the whites, where the hourly rate has been raised from 10 and 12 to a minimum of 25 cents, but the employers in the South refuse to give our race any chance of employment, saying if we have to pay those rates we will employ whites."

It seems to me that in reaching a declaration upon this subject it should be phrased so that no additional race prejudice will be created, but rather that through the sane, practical, educational methods which have brought about the organization of so many Negro workers, we carry on the work we have been doing. I hope the Council's report will be adopted and the committee's report adopted.

President Green: The President of the American Federation of Labor should say a word just now, because it is quite evident that there is need of making clear to the

delegates some facts in connection with this matter, and in doing so I speak as a friend of the colored worker and one who has endeavored to make his contribution toward the adjustment of this problem to which Delegate Randolph has referred. I gave earnest support to the organization of the Sleeping Car Porters from the beginning. I attended a number of mass meetings composed of Sleeping Car Porters and I appealed to them to join the Sleeping Car Porters Federal Labor Union. I spoke in churches and in different places in presenting the attitude and the position of the American Federation of Labor toward this subject. I made it clear that so far as the American Federation of Labor itself is concerned it extends to the colored workers a most cordial invitation to become members of organized labor, to unite with us, to join with us, and to enjoy all of the rights and privileges of the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor can do no more. As evidence of its attitude, the Sleeping Car Porters are organized very largely.

A number of International Unions admit colored workers to membership without reservation or restriction. I think one hundred out of the one hundred and five international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor admit colored workers to membership, they have removed all bars on account of color. But the proposition of Delegate Randolph goes further than that. It proposes that this American Federation of Labor compel national unions to change their laws in their constitutions so as to provide for the free and unrestricted admission of colored workers to membership. That is a very fundamental question that has been referred to here by speakers on numerous occasions during this convention. Has the American Federation of Labor the authority to say to an autonomous International Union how it shall draft its laws. What provisions for admission of membership it shall make.

We very jealously guarded that principle today when we decided that while the American Federation of Labor could provide that Communists could not act as delegates in central bodies and State Federations of Labor, we could not go further

than that and invade the jurisdictional field of national and international unions.

If there are any organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who do not admit colored workers to membership, if they would accept my advice they would remove the bar for I believe we ought to make provision for the admission of these members. But that is neither here nor there. The national and international unions must decide that question for themselves, and I think the report of the committee to which Delegate Randolph refers provides that if in the future the American Federation of Labor issues charters to national and international unions, it must stipulate that the laws of this union must provide for the admission of colored workers into membership. Can we go that far? Upon what basis do we rest? Do we give national and international unions autonomous rights? Can we suspend the charter of the international union because it does not provide for the admission of colored members? Can we do that? Would you be willing to order that done? Are you ready to do that?

There may be one or two national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor whose membership would say to the representatives of those members in convention assembled, we will withdraw from the American Federation of Labor before we will be subjected to such dictates. That is the point involved. That is the question.

Now we believe that education will finally overcome that condition, that eventually through persuasion, through appeal, through the economic and social laws all prejudice will be overcome, that national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will so broaden their organic law as to provide for the admission of all members. But that is for them to decide. Now the American Federation of Labor, as I have said, has made a declaration on that subject, and they recommend to national and international unions that colored workers may be admitted freely and upon a basis of equality. Out of 105 of these national and international unions, 100 have carried out that recommendation. Now in order to make it clear and definite the American Federation of Labor has said, well and good, if there is any international union

that has a bar to these workers we will take them in ourselves by granting Federal charters. Their Federal charters are not granted because we want to emphasize the color question or to isolate them, but they were granted to accommodate the needs of the colored workers who come under the jurisdiction of national and international unions that yet retained in their organic law a clause that made it impossible for the negro workers to be admitted. Could we do more?

I don't know why the American Federation of Labor is repeatedly denounced by those who represent negro academic organizations as standing in the way of admission of colored workers when we have made our declaration, we stand up and defend it. We appealed to all national unions to respond to our recommendation, and we say to those who will not, if you won't take them in, we will take them in and try to protect their interests.

Now upon the report of the committee—the report of the committee to which Delegate Randolph refers was referred to the Council at its last meeting. The Council decided to refer that to a sub-committee made up of Vice-President Harrison, to prepare a report based upon the recommendations of the committee. Brother Harrison was immediately pressed into service as a mediator in the Building Trades dispute. He was occupied for days in that. Surely he ought to be commended for that service and he told me that just as soon as he could prepare this report he would do so. He prepared it and handed it to me yesterday. The discussion has been so continuous that it seemed impossible to submit it ere this. There is the answer. There has been no desire to evade. It has just been a part of the administrative difficulties that your Chairman has been compelled to face during the proceedings of this convention.

There it is. Do we want to follow the recommendation of the Council or do we want to say to national and international unions, you must change your laws? Is the American Federation of Labor to say what the laws of national and international unions shall be, what the qualifications of membership shall be, what members they shall admit, the national unions having full power to determine who they shall admit and who they shall reject? That is the

question? I wish they would change their point of view, but only education and persuasion will bring that about.

I agree with the economic philosophy expounded by Delegate Randolph, that a colored worker is a competitive worker of the white worker, and that if the employer can get the colored worker cheaper than he can get the white worker doing the same work the employer will employ him. There is great need for him to become organized and associated with the American Federation of Labor, but the abstract philosophy of that question in no way affects the administrative policies of national and international unions. There is the issue, there are the facts presented to you in the fairest possible way that I can present them without prejudice—just the facts as they are for your consideration.

Delegate Knight, Railway Car Men: Mr. President, I am not going to impose upon this convention at this late hour by discussing the question before the convention. My purpose in arising is to correct an impression that Delegate Randolph left with this delegation insofar as it applies to National Adjustment Boards covering the mechanical department employes on the railroad and the application of agreements that are negotiated by their mechanical department crafts.

The agreements that we negotiate for the mechanical department employes on the railroad cover every employe in that department, white or black, male or female, insofar as increases in pay, shortening of hours or working conditions are concerned. If an employee, black or white, has a grievance, under those agreements it will be handed to the National Adjustment Board, Second Division. I was afraid he left the impression that there was no way, and if I did not misunderstand him he said so. If he will read the hearings before the Congressional Committees he will find that we told the Committee in the hearings that we represented all employes and would handle their grievances under the Emergency Railway Act providing for Adjustment Boards, which has now become a part of the permanent law, and we will do that.

Delegate Webster, Sleeping Car Porters: I rise, Mr. Chairman and delegates to express the appreciation of the Sleeping Car

Porters for the very splendid co-operation that we have obtained from President Green and the American Federation of Labor, which has to a large extent contributed to the success of the Sleeping Car Porters' organization. But I want to augment the remarks of my fellow delegate, Brother Randolph, with respect to the Federal union method of organizing negro workers.

For some twenty years or more I have been actively engaged in the organization of workers throughout the length and breadth of this land. Some six or seven years ago we were given Federal Charters by the American Federation of Labor to organize the Pullman Porters. We found that we could not organize 8000 Pullman Porters stretching from New York to San Francisco and from St. Paul, Minnesota, to Miami, Florida, under Federal charters, and as a consequence we had to maintain a national organization.

The Pullman Company, in one of its arguments against the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and in support of the company unions, when appearing at the hearings of the Congressional Committee held in Washington, no doubt on the reports of the financial secretary of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, attempted to show that committee that we only had 600 members in our organization, by reason of the fact that we are only paying per capita tax on 600 members. The fact was that we had to maintain a national organization and therefore, we had to keep our per capita tax down to a skeleton in order that we might have funds to carry on this national organization, and had we not carried on this national organization we could not, even with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor have been able to perfect an organization of the Sleeping Car Porters. We have every confidence in the fact that President William Green is very sincere in his attitude toward helping the colored workers. He appeared in our meetings in Chicago and in New York, and there expressed himself in unequivocal terms as to how he stood on this proposition. But in the practical application of the problem of organizing the Negro workers under Federal unions it does not work. In my organization activities, since I have been a part of the American Federation of Labor I have

used every possible effort to try to get the colored workers to come into the American Federation of Labor.

I will cite an instance in Chicago, in the express industry, an organization composed of 150 men. The Railway Clerks, as you know, have a color clause in their constitution for some reason. A man by the name of Brown, some eight or nine years ago connected with the Railway Clerks decided that Negroes working in that industry should be organized. He was around there a year or more and he did not make much headway and finally they asked if we would do anything for them. Thereupon I took upon myself the responsibility of assisting in the organization of that particular local. I don't know what the form of organization was at first, but at any rate, Brown was eliminated and a man by the name of Shoals came on the scene and he got a charter for a Federal Labor Union for this group of men. He asked me if I would co-operate with him. We invited him to our headquarters and for three or four years up until recently, I took an active part in organizing this particular Federal union, so that at the present time I believe they have almost every Negro who operates in the express industry in the capacity of a freight handler in this particular union.

It was because of persuasion that I used upon those colored men that they accepted membership in that, in spite of the fact that the particular union that was trying to organize them had a color clause in their organization. This organization has perfected itself and is going along nicely. Agreements are being handled and the men have derived some benefit to a large extent. But now the complaints come to me that "you told us to go into this organization, now that we are in here why can't we become members of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, just like the freight handlers that work next to us. We do the same work and get the same pay. So far as it has gone, well enough, but we don't see why we can't become members of this organization of Railway Clerks."

I heard the President make the inquiry of why these very drastic tirades were directed against the American Federation of Labor by a certain organization representing a large number of Negro people. It

is true that those associations have directed attacks toward the American Federation of Labor, but the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in spite of the fact that we do not feel this matter has been given the proper consideration by the American Federation of Labor, have never failed to defend the principles and the program of the American Federation of Labor and on many occasions.

It might be well to bear in mind, fellow delegates, that there are upwards of ten million Negroes in this country. They buy food, clothing, shoes, automobiles, they buy every commodity that enters into the industrial life of America today. You have such institutions as have been referred to by President Green. These institutions are usually financed by foundations. Who finances the foundations? Such organizations as the International Harvester Company. We find that contributions to many of these organizations that are supposed to speak for the colored workers are made largely by these open shop corporations, and as a result it is to their advantage to grab upon every ounce of information they can get relating to prejudice toward the labor movement in an effort to keep the Negro workers out. It has not been so long ago since an article appeared in the paper by a Negro welfare worker, and his sole argument publicized in Negro newspapers was the fact that the American Federation of Labor had a color clause in many of the constitutions and where there are no color clauses they use other subterfuges whereby they will keep Negro workers out of the organization. His point was that therefore they should not become part of the American Federation of Labor, that their best friend was the man who had the money. Those organizations that are directing their efforts towards prejudice of the American Federation of Labor are in many instances financed by these great corporations. It is the position of the Brotherhood of Pullman Car Porters that while we are highly appreciative of the efforts put forth by the American Federation of Labor in the interests of the organization of Negro workers, insofar as the Sleeping Car Porters are concerned we are perfectly satisfied with what the American Federation of Labor has done for us, although in many instances we have not

always agreed. Nevertheless, we are satisfied, I say, as far as the Sleeping Car Porters are concerned. But now since we are able to sit around the table for the first time in the history of America and write a national agreement concerning a large group of Negro workers we find in every mail that comes to our office appeals from all classes of Negro workers for organization. Therefore, we feel that the American Federation of Labor ought to make even more than a gesture of carrying out this educational campaign, making it known to these international unions that there must be something definite done about this matter in order that we might be able to go out in my own field among a large number of Negro workers who incidentally have not yet been educated in the trade union movement. They do not know anything about the value of buying trade union products. There is a large volume of Negro workers who by reason of their contacts with the trade union movement, would be able to buy more union-made products. It is our intention to go out in the field and spread the gospel of organized labor, and we want a real honest-to-goodness program for the American Federation of Labor to the end that we may be able to overcome all these arguments that have been put up against us, largely financed by those interested in the exploitation of labor in general.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Harrison:

Delegate Harrison, Railway Clerks: Mr. Chairman, I dislike very much to take up the time of the convention at this late hour to discuss this question, but Delegate Randolph's charge against the Executive Council compels me to make a statement of fact in that connection. The report which Delegate Randolph criticized was drafted by myself at the request of the Executive Council. The report was drafted in the manner that it was for the reason that the report that was submitted by four members of the committee of five appointed by President Green went beyond the duty imposed upon that committee by the San Francisco convention. If you will read that report closely you will find that it does not only deal with the Negro question, but it deals with all races.

Furthermore, there was a minority report submitted by one member of that committee, and in order not to submit the two conflicting reports to the convention, I endeavored to write a report for the Executive Council that was in keeping with the instructions imposed upon that committee by the San Francisco convention.

Now the report of the Council very clearly states that there are some affiliated national and international unions which deny full membership to Negro workers. There are some affiliated national and international unions which have some restrictions upon the membership privileges of the Negro workers, and in those instances where the Negro is entirely excluded from membership in the affiliated national and international unions, the American Federation of Labor has arranged for membership for those workers in Federal Labor unions. In the report we point out the necessity of solidarity among all workers, regardless of color, and we say that we believe that is a problem which will have to be corrected through education. We therefore call upon all the affiliated national and international unions and the American Federation of Labor to carry on a continuous campaign of education to the end that all workers will be admitted to all the affiliated organizations composing this American Federation of Labor.

I have always understood that under the charters and the constitution of the American Federation of Labor all affiliated unions had complete autonomy to determine the qualifications of membership, and that being true, there is only one way to solve this problem, and that is through education. So much for that. I say that because the charge made by Delegate Randolph has no basis in fact.

I want to deal with the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks for a moment, the organization of which I have the honor to be President. I regret that Delegate Randolph would take the liberty to discuss the policies of my organization in this convention because he knows nothing of those policies. He is entirely uninformed about those policies and about their application to the particular question he endeavored to present to this convention. In the railway industry we do not have a closed shop. Our organizations

are entirely voluntary. In negotiating our contracts with railway managements, we make no reference whatever to the color of any employee. The contract covers each and every employee, regardless of color, who may be in the service of that particular railway. Under those contracts we have seniority rules and rosters are posted carrying the seniority dates of the various employees in any given district. Under the contracts of my own particular organization, we have those provisions. We have some few Negro workers in our class of service. In those instances where we do have Negro workers they appear on the same seniority roster along with the white workers and they enjoy their seniority rights just the same as do the white workers.

In the event a Negro worker may have a grievance because the contract is not observed by the management officials our committees undertake to adjust those grievances in exactly the same fashion as they do for the white employees covered by that contract, and in the event that we are unable to adjust those grievances with the management officials, we progress them to the National Adjustment Board in Chicago, established under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, and we secure decisions in exactly the same manner as we do for the white employees.

Now we do not admit Negroes to our Brotherhood, so in order to take care of that problem, because we must give them the same service we give to the white employees, we organized the Negroes into Federal Labor Unions. Federal Labor unions pay per capita tax to our committee on each railroad as do our local unions and their representatives sit with the representatives of our local unions in determining the demands that will be made upon railway management, and the settlement that will be made in respect to matters affecting their wages and working conditions. Summed up in a nut shell, the Negro worker under the Brotherhood I represent has complete economic equality. He does not have social equality to the extent that we do not admit him to our Brotherhood. I think that policy is wrong and we ought to admit him to full membership, but it is a problem of education and one that must be handled in that way. We have had this problem up in the conven-

tions of our International organization since 1922, endeavoring to remove the restrictions. I hope that some day we shall persuade our people to grant full membership to the Negro workers, but it will have to be carried on in that way.

I have tried to give you the facts without any prejudice whatever, because I believe every worker ought to be organized, they all should be in the same organization, but it is a matter that will have to be worked out and I don't want this convention to pass a resolution or a motion that will say that my International Union will be expelled if we do not amend our constitution, because then you are discussing with me a principle as to whether or not the organization I represent shall have the same privilege of enjoying its autonomy as do the other affiliated national and international organizations.

Under Delegate Randolph's organization these railway labor unions give to Delegate Randolph and his Sleeping Car Porters the freedom they enjoy today through the Railway Labor Act. We are glad to see them organized and we are glad to co-operate with them. I believe the report of the Council meets the situation fairly and it ought to be approved by this convention.

Delegate Randolph: A point of correction. In the first place I want to say we are not directing any special criticism against the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. We set forth the facts as they are. There are other unions in the Federation that are guilty of the same sin of excluding Negro workers.

President Green was a little in error when he said that only five unions of the 105 affiliated national and international unions excluded Negro workers. There are twenty unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who exclude Negro workers. The Machinists, the Plumbers, the Electricians and others that I could name here exclude them.

Relative to the observation made by the delegate over here, giving the impression that Federal unions could not bring grievances to the National Board of Adjustment, I want to confirm that statement I made, and you can go to the National Board of Adjustment itself and it will tell you that no railway organization which is not national in structure can raise a grievance

to that Board. Federal local unions are not national organizations, therefore, Federal local unions of Negroes are absolutely helpless in raising grievances before the Board of Adjustment.

On the matter of railroad organizations giving the Sleeping Car Porters their salvation under the law, I want to correct Brother Harrison in that statement. When the Railway Labor Act, amended by the 73rd Congress was to be enacted, when the representatives of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters got down to Washington we found that every group of railroad workers in the railway industry was written into the act in black and white, designated in black and white, except the Sleeping Car Porters. I don't know who was responsible for that. The railway workers, he claims, helped to bring that Act into existence. We appeared before the Senate Committee on Foreign and Interstate Commerce and the House Committee and introduced an amendment to the Bill which was already printed, so that the Sleeping Car Porters should be included in the law. That is a very important correction that I want to make, because it leaves the impression with the delegates here that the railroad unions put the Sleeping Car Porters on their feet as a result of that law. If we had been excluded we would not have had any rights under the law. We could not appeal to the National Board of Adjustment had we not gone down there and had the Sleeping Car Porters not put that in there ourselves. The whole discussion of the Federal unions is absolutely unsound. It does not meet the issue at all and we had just as well recognize that fact.

I appreciate the observation of Delegate Harrison in stating that he hopes the time will come when the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks will eliminate the color clause, but we want it known right now, Mr. Chairman, that the Negro workers in the Federal unions have absolutely no remedy by way of dealing with management through the Federal labor unions. Secondly, it is in error to say that the Negroes are economically equal with other members of national organizations, when they have not the right to become members of that organization. That is a very peculiar plan of economic equality.

Delegate Tracy, Electricians: The delegate has just made a statement that I want to correct. He said that the Electrical Workers barred the negroes by law from membership in their organization. There is nothing in the law of the International Union of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers that bars negroes, and such false statements as are made relative to our law here are not doing his cause any good. We also have negro members in our organization.

President Green: The question has been called for. The question recurs on the substitute for the committee's report offered by Delegate Randolph.

The motion to adopt the substitute was lost.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors: Now, Mr. President, put my motion.

President Green: The Chair now entertains the motion offered by Delegate Feeney.

Delegate Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers: I ask for recognition, Mr. President. I want to offer a motion before the house.

President Green: For what purpose?

Delegate Dubinsky: I understand that early this evening there was a report of the Committee on Resolutions submitted dealing with Resolution No. 84, and the unanimous action of the convention was to lay these resolutions on the table. I move you therefore, that this be taken from the table for consideration at this time.

President Green: Brother Dubinsky moves that the report of the committee on Resolution No. 84, which was laid on the table, be now taken from the table for consideration. There was a group of resolutions and I cannot remember just what the numbers were. They all dealt, however, with the amendment proposed by various delegates to this convention. The report of the committee was tabled. The question now is that the report of the committee be taken from the table.

After the viva voce vote had been taken a division was called for.

The motion offered by Delegate Dubinsky was adopted by a vote of 91 to 41.

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters: Doesn't it require a member who voted in the affirmative to take a matter from the table?

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

President Green: I understand he did vote in the affirmative.

Delegate Duffy: If he introduced a resolution to amend the constitution he would never vote to table it.

President Green: The mover of the motion can answer that for himself.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I rise to a point of order. My point of order is that if a legal question is to be raised that question must be raised before the Chair has ruled on the outcome of the vote. You have ruled, Mr. Chairman, that the motion carried. Therefore, he can no longer raise that question.

President Green: The motion has been adopted. The question is now before the convention.

The Secretary of the committee will read the report.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: The Secretary of the Committee is informed that the report as submitted has left the convention hall, so that it may go to the printer. The Secretary, therefore, will have to speak from memory. There were thirteen resolutions, as I remember, all dealing with the same question—an amendment to the constitution. Resolution No. 84 was one of these. The report was to the effect that many amendments to the constitution had been proposed by various groups in this country. It pointed out the inadvisability of this convention at this time endeavoring to select any one particular amendment and adopt that without more knowledge of what other amendments were being proposed by other groups. It therefore recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to make a study of all proposed amendments and then prepare an amendment for the American trades union movement which the Executive Council was to present to Congress. The delegates heard me read the report. I think that is a fair summary, so that the committee recommends that the Executive Council stands instructed to study the question and prepare an amendment and to have that amendment introduced in Congress.

President Green: The question is now on the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters: I wish to record the Carpenters' delegation as voting against this matter.

President Green: That will be recorded, Brother Duffy.

Now then, the question recurs on the motion offered by Delegate Feeney. Secretary Morrison will read the motion again for the information of the delegates.

Secretary Morrison: The motion offered by Delegate Feeney is as follows: That resolutions as yet undisposed of by this convention be referred to the Executive Council, together with the reports and recommendations of the committee on all such proposals, and that it consider all such proposals in that light.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce again a meeting of the Executive Council in Room 104 Ambassador Hotel, at 2:30 o'clock Sunday afternoon. I invite representatives of the Pullman Porters, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Sleeping Car Conductors and the Railway Clerks to meet with me at that hour, when the Council meets. Others who have business before the Council and who desire to present matters will appear.

The Chair desires to announce that all the convention committees are now discharged, with an expression of appreciation for the service they all rendered.

Delegate Rooney, Plasterers: I move we adjourn sine die.

President Green: That is not necessary.

Delegate Rivers, Hod Carriers: Have you forgotten the installation of officers?

President Green: According to the rules of the convention the officers are installed automatically when they are elected.

I might announce at this time that Radio Station WEVD, Atlantic City, broadcast over the Eastern network the highlights of the daily sessions of the convention. This service was organized by Morris S. Novik, Director of WEVD, and Chester M. Wright was the commentator and reporter, and we thank them both.

If there are no further announcements the Chair solemnly declares the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 10:50 o'clock p. m., Saturday, October 19, 1935, the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

**RESOLUTIONS WHICH WERE NOT
ACTED UPON AND WERE REFERRED
TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL BY
THE CONVENTION**

The resolutions remaining in the hands of the Resolutions Committee, not acted upon by the convention, were referred to the Executive Council for action, in accordance with the following motion adopted by the convention:

That resolutions as yet undisposed of by this convention be referred to the Executive Council, together with the reports and recommendations of the committee on all such proposals, and that it consider all such proposals in that light.

Acting upon the instructions of the Convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor met at the Ambassador Hotel at Atlantic City, N. J., on Sunday and Monday, October 20 and 21, respectively, 1935, to dispose of the resolutions considered by the Committee on Resolutions with the reports and the recommendations of the committee, which were not acted upon by the convention. These resolutions are printed herewith, followed by the report and recommendations of the committee and the action of the Executive Council.

That resolutions as yet undisposed of by this convention be referred to the Executive Council, together with the reports and recommendations of the committee on all such proposals, and that it consider all such proposals in that light.

**LABOR CO-OPERATION WITH NA-
TIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION**

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Selma Borchardt, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The far-reaching social and economic changes which have occurred during the last decade have had a particularly tragic, a devastating effect upon the young people of the nation; and

WHEREAS, The Youth of today must bear the full responsibilities of citizenship tomorrow; and

WHEREAS, Numerous plans have been proposed which would vitally affect the youth of the nation, including plans calling for political upheavals, revolutionary tactics, and some seeking to force youthful labor into a degrading economic enslavement; and

WHEREAS, There has been created a National Youth Administration in which, from the very start, organized labor was

given a definite recognition and functional place; and

WHEREAS, It is the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor to co-operate with governmental and private agencies which seek to serve the common good; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, call upon the state federations and city central bodies to co-operate with their respective Youth Administration organizations, both to protect the best interests of the youth of the land, and to preserve and enhance the traditions and standards of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint such special committees as he may deem necessary to carry out the purpose of this resolution.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The Executive Council amended the report of the committee, directing that the matter be left in the hands of the President to use his best judgment as to what should be done, but in the judgment of the Executive Council there is no need to appoint a special committee.

**PROPOSING INVESTIGATION OF PRES-
ENT ECONOMIC SYSTEM**

Resolution No. 206—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The woeful lack of any unified program or policy of sufficient scope and comprehension to reassure the workers of our nation regarding their future well-being, is cause for great anxiety and general unrest among them; and

WHEREAS, With our problem of production solved, there is apparently grave doubt in the minds of many that complete recovery and substantial justice for the workers can ever be attained under our present economic system; and

WHEREAS, It is highly desirable, and vital to the interest of the producers generally, that they focus their attention upon some definite and lasting solution of the problem which has, especially for the past six years, vainly demanded a satisfactory answer; and

WHEREAS, The most logical place to find the answer should be from the most representative organization of the producers of our nation, the American Federation of Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in regular session assembled, that we authorize and direct our Executive Coun-

cil to proceed without delay to make to our membership and to the nation a declaration, based upon factual findings, as to whether or not the producers can ever hope to solve their common problem of proper distribution, and establish social and economic justice under our present system; and also present to them a definite program through which to attain this desirable objective, securing such expert advice and assistance as may be necessary to accomplish their purpose.

The American Federation of Labor from the beginning has endeavored to carry out the purpose of the resolution which is the study of all of the economic and other factors which have led to an unbalanced national economy. Therefore, your committee assured that the A. F. of L. will continue in its investigations recommends that no further action is necessary.

The Executive Council approved the committee's report.

WAGNER-COSTIGAN ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, No. 18068, New York City.

WHEREAS, The shameful lynching of human beings in the United States of America, has made our claim of being a civilized country appear as a hollow mockery, and constitutes a serious threat to orderly government;

WHEREAS, Nearly 5,000 persons, more than 1,000 of whom were white, in the last 40 years, men and women, have been hanged from trees and riddled with bullets, or burned alive, while pieces of the charred bones and stinking human flesh of the unhappy victims are distributed as souvenirs among impressionable children and sadistic, mentally deficient men and women, in the crude manner of a Roman holiday, having been fired with the false illusions of defending the honor of white women, born of a so-called superior race, by dangerous and selfish demagogues of church, press and state;

WHEREAS, Lynch and mob law germs, like disease germs, know no race, color, nationality or religious lines, since history shows that whenever lynching and mob rule becomes a custom, that a Negro may be the unfortunate victim today, but that tomorrow it may be the mob howling, like mad Dervishes, for the blood of a Jew, or the blood of a Catholic, or the blood of a Worker fighting for his union;

WHEREAS, The lynchoer and mobocrat still flaunt their bloody shirts in utter defiance of all constitutional governments, proving the obvious helplessness of the governments of the individual states to stop this unspeakable crime against humanity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Atlantic City, New Jersey, denounces and condemns this horrible lynch and mob law as a menace to human rights and as an attack upon said civilized government, and a blow to our democratic institutions, and calls upon President Roosevelt and the Congress to enact into law the Wagner-Costigan Federal Anti-Lynching Bill, with a view to wiping out this disgraceful blot of barbarism from America; be it, further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to the members of the House of Representatives and Senators, urging them to back this measure as expressing the will and spirit of organized labor, and bring it to a vote on the floor in the next Congress, since it is apparent that this Bill would have passed, had it been put to a vote in the last Congress, and not been the football of selfish politicians, and also send copies of the said resolution to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America, the American Civil Liberties' Union, the National Urban League, the League for Industrial Democracy and the Race Relations Committee of the Society of Friends.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the Resolution.

The Executive Council declared as follows: The well-known position of the American Federation of Labor is enunciated in the following resolution adopted by the 1930 convention:

RESOLVED, That in harmony with the sound traditions and repeated pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor that practices of economic and civil injustices upon the colored wage-earners and our fellow citizens are herewith unequivocally and sharply condemned and the voice of American labor reaffirms and emphasizes its faith in and devotion to the principles and ideals of equal opportunity, fair play and justice for all Americans in industry and before the law, without regard to race, creed, color or nationality, as the safest assurance and guarantee of the stability of our institutions; and the American Federation of Labor pledges its forces and calls upon all affiliated unions to employ their great influence and power, in cooperation with various civic and religious organizations, to stamp out lynching and mob violence and industrial discrimination because of race or color as a disgraceful crime and a blot upon American civilization.

The Executive Council resolves that the foregoing declaration be reaffirmed and the President be directed to sponsor and adhere to that pronouncement.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at its two immediately preceding conventions directed attention to the unfair labor policy of the Associated Press and has asked that it be corrected, and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press continues its policy of hostility towards unionization of its telegraphers in defiance of the wishes of the majority of its telegraph workers and in disregard of the wishes of organized workers of America as expressed through President Green within the last year to President Frank B. Noyes, of the Associated Press, and

WHEREAS, The Associated Press, in recent months, has sent minor officials to different sections of the country to persuade and in some cases coerce employees to withdraw from the Commercial Telegraphers' Union by slandering union officials who have engaged in organization work among Associated Press telegraphers at great personal sacrifice and without compensation, and

WHEREAS, Associated Press officials have intimidated to meetings of its employees that they would favor a dual or company union, and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union for over 25 years has maintained contractual relations with International News Service, Universal Service and United Press through closed shop agreements, which have actually increased wages and improved conditions during the six years of the depression; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon National and International Unions, affiliated state and central bodies and federal unions to refrain from co-operation with the Associated Press representatives who seek news of labor, and co-operate to the fullest extent with the aforementioned three union press services.

In lieu of the resolution your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate with the officials of the Associated Press and endeavor to bring about mutually satisfactory conditions.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

UNIFORM UNION MEMBER INSIGNIA

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The rank and file members of the National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have no common distinctive insignia to display other than the adopted button of their respective National or International Unions, and

WHEREAS, It is believed that a distinctive button emblematic of the American Federation of Labor would be of tremendous benefit in advancing the interests of the Trade Union Movement, by such a united display of strength, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention requests the Executive Council to make a survey of the sentiment of international unions towards the idea of designing and using a uniform insignia by members of the American Federation of Labor. Such emblem to also properly set forth the emblem of the International Union of which the possessor is a member and that the Executive Council advise the next convention of the American Federation of Labor of the practicability of undertaking a program to secure general acceptance of such emblem by the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further consideration.

The Executive Council decided that the matter be considered as disposed of because there have been such surveys in the past indicating that the International Unions are opposed to relinquishing their property rights in their own labels for a general label or emblem which would be the property of the American Federation of Labor.

A. F. OF L. DAILY NEWSPAPER

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

WHEREAS, The educational, legislative and organization activities of the American Federation of Labor necessitate the fullest possible dissemination of accurate and up-to-date news and views of labor, from day to day, and

WHEREAS, The enemies of labor are engaged daily in the spreading of misinformation and misrepresentation of labor's position on every phase of American Federation of Labor activities either by the press, radio or otherwise; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be requested to appoint a special committee to investigate the possibilities of establishing a daily newspaper to be known as the American Federation of Labor Daily Newspaper, and make a report to the Executive Council not later than Jan. 1, 1936; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized and instructed if the report be favorable to make the necessary arrangements to begin publication of an American Federation of Labor Daily Newspaper.

under the control of the American Federation of Labor, as soon as practicable.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The Executive Council concurred in the committee's report and directs the President to prepare a report and submit it to the next meeting of the Executive Council.

OFFICERS OF INTERNATIONAL UNION OF UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS

Resolution No. 203.—By Delegates Carl J. Shipley, George F. Addes, Tom S. Johnson, Thomas L. Hopkins, Wyndham Mortimer, L. R. Richardson, John North.

In accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor the facts herein related were presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by the above mentioned signers on October 6, 1935. The Council failed to make a decision on the protest, consequently in accordance with law we appeal to the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention for a decision.

In our capacity of a special committee of seven elected by the first Constitutional Convention of the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America we present to you herewith a brief review of the facts in a controversy which now threatens the very life of our union. Indeed, the importance of this question extends beyond the borders of our own organization. It concerns the fundamental rights of the membership of an international union to elect its own officers. The facts are as follows:

WHEREAS, In June, 1934, there met in Detroit the first National conference of delegates of the Federal Labor Unions in the Automobile Industry. At this first meeting the right of delegates there assembled to elect the organizers who were to serve in the industry, and the National Council which was set up to co-ordinate in the work of the local unions in the industry, was already raised. The right to elect organizers was denied but the delegates were allowed to elect eleven members of the National Council; and

WHEREAS, At the same time President Green publicly declared that as soon as an international union of auto workers was constituted it would enjoy all rights granted to other international unions including the right of electing its own officers; and

WHEREAS, In October of the same year the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor met in San Francisco. The whole question of the formation of an international union in the automobile industry was there discussed at length and finally the report of the com-

mittee on this question was unanimously approved; and

WHEREAS, In connection with the method of selecting the officers of the new international the report of the committee declared:

"That in order to protect and safeguard the members of such National and International Unions as are chartered, the American Federation of Labor shall for a provisional period direct the policies, administer the business and designate the administration and financial officers of such newly organized unions"; and

WHEREAS, In August, 1935, the various Federal Labor Unions in the industry received from the Detroit Office of the American Federation of Labor the official call for the first constitutional convention of the United Automobile Workers of America. In referring to the convention, the call stated:

"A Constitution for the new International Union of Automobile Workers will be adopted and officers will be elected and installed"; and

WHEREAS, It was with this clear understanding that the officers of the new international would be elected by the delegates of the convention, that delegates were elected by the various local unions and assembled in Detroit on August 26, 1935; and

WHEREAS, On the second day of the convention the resolutions committee reported favorably on a resolution which read as follows:

"RESOLVED, That we respectfully request President Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to appoint Mr. F. J. Dillon, because of his long experience in the labor movement and his ability to handle our problems in a very capable manner, to serve the first term as President, with salary and expenses to be paid by the American Federation of Labor; be it further"; and

WHEREAS, The report of the committee was rejected by a vote of 164.2 to 112.8. In other words the delegates expressed in no uncertain terms their resentment against any attempt to appoint even one officer and their demand to elect from the floor all officers; and

WHEREAS, Following the defeat of this resolution President Green spoke at length on the question stating as follows:

"This convention will, so far as we are concerned, be given the widest authority to elect your secretary-treasurer, your executive board, and the officers of your International Union"; and

WHEREAS, In other words President Green himself declared that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor

had no desire to dictate the appointment of the General Executive Board but only of the President. This was, of course, in line with the clear instructions of the Fifty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which by implication gave the first constitutional convention of the United Automobile Workers of America the right to elect all officers other than President and Secretary-Treasurer; and

WHEREAS, The next day a committee of nine delegates met with President Green, who by this time had become thoroughly aware of the very real resentment of the delegates against any appointment of officers. At this meeting President Green declared;

"That he would allow the delegates to nominate and elect all the officers of this International Union. That he would leave Mr. Dillon on the American Federation of Labor payroll to act as an Advisor for the International Union"; and

WHEREAS, During the afternoon session of August 29th, President Green suddenly appeared before the Convention and despite the instructions of the Fifty-fourth Convention and his own solemn pledge, proceeded to appoint not only the President of the International Union of Automobile Workers of America but also the Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer and the entire General Executive Board; and

WHEREAS, We are not so much concerned with the flagrant violation of the most elementary democratic rights of the membership of our organization, important as that is. Rather we are chiefly concerned with the selection of capable national officers, officers with the courage, the patience and the ability to organize our industry, to build the United Automobile Workers of America into a powerful union and improve the conditions of all Automobile Workers; and

WHEREAS, By his actions at our first Constitutional Convention President Green made the selection of officers of this type impossible. He appointed as the General Executive Board to administer the affairs of our International Union the entire National Council which had served from June 1, 1934; and

WHEREAS, The records show that this National Council failed to organize the industry and build the union. They show that in Detroit, where President Dillon maintained his office and a large staff of organizers, there is practically no organization whatsoever. They show that they failed to aggressively combat the attacks of the employers on wages and working conditions and flagrant violations of the NRA code. They failed to develop a National Organization Campaign. They show that the union was built only in those sections, such as Wisconsin, Toledo, South Bend, Cleveland, Norwood, etc., where the

local men themselves conducted their organizational drives and built up their own union; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the inefficiency and the sorry record of the old National Council its members have lost the confidence of the vast bulk of the union membership. It is clear, therefore, that now that they have been appointed as a new General Executive Board that they will be unable to secure the support of the membership which is essential if our industry is to be organized; and

WHEREAS, If we are to ward off the attacks of the employers on wages and hours which are already starting; if we are to successfully organize a half a million workers, the union membership must have the right to elect to office men of its own selection, men who have been tried in action, men who have demonstrated their ability to organize on the firing line. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That at the earliest possible moment, and in no case later than March 1, 1936, there be called a special convention of the International Union of United Automobile Workers of America for the purpose of there electing in a democratic fashion the officers of our International Union.

We present these facts for your earnest consideration and request a favorable decision which will aid tremendously in the building of a powerful union in the Automobile industry.

Your committee directs attention to the fact that the conditions under which a charter was to be issued to an International Union of Automobile Workers, were definitely defined by the declaration of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. In view of this your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The Executive Council decided that no further action is necessary as the Executive Council and the convention have acted upon this matter.

BUILDING TRADES VS. OIL FIELD, GAS WELL AND REFINERY WORKERS

Resolution No. 200—By Delegates M. J. McDonough, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Jos. A. Mullaney, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers, Frank Feeney, International Union of Elevator Constructors, M. J. Colleran, Operative Plasterers International Association of the United States and Canada,

Wm. J. McSorley, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, George W. Jones, United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers Association, M. W. Mitchell, Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America, John Coefield, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, L. P. Lindelof, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Joseph Franklin, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, P. J. Morin, International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

WHEREAS, The Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers were denied a charter by the American Federation of Labor at about the year 1919 because of their intended jurisdiction, which was an infringement upon the jurisdiction of the various International Trade Unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, After jurisdictional agreement had been entered into by various International Trade Unions and after an agreement had been entered into with the American Federation of Labor and the late President Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at that time a charter was issued to the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers; and

WHEREAS, These agreements are definite in their intent and purpose and were intended specifically to provide and to eliminate any possible encroachment by the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers upon the jurisdiction of the several International Trade Unions employed in the Petroleum Industry; and

WHEREAS, Beginning about 1933, shortly after the National Recovery Act was made effective, the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers entered into an active campaign throughout the Petroleum Industry; and

WHEREAS, During this campaign it soon developed that their organization campaign was being carried on without regard to the jurisdiction of any of the International Trade Unions and particularly the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America and the Refinery Workers continued their encroachment and their apparent desire to destroy the agreements and the right extended to them under the charter issued by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In 1934 at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco, a Resolution was introduced by the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, having for its purpose the correct-

ing of the encroachment and the total disregard by the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of the agreements and understandings had with the American Federation of Labor, the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America and the several other International Trade Unions involved; and

WHEREAS, As the result of the introduction of this Resolution, conferences were sought by the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers which resulted in a proclamation and assurances in writing being given to the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, having for its purpose defining the principles and the policies of the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers; and

WHEREAS, This proclamation and statement of their intentions and purposes contained definite assurance that the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers were not only to desist in soliciting membership outside of their jurisdiction, but assurances were given that such members as had been secured would be turned over to the International Craft Unions, together with such money as had been collected; and

WHEREAS, In spite of these assurances and in spite of the fact that the Resolution introduced in 1934 was withdrawn with all good intent and purpose, the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers have continued to violate all of the understandings and agreements, together with the jurisdiction, both of its organization and the International Craft Unions affected; and

WHEREAS, In spite of any and all action on the part of the International Craft Unions the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers have continued to violate their jurisdiction, to actually offer opposition to the organization of Craft Unions; and

WHEREAS, They have actually entered into agreements with certain companies of the Petroleum Industry in which the International Craft jurisdictions have been covered and are involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers be instructed to immediately turn over all members now members of their organization and who come within the jurisdiction of the several trade unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That unless this is accomplished within a thirty-day period that the charter of the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers be revoked as of the date of the expiration of the thirty-day period; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That no charter be issued to the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers until such jurisdiction is adhered to and honored; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the jurisdiction of the several International Craft Unions involved in the Petroleum Industry be reaffirmed by this Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to introduce this Resolution into the American Federation of Labor Convention in session in Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 7, 1935; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers and Delegates of this Building Trades Department Convention be instructed to lend every assistance for the securing of its passage.

Your committee non-concurs with that portion of the resolution calling for the revocation of the charter within thirty days and refers the resolution to the Executive Council.

The Executive Council concurred in the committee's report and referred the matter to the President to report to the next meeting of the Executive Council.

ORGANIZING NEGRO WORKERS

Resolution No. 155—By Delegate Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 18068, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Negro Labor Committee organized July 20th, 1935, in New York City, by Negro and White representatives of trade unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It is the purpose of the Negro Labor Committee to organize Negro workers into the trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to the end of eliminating division and weaknesses within the ranks of the workers resulting from race or color prejudice, thereby achieving greater trade union unity, strength and fighting spirit; and

WHEREAS, The following bona fide trade unions and representatives of the American Federation of Labor were present at the Conference and participated in the deliberations for the formation of the Committee: Julius Hochman, Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Thomas Young, Vice-President, Building Service and Employees' Union, 32-B; Abraham Miller, Executive Secretary of the New York Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union of America; I. Laderman, President, International Pocketbook Workers' Union; Jack Buttler, Taxi Chauffeurs' Union No. 19795; Joseph Machee, International Representative, International Laundry Workers' Union; Edward Richardson, Van Drivers' and Helpers' Union No. 814; P. A. Moore, Business Agent, Dining Car Em-

ployes' Union No. 370; Jacob Mirsky, President, Bricklayers' Union No. 37; Jack Wolheim, Motion Pictures Operators' Union No. 306; Gordon Hayes, Carpenters' and Joiners' Union No. 1888; Morris Finestine, Executive Secretary, United Hebrew Trades; B. F. McLaurin, National Field Organizer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and

WHEREAS, President William Green sent an inspiring, congratulatory and instructive message to Frank R. Grossmith, the chairman and organizer of the Committee and one of the general organizers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which served as the stimulating and rallying force and standard of the Conference and since David DuBinsky, President-Secretary of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and member of the Executive Council, has also indorsed and warmly supported the Committee; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, in Atlantic City, New Jersey, goes on record as endorsing the Negro Labor Committee, and assures the Committee moral and financial support and co-operation, to aid it in the advancement of its worthy program of organizing our Negro brothers into the bona fide trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee and referred the matter to the President to make a report to the next meeting of the Executive Council.

THOMAS J. MOONEY

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates Lawrence O'Keefe, John Barnett and Aloys Towers, International Molders' Union.

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney, a member of the International Molders' Union of North America for 32 years, has been imprisoned by the State of California for more than 18 of his best years on a life imprisonment sentence on the foulest frame-up conspiracy ever recorded in the whole history of American jurisprudence; and

WHEREAS, This monstrous frame-up conspiracy against Thomas J. Mooney was conceived, inspired, directed, executed and paid for by the hiring henchmen Agents Provocateurs of the California non-union open shop employers, particularly the public utilities corporations of San Francisco, who had direct control of the district attorney's office and the police department; and

WHEREAS, The real motive behind this outrageous conspiracy is class fear and class hatred of Thomas J. Mooney, because of his aggressive, militant activity in the California

trade union movement and his undying loyalty and devotion to the entire working class; and

WHEREAS, The original trial judge, Franklin A. Griffin, Captain of Detectives Duncan Matheson, in charge of the gathering of all the evidence, all of the living members of the jury that found him guilty, and the present district attorney have demanded his pardon; and

WHEREAS, Two commissions appointed by Presidents Wilson and Hoover investigated this case and branded the frame-up as "shocking to one's sense of justice"; and

WHEREAS, Hundreds of other public officials, countless thousands of worthwhile men and women, organizations and many scores of the great daily newspapers and magazines throughout the world have branded this frame-up as a blot upon civilization, the shame of America, and a disgraceful smear upon the escutcheon of the State of California and an international scandal; and

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney was, by a directed verdict, upon the motion of the district attorney, and over his protest, acquitted May 24, 1933, on an indictment identical to the one on which he was convicted 18 years ago; and with the verdict of not guilty still ringing in his ears, he was placed in irons and speeded back to San Quentin Prison for the rest of his natural life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates assembled in the 28th Convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, at Chicago, Ill., August 13 to 25, 1934, that we reiterate and declare once again our full and complete belief in the absolute innocence of our brother member, Thomas J. Mooney, and denounce with righteous wrathful indignation and scornful contempt the original framers of this foul conspiracy and every other public official who, subsequent thereto by his decisions, aiding, abetting, deeds or words of encouragement toward the continuation of this monstrous frame-up; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Molders' Union delegates to all conventions of the American Federation of Labor present this resolution for adoption.

Your committee recommends that this convention reaffirm its previous declarations in connection with the Mooney case.

The Executive Council approved the committee's report.

NEGRO ORGANIZERS

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters—18063, New York City.

WHEREAS, The enactment of the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill into law gives or-

ganized labor certain definite rights in developing and promoting its program of organization of the unorganized workers; and

WHEREAS, The sanction by the Federal Government of the right of the workers to organize bona-fide unions of their own choosing, without interference, coercion or intimidation, which gives to the American Federation of Labor a strategic and privileged position which is justifiable and as it should be, but which imposes, by the same token, upon the A. F. of L. the moral obligation to give tangible and concrete proof of its interest and intention to bring all sections of the unorganized workers into the fold, including the Negro workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention goes on record as directing President Green and the Executive Council to place one or more Negro organizers on the staff as paid workers under the direction of President Green, since the Negro workers, in strike after strike, in industries in every section of America, have fully and unequivocally demonstrated their capacity and courage to play an effective role in the building up of a strong, militant labor movement of white and black workers and to fight for desirable standards of wages, hours and working conditions.

Your committee recommends that this resolution which relates to the appointing of Negro organizers be referred to the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council approved the committee's report.

SCOTTSBORO CASE

Resolution No. 216—By Delegate Jack Rand, Display Fixture and Figure Workers' Union No. 20039, New York City.

WHEREAS, Nine innocent Negro boys, known to the world as the nine Scottsboro boys, have been condemned to death in the electric chair, and have been confined in prison, where they have lived under conditions of torture, for more than three years; and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming weight of evidence in the case has established their innocence beyond the shadow of any doubt, even to the point where the accusers of the nine boys have declared, under oath, that the boys are innocent of the crime with which they are charged; and

WHEREAS, The Scottsboro case rises from and expresses the awful oppression of the 13,000,000 Negro people, which the land owners and all exploiters and oppressors of labor are determined to perpetuate; and

WHEREAS, The dangers of war and fascism, and the general interests of labor, make the defense of the Scottsboro boys a more vital issue than ever before, if the rights of labor are to be preserved and its position advanced; and

WHEREAS, The unity of the entire working class, regardless of race, nationality, or organizational affiliation, has become more vital than ever before if the sharpening attacks upon labor are to be beaten back; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record demanding the immediate, safe, and unconditional release of the nine Scottsboro boys.

Your committee is of the opinion that a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court has made it a requirement that there shall be a retrial before a jury which does not exclude citizens of the Negro race, and therefore recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The Executive Council approved the committee's report.

COMMITTEE ON NEGRO PROBLEMS

Resolution No. 153—By Delegate A. Phillip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, 18068, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in San Francisco, adopted a resolution for the appointment by President William Green of a committee of five for the purpose of making an inquiry into the practices of discrimination by trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. against Negro workers, and to make recommendations to the next or this Convention; and

WHEREAS, President Green appointed the said committee composed of the following brothers: John E. Rooney, of the Plasterers; John Brophy, of the Miners; T. C. Carroll, of the Maintenance of Way; John W. Garvy, of the Hod Carriers; Hanks, of the Barbers, who have undertaken a splendid, far-reaching and constructive job of investigating every aspect of the relationship of the black workers to the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Committee held two hearings in Washington, D. C., and listened to testimony given by Negro and white representatives from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the joint Committee on National Recovery, the National Urban League, the Department of Interior, Howard and Fisk Universities, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and skilled Negro building trades workers, who gave a mass of factual data, pointing out the widespread practice, on the part of

some trade unions, to discriminate against Negro workers through the color bar in their constitutions and color pledges in their rituals and other inexpressed but subtle and effective methods of excluding colored workers from the unions and thereby keeping them out of employment; and

WHEREAS, The life of the Committee has been too short, having only started work in July of 1935, giving it about three months to function, hold hearings, take evidence, study and analyze the material that is presented to it or that it may search out for evaluation, itself, especially, in view of the magnitude and vital significance of the task before it; and

WHEREAS, Negro workers have neither the money or time to travel to Washington to tell their story of discrimination visited upon them to prevent them from becoming members of the union, or work on union jobs and since if they left their homes they would be cut off relief because of absence, and because Washington is not an industrial city where large numbers of Negro craftsmen live who might appear and testify before the Committee and, too, since the increase and accumulation of evidence of discriminations, of varied forms, which enable the Committee to get a clear and complete picture of the Negro workers' relation to the trade union movement, which will have great factual value and moral weight and worth; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-fifth Annual Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, empower and instruct President Green and the Executive Council, to provide the Committee with the necessary funds with which to conduct regional public hearings, to take evidence on the aforementioned discriminations, in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati and St. Louis, in order that Negro workers in these large industrial centers may appear and tell the Committee their experiences in seeking membership in the unions, and work on jobs controlled by organized labor. This will serve as a gesture of sincere interest on the part of the A. F. of L. to organize Negro workers, and will bring to the Federation increasing moral assurance and spiritual force, public goodwill and economic power, which is born alone in working class solidarity, without regard to race, color or nationality.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council and that hearings be provided for in such cities as the Executive Council may determine.

The Executive Council amended the committee's report by striking out the last section calling for meetings in various localities and with this amendment approved the committee's report.

COMMUNISTS

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is being made an insidious effort by Communistic and allied organizations, acting under orders from Moscow, Russia, to undermine the confidence of working men and women who are organized under the banner of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In a statement issued by William Green, President of the A. F. of L., that the American delegation to the Communistic Congress in Moscow, reported that there are now in this country 80,000 Communists and while this number in comparison with the membership of the A. F. of L. is inconsequential, nevertheless they are distributed among our trade unions and each is assigned to a special task therein; and

WHEREAS, Believing as we do, in this our country, its Constitution and its institutions, and the principle of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, As loyal American citizens and loyal members of the American Federation of Labor we energetically use all means at our command to purge our membership of proven Red termites who are endeavoring to destroy our government and the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it would be highly desirable if Central Labor Councils in the State of California would declare that they are the judge of their own membership and refuse to seat delegates-elect of proven membership from the Communist Party or active supporters of that party and its program and to expel already seated delegates of the same qualifications, and that the delegate-elect from this Federation to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to seek the approval of the American Federation of Labor for such action by Central Labor Councils; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention declare that it would be highly desirable if National and International Unions would adopt a policy for their Local Unions along the same lines.

Your committee approves the general purpose of the resolution.

The Executive Council approved the committee's report.

Your committee had referred to it Resolutions Nos. 17, 25, 34 and 138. These resolutions call for an endorsement of the so-called Lundeen Bill. Inasmuch as the Congress has enacted the Social Security Bill which received the signature of the Presi-

dent of the United States, your committee recommends that these resolutions be non-concurred with.

The Executive Council approved the committee's report.

HEARST NEWSPAPERS

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate John North, United Automobile Workers Federal Labor Union No. 19970, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

WHEREAS, Hearst, through his publications, has demonstrated that he is an enemy of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record condemning the Fascist campaign of Hearst and his allies and pledges to fight for, preserve and extend our democratic rights and to work and co-operate with all those sincerely fighting against the menace of Fascism in this country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled repudiate the Fascist document sponsored by Hearst and known as the "New Declaration of Independence" and call upon President William Green to withdraw his signature.

HEARST PUBLICATIONS

Resolution No. 193—By Delegates Howard Lawrence, Casket Makers Union Local No. 19306, Chicago, Illinois; Frank Marek Jr., Federal Labor Union No. 18415, Aurora, Illinois, and Norman Ratkin, Photographic and Photo Finishing Employers' Union Local No. 19893, New York City, New York.

WHEREAS, The American Labor movement since its inception has taken an active part in the struggle for the establishment of a free school system—free from all religious or political domination or control, and

WHEREAS, The democratic civil rights of the American people have been won by the working people, together with the Labor movement, as result of years of struggle, and are today the foundations of our American traditions, and

WHEREAS, There is today a trend amongst certain economic and political groups to attack these principles of academic freedom and democratic civil rights and to attempt to prejudice and organize active sentiment against progressive thought and action, and

WHEREAS, All publications of William Randolph Hearst have been leading this campaign against academic freedom, incit-

ing to hatred of the foreign-born worker and for the outlawing and persecution of all progressive working class thought and organization, and

WHEREAS, Such disregard for the principles and the rights of the American working people is a definite characteristic of Fascism, and such anti-labor campaigns aim and tend to entrench Fascist tendencies and actions alien to the desires and interests of Organized Labor and the American working people as a whole, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 55th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor goes on record condemning the anti-Labor stand taken by the Hearst publications and calls upon its members, organizations, and friends to refuse to buy or read the Hearst publications.

Resolutions Nos. 16 and 193 allege that William Randolph Hearst has demonstrated through his publications that he is an enemy of labor, and for that reason his publications should be condemned by the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 16, in addition to condemning William Randolph Hearst, because of his alleged enmity towards labor, calls upon President William Green to withdraw his signature from the "New Declaration of Independence" sponsored by Mr. Hearst.

Your committee is informed by President Green that he is unable to withdraw his signature, for the practical reason that his signature was never attached to the "New Declaration of Independence." Your committee is of the opinion that a number of newspapers have shown themselves to be actively hostile to the trade union movement, but that the Hearst publications cannot be included in this category. Those who read the Hearst publications are aware that during the year they have carried a series of articles exposing the tyranny and terrorism existing in Russia.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolutions.

The Executive Council approved the committee's report.

COMMUNISTIC OPPOSITION TO THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

In connection with that part of the Executive Council's report on the subject, "Communist Opposition to the American Labor Movement" your committee submits, that

communist policy with regard to trade unionism in this country first took shape when the Trade Union Educational League was organized in 1921 and became the official Communist agency for agitation and splitting up of the unions and also, for the first time, for waging so-called "united front" campaigns for various Communist objectives.

The League's methods consisted in placing what it called "cells" in such unions where its adherents could be found, and these were pledged to follow out the instructions of the Communist Party. The purpose of these "boring'-from-within" tactics was to bring these organized "nuclei" in conflict with the trade unions which in turn was intended to bring factional warfare and prostration to the unions. The League, however, met with complete failure from its inception, and in 1925 its founders, the Communist agents of the Moscow Internationale, had to admit publicly that the status of the League in the unions had become desperate and its influence negligible.

In 1928, the Comintern, in the face of this failure of the League, decided to encourage the formation of dual unions in the United States and in other countries. Subsequent to that decision, the Communists organized "industrial" opposition unions in a number of trades and openly engaged on numerous occasions in strike-breaking activity to weaken existing unions. The dual union campaign of the Communists, which lasted until this year, however, brought pitiable results because the American workers turned their backs to the Communists no matter under what form they paraded, and they were considered by the workers of this country as a mere strike-breaking agency, serving the interests of the employers and the enemies of the labor movement. The Communists did not succeed in organizing a single substantial dual union in any of the leading industries despite the fact that this opposition was launched simultaneously with the outbreak of the economic crisis late in 1929. Not even the depression, with all the misery that it has brought to the American wage-earners, could sway them to dual unionism under Communist domination or inspiration.

In view of the bankruptcy of Communist dual unions, the loss of confidence of the

masses of workers whom they had hoped to convert to world revolution with the aim of destroying the existing order, and the exigencies and needs of the Soviet regime which have made it imperative for the latter to seek allies among the trade union masses and the liberal elements in Europe and throughout the world, the Communist Internationale has decided to abandon the policy of dual unionism for the new maneuver of "boring-from-within", the new "united front" policy. The change, in short, is from dual unionism to dual allegiance.

Whether it was the policy of the Trade Union Educational League or dual unionism, or a "united front" maneuver, it was always under the direction of Moscow. When Moscow orders what the policy shall be, the Communists of the United States carry it out. They are not acting in the unions as trade unionists, but rather as Communists. Instead of being loyal to their unions, they are loyal to their party. They are not acting in this country as Americans, but their first and main allegiance is to Russia. When they act as such, they have no place in our movement. They are of a destructive nature and act as agents of the Moscow Internationale.

The successive attempts of the Communists to invade and to capture the trade union movement, under one guise or another, for their party's objectives, have proved a failure. The American workers and their trade unions will not be deluded by this latest "united front" maneuver of

the domestic Communists and their Moscow inspirers. The clear-cut and time-tested opposition of American organized labor to any overtures from the Comintern camp—whether extended in the form of a mailed fist or an olive branch—should remain unaltered. The policy of our movement will be determined by no foreign organization, but rather by the rank and file of our movement.

In this light and to that objective we recommend concurrence in that part of the report of the Executive Council.

The Executive Council approved the committee's report.

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY SUMMARY

At the meeting of the Executive Council, held on Monday, October 21, 1935, the Council gave consideration to the document submitted by Delegate John L. Lewis with the caption "Survey Summary", printed as a part of the morning session, eighth day's proceedings. Because of the lack of opportunity to study this document at the time it was submitted to the Convention, the Executive Council directed the President to make an analysis of the document, such analysis to be made a part of the permanent records of the Convention. This analysis will be printed as an appendix to these proceedings, commencing at page 833.

SURVEY SUMMARY

LEGISLATION :

- (a) Enacted, largely through A. F. of L. action—2.
- (b) A. F. of L. helpful also in Child Labor Amendment campaign.
- (c) Success due to the work of the Internationals—12.
- (d) NO action taken by the A. F. of L. on legislative questions to which the Convention action committed them—46.
- (e) Success due largely to governmental aid in getting the legislation—6.
- (f) A. F. of L. defeated—4.

II STUDIES ORDERED BUT NOT MADE—24.

III MISCELLANEOUS CONVENTION MANDATES NOT CARRIED THROUGH—8.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MANDATES OF THE 1934 A. F. OF L. CONVENTION SHOWING WHAT THE CONVENTION VOTED SHOULD BE DONE AND SHOWING WHAT THE A. F. OF L. ACTUALLY DID

<i>Item No.</i>	<i>Page in Proc.</i>	<i>Subject of Mandate of Convention</i>	<i>Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action</i>	<i>Answer</i>
1	603	To increase legislative activity.	NO increase in ANY way!	A full complement of Legislative Representatives were appointed and confirmed by the Executive Council and a number of meetings of all Legislative Representatives of National and International Unions were held in the Executive Council Chamber in order to develop legislative team work. Intense cooperation was established. The next day a coordinated effort was made in the report of the Executive Council upon national legislation on page 111 of the Executive Council Report.
2	551	To secure liberalization of the rules of the House of Representatives so as to assure consideration of Labor's bills.	On first day of the present session the House adopted a gag rule to help defeat any bills which were not "orthodox."	Legislative Committeemen Roberts, Hushing and Meadows entered vigorous protests to members of Congress as fast as they arrived in Washington before Congress convened. Despite every argument presented the House on its first day of the session changed the petition rule requiring 218 members instead of 145 to withdraw bills from committees. Because the proposed change was regarded as an administrative measure it was impossible to defeat it.

Item No.	Page in Proc.	Subject of Mandate of Convention	Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action	Answer
3	710	Research and federal legislation asked to prevent further industrial poisoning.	Nothing done by A. F. of L.	The answer to this item is found in a letter from Mr. L. P. Lindelof General President, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper hangers of America, as follows: "In behalf of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers of America and myself, personally I am taking this opportunity of expressing to you and the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, our appreciation for the extensive research and report made on Resolution 154 which was submitted to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco California." "The report contains very helpful and valuable information and as per the belief expressed therein; that good results can be obtained through mutual agreements with the manufacturers of products containing lead and other similar injurious substances—we will be guided to the extent of taking the matter up with the Paint, Varnish and Lacquer Manufacturers—feeling certain very beneficial regulations can thus be established." "Sometime ago we were advised that Bill S. 3853 would be revised and passed by the United States Congress. Should this prove true, we will again assume the liberty of asking the American Federation of Labor legislative agents to do their utmost in favor of the bill. We will duly notify you when such Bill comes up for hearings; meantime be assured of our hearty appreciation for the interest the American Federation of Labor has shown in this Resolution presented by the Brotherhood of Painters."
4	401	Fair working conditions on government contracts (prevailing wage rate).	A desperate fight made for this by A. F. of L. in connection with Relief Bill. The A. F. of L. was not heard on record vote in Congress.	President Green and the entire Executive Council appeared before the Senate Appropriations Committee in favor of prevailing wage amendment to relief bill. On the first vote the Senate adopted the prevailing wage amendment. The bill then passed the House and the Senate. Appropriations Committee and when again reported several Senators changed their votes, consequently the amendment was lost. A full report upon this legislation was made by the Executive Council on page 113 of its report.
5	544	A. F. of L. asked to secure a properly administered system of employment exchanges.	Not even a report on the faults of the present system has been submitted, until the convention of the A. F. of L. taken by A. F. of L. to improve the service in the interest of Labor by having modifying clauses attached to the Appropriation Bill.	A full report upon the United States Employment Service is to be found on page 42 of the Executive Council Report to this Convention. The Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor worked with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Federal Reserve Board to secure adequate appropriations of Federal funds for the Department, including United States Employment Service. In addition aid was also given State Federations of Labor to have state laws enacted to carry out the provisions of the Wagner-Peyser Law and efforts made to appoint members of the trade unions as state directors.
6	637	To oppose the pauper's oath as a requisite to relief grants.	No attempt made to get this ruling altered.	Resolution No. 194 adopted by the San Francisco Convention, referred to in this item, protests the use of the "pauper's oath" by the S. E. R. A. The S. E. R. A. is a State Emergency Relief Administration and not Federal. Protest was made to the Federal Relief Administration and the State Relief Administration and the Convention decided that it will require State legislation to abolish the "pauper's oath." State Federations of Labor are called upon to prepare and introduce legislation designed to abolish this objectionable practice.

SURVEY SUMMARY

835

- 7 A study is ordered of anti-syndicalist and labor sedition laws. No such study was made. The instructions of the Convention have been carried out. A thorough study of anti-syndicalism and labor sedition laws, with the aid of State Federations of Labor and Government departments, has been under way for months, but complete information not being received, the final report was not made. This requires state legislation.
- 8 A. F. of L. asked to evolve a program for social planning in administering relief. A report upon this subject is to be found on pages 80 to 89 inclusive of the Executive Council's Report to this Convention. The convention has not yet received the report, but it is expected that it will be recommended by the Executive Council, which should be followed in securing social security legislation. The American Federation of Labor carried out these instructions and the legislation was enacted.
- 9 To secure union wages for workers doing skilled work in the C. C. C. No legislation on this obtained. This matter was taken up with the Director of the Civilian Conservation Work Administration and in response to our recommendations an order was issued that the prevailing rate of wages be paid on all building work in CCC camps. Because this order was issued no legislation was necessary.
- 10 Asked for a fact-finding study to determine if crime legislation now proposed would meet the urgent need of this study to Labor. No fact-finding study was made on this subject in spite of the urgent need of this study to Labor. No instructions directing that a "fact-finding study to determine if crime legislation now proposed does not menace the legitimate functioning of trade unions" is to be found on page 549 of the proceedings of the San Francisco Convention. The instructions were adopted by the convention adopted the report of the Committee on Resolutions upon "Crime Legislation" which reads as follows:
"Upon this subquestion of the Executive Council's report, pages 79 and 80, your committee submits that the necessity of preventing crime legislation from menacing the legitimate functioning of trade unions has been made evident. Timely action by President Green and the Executive Council was most helpful in preventing the enactment of such dangerous and menacing legislation."
- 11 Advocating increase in maximum of relief per family. No attempt made by A. F. of L. to secure a more social approach to the administration of relief legislation. The Resolution dealing with increased relief as referred to in this item reads as follows:
"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, request of the Honorable H. L. Hopkins, Administrator of the FERA, also all State Administrators to take immediate action to have the maximum of relief per family raised to meet the requirements made necessary by the above mentioned increase in the cost of living."
The instructions contained in this resolution were carried out. Appeals and requests were made by representatives of the American Federation of Labor to State Relief Administrators and the office of State Federation of Labor to State Relief Administrators to increase the relief allowance to dependent workers and their families.

Item No.	Page in Proc.	Subject of Mandate of Convention	Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action	Answer
12	416	Anti-Lynching legislation demanded.	While the bill was before the Senate and the A. F. of L. was asked to live up to its convention commitments, not even a statement of support could be had from the A. F. of L.	The anti-lynching bills have been held up for years due to the hostile attitude and strenuous opposition of southern members of Congress. A report was made in the 74th Congress by the Senate Committee on the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching Bill, however, and the measure was debated in the Senate for a considerable period of time. Prior to the time the bill was debated by the Senate, and during the debate, conferences were held with Senators opposing the bill and they were informed of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor. The Senators were adamant in their opposition, however, and the bill was finally laid aside due to their threat of a filibuster and the desire of the Senate to enact urgent measures.
13	631	A. F. of L. to assist in protecting constitutional rights by uncovering and exposing the mask of patriotic motives in endeavor to destroy equality of rights and opportunities for all.	No such study was made.	No reference to any study to be made by the American Federation of Labor is to be found upon page 631 of the proceedings of the San Francisco Convention. A declaration, however, against Fascism is found upon page 632. The American Federation of Labor will continue its opposition to Fascism, President Green through public addresses, correspondence and press statements has endeavored to give force and effect to the declaration of the Convention in opposition to Fascism.
14	623 625 626	To seek legislation to prohibit the use of the militia in strikes.	Bill prepared by Rep. Connery, of Mass., without any A. F. of L. help. The A. F. of L. was not even present at hearings.	A full measure of support was given the Connery Bill by the American Federation of Labor. Legislative Representative Hushing attended the Committee hearing on the bill on March 1, 1935, and urged its adoption. It was passed by the House of Representatives on March 2, 1935. The use of Federal funds and military equipment by state militia in strikes in the different states.
15	572	"That the Executive Council prepare legislative measures which will prevent existing unfair practices of private employment agencies."	No such legislation was prepared by A. F. of L.	Resolution No. 23 appearing on page 572, Proceedings of the San Francisco Convention, referred to in this item, was non-concurred in. In lieu of this Resolution the Convention declared that there should be much more strict regulation of private employment agencies. It was found that Federal legislation could not be prepared and enacted so readily as it was thought. It was decided that it would be better if it could only be dealt with by state legislation. State Federations of Labor have been urged by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to secure legislation upon this subject.
16	581	Industrial Unions. (14 resolutions.)	What has been done?	A full report upon what was done by the Executive Council upon the resolutions referred to in this item is to be found upon pages 71 to 76 of the Executive Council's report to the Atlantic City Convention. The instructions of the San Francisco Convention have been followed and the instructions of the Atlantic City Convention adopted the report of the Executive Council upon this subject by a decisive majority.
17	612	Executive Council instructed to petition the Federal Communications Commission that fifty per cent of all radio facilities will be allocated on a non-profit basis—and if necessary to support adequate legislation for this purpose.	No such request was made by the American Federation of Labor. A. F. of L. did not even have a representative at these hearings.	President Green, Secretary Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor and other representatives of the American Federation of Labor attended hearings before the Federal Communications Commission and submitted the attitude of the American Federation of Labor and also reported to the Commission action taken by the American Federation of Labor. The Commission has been asked to make the necessary steps possible for the American Federation of Labor to provide for the electrical transcription of radio addresses, statements and principles of the American Federation of Labor for broadcasting purposes. It will, however, continue its efforts to carry out the instructions given.

- 18 617 Executive Council instructed to investigate charges placed against the National Civic Federation.
No such investigation was made.
 - 19 620 A. F. of L. asked to take proper action to prevent states and cities from denying their employees the right to organize.
No report on what A. F. of L. did do—probably nothing.
 - 20 357 Workmen's Compensation to be adopted by Insular Legislature.
Representatives of the Panama Federation of Labor active. No. A. F. of L. work.
 - 21 357 Correct Mothers' Pension in Panama.
Panama Federation of Labor active. No. A. F. of L. work.
- A preliminary investigation shows that the National Civic Federation, referred to in this item, is very largely a paper organization whose importance and standing has been exaggerated out of all true proportions. The investigation which has thus far been made tends to substantiate these facts. The instructions of the Convention will be carried out in full. While a partial investigation has been made as directed by the Convention, a more thorough and complete inquiry will be held.
- The establishment of twenty federal labor unions of state and city employees is one answer which can be made to the allegations contained in this item. In addition thousands of state and city employees have been organized into national and international unions. These federal labor unions are located in the following cities: New York, New Jersey, a large number of cities throughout the nation are organized. For instance, the American Federation of Labor put forth special efforts in organizing these public employees in Atlantic City, Louisville, Norfolk and Washington. Every action possible has been taken and every service that could be rendered has been given to the teachers in public schools and public employees. The fight to protect teachers in public schools and public employees in the exercise of their right to organize is a never-ending fight which continued during the past year and in all probability will continue in the future. In the American Federation of Labor, which is making the fight for the free exercise of the right of teachers and public employees to organize into unions of their own choosing.
- The Panama Federation of Labor has no relation to the American Federation of Labor except through its affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, consequently this reference to the Panama Federation of Labor is inaccurate. The facts are that the Convention in the item here referred to was dealing with Puerto Rico, which is an insular possession. The Puerto Rico Legislature, which met recently in order to strengthen and perpetuate the exclusive state fund for workmen's compensation, has appropriated for that purpose the sum of \$1,000,000, appropriated \$150,000 for that purpose. The officers of the American Federation of Labor worked in very close cooperation with officers of the Puerto Rico Federation of Labor in all the efforts put forth to secure the enactment of this exclusive state fund for workmen's compensation and the appropriation of \$150,000 referred to. Official communications were sent by President Green to the authorities in Puerto Rico urging the enactment of this legislation.
- Here again a mistake has been made. The Convention did not deal with the Panama Federation of Labor as referred to in this item, but insisted with the Puerto Rico Federation of Labor. The action of the Insular Legislature referred to in this item is that referred to in this item, regarding mothers' pension is as follows:
- "We also urge that the next session of the Insular Legislature rectify the existing situation that makes the recent enacted law for Widowed Mothers' Pension inoperative."
- After appropriating \$150,000 to the exclusive workmen's compensation fund the Puerto Rico Legislature, owing to a lack of funds, postponed further consideration of mothers' pension until its next session in January, 1936. The American Federation of Labor cooperated fully with the Puerto Rico Federation of Labor in this matter and will continue to do so in an effort to carry out the instructions of the San Francisco Convention when the Puerto Rico Legislature again convenes.

SURVEY SUMMARY

Item No.	Page in Proc.	Subject of Mandate of Convention	Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action	Answer
22	365	Shorter work week.	Committee Report on bill; no action by Congress; no A. F. of L. reports available to show how committee members voted or how congressional leaders stood and stand.	Record votes on the shorter workweek in the United States Senate are available and can be obtained at any time from the American Federation of Labor. These record votes will be distributed during the 1936 political campaign. President Green appeared before committees for the thirty-hour week and legislative representatives visited all members of Congress urging favorable action. All candidates for Congress were pressed prior to the 1934 election as to their attitude on the thirty-hour week.
23	367	All Internationals urged to study question of the national income, charges for debt service, etc., as the subjects affect the workers.	No survey made to determine what material had been gathered; no provision made for this study.	Survey of changes in national income is being constantly made and is frequently dealt with in the "Monthly Survey of Business," published by the American Federation of Labor. All available data on this subject is being assembled and the American Federation of Labor has been active in protesting incorrect interpretations of changes in national income.
24	368	Recommend study by the workers of the economic position under present-day industrial set-ups and production *** to regain lost ground and avoid similar experiences in the future.	No provisions made for such a study.	Evidently the action of the San Francisco Convention upon the past subject has been referred to. For this reason the statement of the Convention set forth on page 368, as referred to in this item, is quoted as follows: "We commend the Executive Council for the conclusive manner in which this entire subject matter has been dealt with and recommend a careful study of this part of its report by all workers and worker groups, so that adequate steps might be taken to bring about the necessary remedies, avoid recurrence and be assured proper protection and security for the future. Obviously it was the decision of the Convention that workers and worker groups study the report of the Executive Council upon the subject of some problems of recovery."
25	372	That A. F. of L. aid in securing state funds for Workmen's Compensation.	No means provided even to keep A. F. of L. currently informed on what is being done.	The subject matter dealt with by the Convention on page 372, as referred to in this item, had to do with the workmen's compensation legislation for the District of Columbia only. The American Federation of Labor has been working in close cooperation with the Washington Central Labor Union in securing the passage of the District of Columbia Workmen's Compensation Law now in effect providing for the exclusive state fund. The facts regarding this item are set forth clearly in the report of the Committee on Resolutions, which was adopted by the Convention and which reads as follows: "Your Committee read with interest this part of the Executive Council's report, which sets forth developments and the experience had in connection with Workmen's Compensation legislation for the District of Columbia, and which has resulted in an amendment being introduced in the United States Senate by Senator McCarran, providing for a state fund, which we are advised has the support of contractors who previously insisted upon private insurance carriers."

The Executive Council reported upon the efforts being put forth to secure the enactment of the shorter work day legislation without pay reductions. This report can be found on pages 36, 38 and 119 of the Executive Council report to the Atlantic City Convention. The record of the votes of members of Congress upon thirty-hour work week bill will be reported in the official report of the Atlantic City Convention. The Federation of Labor both at primary and general elections in 1936. A questionnaire was sent to all members of Congress during the last campaign asking them to state their attitude on the thirty-hour work week bill. The answers included in these questionnaires are on file in the office of the American Federation of Labor.

In a communication dated November 12, 1934, the officers of State Federations of Labor, city central bodies and American Federation of Labor organizers were urged to actively assist the firefighters organizations in their respective states wherever a campaign was undertaken for the introduction of eight-hour day legislation. Only through the aid of city ordinance or through the adoption of state legislation can the eight-hour day be secured for firefighters and city firemen in the different states. The International officers of the Firefighters Union have commended the American Federation of Labor for the fine service it rendered in all the efforts put forth to secure the eight-hour day for firefighters. They admit and concede that only through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, city central bodies and State Federations of Labor is it possible to secure the eight-hour day for firemen.

The American Federation of Labor was largely responsible for the enactment of Air Mail Service protection for pilots legislation as referred to in this item. As evidence of this fact, the following quotation is taken from a communication received from President Behncke of the Air Line Pilots organization:

"I would like to say, without hesitation, that while it is true that the Air Line Pilots Association, International put forth a great deal of effort in effecting the passage of the legislation in question, nevertheless we are greatly indebted to the American Federation of Labor and to you, its President, for the unstinted cooperation and assistance received during the entire process. It is a fact that we still further state that the actual drafting of the bill, the securing of the needed pilots on all mail-carrying lines and which is incorporated in the air mail laws, was due largely to the unflinching help and cooperation which we received from you when, in addition to your other duties, you served as a member of the original National Labor Board."

This item refers to the action of the San Francisco Convention which is set forth on page 369 of the proceedings. This action reads as follows:

"Under this caption it is revealed that the American Federation of Labor followed during the past tumultuous session of Congress its traditional policy of supporting legislation in the interest of agricultural and industrial workers. Under the leadership of the Executive Council, this policy will be continued in the next and succeeding sessions."

In conformity with this decision of the San Francisco Convention the American Federation of Labor has worked closely with farm organizations in all legislative matters. The Legislative Representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared before committees along with farmer representatives in support of farm legislation. In addition correspondence has been taken place between the President of the American Federation of Labor and representative farm organizations dealing with the development of closer cooperation with farm organizations. The spirit and instruction of the San Francisco Convention in this respect has been religiously observed.

26 352 Committee reported the bill; no bill enacted. No record of attitude of committee members sent out by A. F. of L.; no frank report of attitude of congressional leaders.

27 384 Work done by their International.

28 398 Air Mail Service; Protection for pilots. Work done by their International.

29 399 Co-operation with farmers. Except for Label Department, no plan is even suggested.

SURVEY SUMMARY

<i>Item No.</i>	<i>Page No.</i>	<i>Subject of Mandate of Convention</i>	<i>Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action</i>	<i>Answer</i>
30	389	More appropriations for highway construction.	Voted without formal request from A. F. of L.	A full report upon the service rendered in securing Congressional appropriations for highway construction is to be found on page 84 of the proceedings of the San Francisco Convention. Legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor urged committees and members of Congress to take prompt action on the bill for highway construction. Eight hundred million dollars was included in the Relief Law for highways, roads, streets and grade crossing eliminations as reported to this convention.
31	389	Prevent competition of goods manufactured by free labor with those of convict labor-National law needed. Urge state federations to secure state laws.	Federal law passed; no record completed by A. F. of L. on state laws on this.	The American Federation of Labor has specialized in its efforts to secure the enactment of convict labor legislation. It claims credit for the enactment of the Hawes-Cooper Act. In addition the Ashurst-Summers Act, which was enacted into law in response to the request of the American Federation of Labor in the first session of the 74th Congress, prohibits transportation into a state having a state-use system of convict labor of goods manufactured in that state. All goods manufactured and shipped in carrying state convict labor legislation was included in the Executive Council's report, on pages 117 and 118, to the Atlantic City Convention. This report shows that 24 states have adopted the state-use system. The American Federation of Labor prepared and submitted to state federations of Labor model standard convict labor state-use bills and submitted full advice and information regarding this legislation. Full credit must be given the American Federation of Labor for the enactment of convict labor legislation both by the federal government and the states. The American Federation of Labor is now fighting proceedings in the United States Supreme Court intended to declare the Hawes-Cooper and Ashurst-Summers Acts unconstitutional.
32	401	Higher standards of government employment.	No general legislation on this enacted. Some betterment secured as a result of the work of the various civil service unions.	The legislative representatives in Washington of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were called into conference by President Green on January 4, 1935. The conference appointed a committee to prepare and secure the enactment of legislation providing for higher standards for Government employees and for the restoration of the reduction of wages which had been imposed upon Government workers through the adoption of the Economy Act. The committee recommended that the American Federation of Labor be named as chairman of this committee. Representative Hushing was selected as chairman of this committee. After extended hearings the omnibus bill was divided into four measures, H. R. 9258, H. R. 9203, H. R. 1986
33	402	Thirty-year optional retirement for government employees.	Legislation on this not enacted.	

and H. R. 9199, covering the separate subjects mentioned. In all probability these measures will be favorably acted upon at the next sessions of Congress. The best answer which can be made to the allegations contained in the items in the summaries opposite is embodied in a resolution sponsored by the representatives of all affected and interested organizations and unanimously adopted at the Atlantic City Convention reading as follows:

"Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor.

"Resolution No. 184—By Delegates Leo E. George, Gilbert E. Hyatt, William J. Collins, Homer W. Smith, N. H. Smith, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; William M. Collins, Henry W. Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Edward J. Gainer, M. T. Finner, L. E. Schwartz, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; C. L. Rosemond, Architects and Draftsmen; E. C. Babcock, D. R. Glass, John Daniels, John Hoffmaster, American Federation of Government Employees; J. H. Windsor, Plate Printers; Joseph E. McQuinn, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; L. R. Peil, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

"WHEREAS, The organization of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in repealing adverse legislation under the so-called Economy Act, these victories including repeal of wage cuts, restoration of promotions, vacations, differentials for night work and numerous other hard-won and deeply cherished rights and privileges; and

"WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the postal service, have gained the right to work on the (5) day week, thus not only benefiting themselves but more firmly establishing the principles of shorter hours in industry; and

"WHEREAS, These very notable victories would have been impossible without the energetic influence and backing of organized labor and the continuous assistance of its officers; be it

Resolved, That the delegates representing Government Workers in this Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, hereby extend their grateful thanks and appreciation to their fellow members of the American Federation of Labor and its allies.

"The committee feels that no comment upon this resolution is necessary. It expresses the gratitude of the government employees for the victories gained throughout adherence to the organized labor movement. It is further recommended that the convention reaffirm its firmly established policy of supporting standards of employment in public service in accord with the standards prevailing or sought in private employment.

"The report of the committee was unanimously adopted."

SURVEY SUMMARY

Item No.	Page in Proc.	Subject of Mandate of Consent	Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action	Answer
35	404	Twenty-five year retirement of Panama Canal employees.	Legislation not enacted.	Mr. Charles Wahl served as legislative representative of the Canal Zone employees in Washington during the first session of the 76th Congress. He had done with the American Federation of Labor Legislative Representatives who extended to him every assistance possible. The Canal Zone employees were the direct beneficiaries of legislation providing for the restoration of pay cuts and under the Thomas Amendment were also the beneficiaries of the 40 hour work week. For strategic legislative reasons Mr. Wahl decided to withdraw proposal for 25 year and optional retirement for Canal Zone employees with the provision that such legislation would be submitted and supported by the American Federation of Labor. He suggested that representatives and affiliated organizations at the next session of Congress.
36	404	Panama Canal optional retirement.	Legislation not enacted.	Legislative Representative Hushing drafted two bills covering employment of American citizens, had them introduced in the Senate and House, testified before House Committee on Military Affairs and prevailed upon Senate Military Affairs Committee to send a subcommittee to the Canal Zone to investigate.
37	405	Employment of American citizens at the Panama Canal.	?	As a further answer to the allegations contained in the item we quote from a report made by Panama Canal Legislative Representative Wahl September 22, 1935: "While I did considerable work on the West Point Bill, Brother W. C. Hushing should be given all the credit for having the amendment adopted because if he had not taken notice of the measure there would have been no bill. The indications are that we might be able to have a similar measure passed next year for the Naval Academy. "I enjoyed frequent contact during my legislative work in Washington with Brother W. C. Hushing, who by far is the outstanding legislative representative for Labor in the City of Washington."
38	406	Advocating appointed local agents for Canal Zone to enforce PWA wage regulations.	?	At the request of Legislative Representative Hushing Secretary Ickes sent two investigators to Zone to investigate wage rates and working conditions and made every effort to improve conditions. They found 37 violations of the regulations and officially reported that the normal industry rate of the colored aliens is only 33 per cent of that of a skilled American worker.
39	407	Protecting civil service status of all employees.	Legislation not enacted.	The item here referred to dealt with Government employees, who were dismissed from the Prohibition Unit when the 18th Amendment was repealed. Notwithstanding the difficulty of the task assigned through the adoption of the resolution referred to at San Francisco the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor have cooperated with the representatives of all Government organizations in support of legislation designed to protect the Civil Service status of all Government employees, to improve said Civil Service legislation already enacted and to provide for the employment of Government employees (Government organizations) accepted and approved by the representatives of Government organizations whose members were directly concerned. A more detailed and specific answer to this item will be found in the answer above made to Items 32, 33 and 34.

The exercise of the right to vote by residents of the District of Columbia has been an issue for more than 50 years. During all this period steps have been taken to secure the enactment of legislation which would confer upon residents of the District of Columbia the right to vote. The resolution adopted at San Francisco, as provided for in this item directed the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with the organized Labor Movement of the District of Columbia in the furtherance of this legislation. This has been done. All representatives of the American Federation of Labor will continue to cooperate with the officers of the Central Labor Union in the future and in the past in efforts to secure the enactment of this legislation. President Green has delivered addresses at meetings in the District in support of this legislation.

In answer to this Mr. N. P. Alfias, Legislative Representative of the Machinists' International Union, made the following statement:
 "The American Federation of Labor is deserving of great credit for whatever success was achieved in the establishment of Government regulations which serve as a partial remedy for complaints filed by the Metal Trades Department in Resolution No. 60, adopted at the San Francisco Convention. The American Federation of Labor has never failed when requested to come to our assistance in any matter of legislation or departmental regulations whenever their assistance was deemed essential."

The question of company unions, referred to in this item, was dealt with by the adoption of the following declaration at the San Francisco Convention:

"The committee recommends that the convention endorse the objectives of these resolutions (Nos. 7, 40 and 51) by instructing the Executive Council to place the full influence of the Organized Labor Movement behind efforts to secure such modification and clarification of the intent and meaning of the National Industrial Recovery Act, especially Section 7-a, as will so far as possible make official misinterpretation impossible and which will definitely outlaw company unions. It is further recommended that the convention go on record as being consistently in favor of the interests of the workers and all other avenues of information of efforts to educate and inspire the public to join with the Organized Labor Movement in a campaign to once and for all eradicate un-American denial of the fundamental right of organization to American citizens and wage-earners."
 "The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted."

This declaration had nothing to do with any study made by David Sapoos or any other person. The answer to these items is found in the enactment of the section of the Wagner Disputes Act outlawing company unions. A report upon this matter is found upon page 29 of the Executive Council's Report to the Atlantic City Convention. The study of these items was not completed, and the study is not yet completed. It is not available for general distribution prior to the meeting of the Atlantic City Convention. In fact, the study is not yet completed. It is not available for general distribution by the Department of Labor. How could this study of David Sapoos be distributed before it is available? Immediately following the enactment of the Wagner-Connelly Labor Disputes Act outlawing company unions the American Federation of Labor prepared and published a pamphlet containing a digest of the Act and sent it to all affiliated labor unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies.

40 Right to vote in District of Columbia. No steps taken to advance this.

41 A. F. of L. asked to get legislation to prohibit enlisted men doing building construction work. No legislation sponsored by A. F. of L., but legislative representative of Machinists did effective work on this.

42 Prohibit employment enlisted personnel on battleship repair. (3 resolutions.) No legislation on this enacted. Excellent work done on this by Machinists representative, who obtained Executive Order, none done by A. F. of L.

43 Company unions. An excellent study has been made by David Sapoos but its findings have not been sent to A. F. of L. Unions.

44 Company unions.

SURVEY SUMMARY

Item No.	Page in Proc.	Subject of Mandate of Convention	Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action	Insurer
45	412	Food and Drug Act.	Was not enacted.	Should the American Federation of Labor, by inference or otherwise, be charged with responsibility for failure to enact the food and drug act? The San Francisco Convention, referred to in this item, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor have not only sought to cooperate but have cooperated with proper authorities for the adoption of constructive amendments to the food and drug act. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor were present and gave testimony in support of amendments to the food and drug act at hearings of Congressional Committees when this measure was under consideration.
46	412	Extension of the Pacific Highway asked by workers on the Pacific coast.	No work on this by A. F. of L.	In conformity with the instruction of the San Francisco Convention, referred to in this item, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor conferred with Delegate Dimond, Delegate to the Congress of the United States from Alaska, who introduced and was the author of H. R. 160 known as the Pacific International Highway Bill. This conference was held on January 3, 1935. Delegate Dimond was assured of the interest of the American Federation of Labor in this measure and tendered the cooperation and support of the American Federation of Labor in its behalf. Unfortunately, Delegate Dimond did not carry through with this measure. The American Federation of Labor will insure the initiation of an agreement with the Dominion of Canada. The bill first provides that the President of the United States is authorized to negotiate an agreement with Canada.
47	414	Housing Program. Executive Council asked to initiate and support legislation to promote a housing program.	A. F. of L. did not initiate nor support legislation to promote an adequate housing program.	The Public Works Relief Bill provides for an appropriation of \$450,000,000 for housing. The American Federation of Labor, along with Building Trades Organization, had much to do with the incorporation of this item in the Relief Bill. Furthermore, several housing bills were introduced in Congress. When an agreement was reached providing for the indorsement of one housing measure representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared before Senate Committee urging and advocating favorable action.
48	414	A. F. of L. asked to help extend maximum age limit on civil service.	A. F. of L. did not even have legislation on this introduced.	This action of the San Francisco Convention, as referred to in this item, did not call for legislation. The instructions of the San Francisco Convention, as referred to in this item, were carried out. Through an appeal made to the Civil Service Commission by representatives of the American Federation of Labor the age limit for temporary employees was removed from the Civil Service regulations.
49	414	A. F. of L. asked to get legislation requiring United States Government contract work to be executed within the United States.	No work done on this by A. F. of L. representatives.	It was found from investigation that it would be quite difficult, almost impossible, to frame legislation which would meet the issue raised in this item. This question dealt with by Resolution No. 123 at San Francisco Convention, as referred to in this item, was acted upon by Congress who conferred authority upon the President to make reciprocal agreements and to raise or lower tariffs 50 per cent.

The American Federation of Labor, through the Central Labor Council, Las Vegas, Nevada, extended assistance in strike of workers against Six Companies, Inc.; contractors and through such service to the unionists. In response to urgent requests President Green had the United States Department of Labor assign Conciliator Fitzgerald to mediate in settlement of strike. In addition Organizer Casey, American Federation of Labor, was assigned to Boulder Dam to render all assistance possible. As a result of all these efforts, Secretary Fyhen, Central Labor Union, Las Vegas, wired:

"Satisfactory settlement reached."

The American Federation of Labor secured the same protection for employees in non-competitive industries, as referred to in this item, through the enactment of the Wagner-Disputes Act. This means that the instruction of the San Francisco Convention was carried out through the enactment of appropriate legislation.

This item, herein referred to, does not in any way deal with legislation. Consequently, no legislation could be introduced or enacted in the realm of the subject matter of this item. The American Federation of Labor has been working for the ratification of the American Federation of Labor cooperated fully with President Furuseth and his associates, who opposed the approval of the treaty by the United States Senate. The treaty has been before the Senate for ratification since the conference in London agreed to it in May 1923. The fact that the treaty has not yet been ratified is in itself evidence of the effectiveness of the service rendered by the American Federation of Labor in cooperation with the Seamen's International Union.

Contrary to the statement made in this item the Dies Bill for exclusion of alien seamen has not been introduced in Congress. This bill was originally introduced more than 8 years ago. It has been repeatedly pressed for favorable action at each succeeding Congress. It passed the Senate of the United States twice, but failed to be acted upon by the House. At a later session it passed the House, but failed in the Senate. The legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor have worked closely with President Furuseth and his associates, representing the Seamen's International Union, in pressing this legislation for favorable action. President Furuseth has repeatedly expressed his appreciation of the fine service rendered by the American Federation of Labor. Furthermore, pursuant to the instruction of the San Francisco Convention an official communication was sent the Secretary of Labor on January 17, 1935, advising the Department of the adoption of the resolution and of the recommendation made by the Convention. Legislative Representative Hushing conferred with Speaker Byrns on three occasions during the 74th Congress requesting suspension of the rules to pass this bill.

50 415 A. F. of L. asked to secure decent labor standards for employees at Boulder Dam to be paid of the Secretary of the Interior.

51 416 A. F. of L. did not even have legislation on this introduced.

52 416 Treaty on safety of life at sea. (Treaty at present inadequate for our seamen.)

53 418 Dies Bill for exclusion of alien seamen.

Enacted in answer to appeal from Andy Furuseth.

Item No.	Page in Proc.	Subject of Mandate of Convention	Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action	Answer
54	419	To restore provisions of Seamen's Act.	Furuseth did some fine work and his personal record gained him some support.	The American Federation of Labor printed and distributed more than 5,000 pamphlets by Andrew Furuseth entitled "Let We Forget," dealing with the treaty on safety of life at sea and the restoration of the provisions of the Seamen's Act. In addition the American Federation of Labor printed an article prepared by Mr. Furuseth entitled "Safety of Life at Sea Proposed Treaty," which received wide publicity. All the instructions of the San Francisco Convention referred to in this item, have been carried out in full.
55	421	Anti-labor policy of Kohler Mfg. Co. Judge asked to report on conditions and act in keeping with the facts.	Report available through W. E. B. but no A. F. of L. move made to distribute it.	The instructions of the San Francisco Convention regarding Resolution No. 107, as referred to in this item, were carried out. Judge Podsway, attorney for the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, in cooperation with the officers of the American Federation of Labor presented an exhaustive brief to the Labor Relations Board in opposition to the Kohler Workers' Association, a company union, and to the placing of said company union upon the ballot to be voted upon by Kohler employees. While the American Federation of Labor was continuing its efforts to secure the election of all the legal rights of which the striking Kohler employees were deprived, the National Railroad Labor Board and the National Labor Relations Board. All assistance through the services of paid organizers and others was given the Kohler employees and through the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service publicity was given to the strike of the Kohler employees and to the anti-labor policy of the Kohler Manufacturing Company.
56	425	Adequate school facilities.	A. F. of L. did not even appear at hearings on these bills.	The item here referred to as appearing on page 425 of the proceedings of the San Francisco Convention deals with the Executive Council report on public education and vocational education. It does not deal with the bill for the establishment of the National Vocational Education, the Executive Council reported that bill providing \$3,000,000 a year for 3 years had been passed, the appropriation to be divided equally between agricultural education, home economics and industrial education. The convention noted with satisfaction the enactment of this measure into law very largely through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor.
57	425	Vocational Education. Request for amendment to Appropriations Bill denying state aid to the money which the money denies those it employs with these funds the right to organize.	No action by A. F. of L. representatives.	The action referred to in this item was based upon the Executive Council report to the San Francisco Convention. The Council dealt with vocational education on page 83. This report showed that persistent efforts were made by the American Federation of Labor representatives to have the Congress amend the bill providing that none of the funds should be allocated to any State or Territory to pay salaries of teachers, supervisors and directors if they are denied the right to join any legal organization of their own choosing. A point of order was raised against the amendment on the Floor of the House on the ground it was new legislation which the Speaker overruled, but the amendment was finally defeated. It is the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to continue its efforts to secure the inclusion of this legislation in future appropriation bills.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently opposed the curtailment of the school term and to provide adequate funds for the administration of boards of education. Because the establishment of the school term in state, city and local problem, central bodies and state school boards have been established in the past, and the establishment of the school term and maintenance of standard school terms. The position and attitude of the American Federation of Labor is set forth in the action of the San Francisco Convention which reads as follows:

"The Convention further urges that all states, city central bodies and local unions be on their guard against the wasteful, uneconomical procedure advocated by tax reductionists of the shortening of the school life by cutting off at the bottom—the kindergarten—and at the top reducing the high school term and curtailing the work of the university."

The report of the Executive Council upon this subject is to be found on pages 125 and 126 of the Executive Council report to the Atlantic City Convention.

The facts connected with this item are as follows: Legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor conferred with Senators and Representatives of the United States Congress and secured the passage of a bill which made available not to exceed \$40,000,000 to the states on the basis of need to enable the states to maintain public schools for the remainder of the current school year. This amendment, adopted by the Senate, was stricken out of the relief bill in conference for the reason, it was pointed out, that the relief bill already contained provision for \$300,000,000 to assist educational, professional and clerical persons.

After conference with a legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor, the late Senator Long offered amendments to the relief bill providing for the extension of free, higher education. The American Federation of Labor through personal contacts with members of the Senate secured the adoption of the amendments. Notwithstanding the efforts put forth the Senate defeated the amendments.

The facts in connection with the allegations contained in this item are as follows: The representatives of the American Federation of Labor prevailed upon the members of Congress to restore the wages of teachers in the District of Columbia, Canal Zone, the Indian schools and in all other Government administered and financed schools. State Federations of Labor and city central bodies have also worked diligently and faithfully in putting forth efforts to secure increases in the wages of teachers.

In an address delivered by President Green at the Ninth Annual Meeting for Adult Education and in a press statement urging Congress to appropriate sufficient funds to permit the public schools of this District of Columbia to be opened in the fall of 1932, the American Federation of Labor issued a statement dealing with the discrimination of the School Board at Seattle against the exercise of the right of teachers to organize, the public was advised of the opposition of the American Federation of Labor to educational retrenchment. Through the American Federation of Labor to publications, press statements and public addresses the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor in favor of the appropriation of adequate funds for the maintenance of our public school system and the opposition to educational retrenchment was made known to the public. It has been made clear and definite. The records in the office of the American Federation of Labor establish this fact.

58 426 Non-curtailment of schools No action by A. F. of L.
431

59 431 Federal emergency aid for Cutting Amendment to Relief Bill adopted by the Senate and passed by the A. F. of L. Teachers Union won the fight.

60 431 Extension of free, higher education. No. A. F. of L. action.

61 432 Higher wage level for teachers. No. A. F. of L. action.

62 432 To inform the public of the dangers of educational retrenchment. No A. F. of L. action.

SURVEY SUMMARY

Item No.	Page in Proc.	Subject of Mandate of Convention	Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action	Answer
63	462	Loans to educational institutions.	Robinson Bill enacted, but no A. F. of L. action was taken. Teachers' Union active.	The facts connected with this item are as follows: The Robinson Bill was one of several bills introduced in the Senate and House providing for loans to educational institutions by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Legislative Representative Meadows appeared before the House Committee on Education when it conducted hearings upon House bills similar to the Robinson Bill. Mr. Meadows urged the adoption of these measures in behalf of the American Federation of Labor. No hearings were held on the Robinson bill but it was finally passed as a substitute for other similar measures which had been introduced by Congressman Rogers. Representative Meadows and the other representatives of the American Federation of Labor were active in behalf of this legislation and rendered all service possible in securing its enactment into law.
64	462	Teacher tenure.	No A. F. of L. action.	No specific instruction was given the officers of the American Federation of Labor in the action taken by the San Francisco Convention upon this item referred to regarding teacher tenure. The Convention re-affirmed its position in favor of security of tenure of teachers based on efficiency and urged affiliated groups put forth every effort to preserve the tenure laws in partial operation in eleven states. The convention also urged teachers to continue to exert their efforts to secure the enactment of the exercise of organized effort. Everybody knows that it has been the policy of the American Federation of Labor and state federations of labor to serve in every possible way to secure legislation providing for teacher tenure in the different states and to promote organization among the teachers of the nation. The convention expressed the opinion that teacher tenure could be better protected through a strong organization of teachers than through legislation.
65	463	Emergency Federal aid to Education.	Cutting Amendment secured in Senate by Teachers' Union. No A. F. of L. action.	The answer to this item will be found in the answer made to item 59.
66	464	C. G. C.; further development of its educational projects.	A letter written but no further A. F. of L. action.	No letter was sent to any Government authority regarding the subject matter dealt with in this item because it was not considered necessary by the San Francisco Convention or was necessary. The action of the San Francisco Convention relating to this item was expressed as follows: "Your committee commends the development of the educational program of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the correlation of their vocational training with public employment agencies, thereby increasing their already great social value. It recommends further development of this program." Representatives of the American Federation of Labor have cooperated with Commissioner Fechner in the furtherance of educational projects connected with the CCC camps through the Workers' Education Bureau.

Item No.	Page in Proc.	Subject of Mandate of Convention	Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action	Answer
71	543	Old age pensions.	Proposed by President Roosevelt; tacitly accepted by A. F. of L.	<p>During the 1934 political campaign the officers of the American Federation of Labor submitted a questionnaire to all candidates for Congress in which the following inquiry was included:</p> <p>"Will you vote for social justice legislation providing old age pensions, work security and health protection?"</p> <p>Answers to this questionnaire are on file at the American Federation of Labor headquarters and available for information. Thus it can be seen that the representatives of the old age pension legislation introduced in Congress before the social security bill was prepared and introduced in the Congress of the United States. The representatives of the American Federation of Labor insisted that old age pension legislation be incorporated in the social security act.</p>
72	544	Study ordered of adequate medical care in the low income groups.	No study made.	<p>No study was ordered of medical care by the San Francisco Convention, as called in this instance. The San Francisco Convention adopted the following declaration regarding this matter:</p> <p>"Upon that subsection of the report your committee submits that the hazards of illness to the masses are many and varied. The opportunities for adequate medical care are strictly limited. The need for some assurance of adequate medical care for all in the low income group is clear and should be provided."</p>
73	546	Six-hour day for railroad men.	Obtained through the efficient legislative work of the railroad men.	<p>Notwithstanding the fact that no study was ordered the officials of the American Federation of Labor conferred with health insurance experts urging a study by groups who had access to information. Experiments are in progress which will help develop a program and the American Federation of Labor will report results of these experiments when the data has become available. This is another task which is continuous and for this reason the American Federation of Labor is diligently endeavoring to promote the enactment of health insurance legislation.</p>
74	546	Railroad Retirement Act.	Obtained through the efficient legislative work of the railroad men.	<p>Everybody knows or ought to know that the six-hour day legislation for railroad men did not become a law. This legislation, sponsored by railroad organizations and supported by the American Federation of Labor, failed of passage in the United States Congress. The answer to the inferences contained in these two items is to be found in the following statement made by the legislative representatives of the railroad organizations in Washington:</p> <p>"The National Legislative Representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods, located in the law building, are pleased to announce that the representatives of the railroad men in the legislative department we have enjoyed a very splendid cooperative relationship with the legislative department of the American Federation of Labor, which we hope will continue. This is particularly true of the invaluable assistance given by the American Federation of Labor legislative representatives when the six-hour day and retirement bills were before Congress."</p>
				<p>The American Federation of Labor and its representatives will continue in the future as they have in the past to give the railroad organizations a full measure of support and all assistance possible in all the efforts they put forth to secure the enactment of the shorter work day for railway employees.</p>

- 75 546 Economy Act.
*A. F. of L. was responsible for its repeal.
- 76 548 Labor Disputes Act.
Drafted by Administration and put through by Wagner in Senate and Connery in House. The latter pressure secured its enactment. A. F. of L. sent out a number of letters on this.
- 77 548 Railroad Pension Act.
Obtained by railroad men.
- 78 550 Immigration.
Kerr Act held up by A. F. of L. but no constructive suggestions made.
- 79 553 Wages for women workers to be equal to men's, if work is the same.
A. F. of L. in no way protested discrimination against women under codes or elsewhere.
- Full credit is due the American Federation of Labor for the repeal of the Economy Act. The representatives of organizations of Government employees accord to the American Federation of Labor full credit for the final repeal of this highly objectionable measure.
- A quotation from a telegram sent to the Atlantic City Convention by Senator Wagner, author of the Labor Disputes Act, constitutes a full answer to the allegations contained in this item. Referring to the proposed Kerr Bill, Senator Wagner stated in this telegram:
- "Not one of these gains would have been even thinkable without the initiative and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor. Because of their active participation in social reform, the whole nation owes them a debt."
- Representatives of the American Federation of Labor participated in the drafting of the Labor Disputes Act, urged its adoption before committees, appealed personally to members of Congress and called upon the millions of members affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to write and wire their Representatives in Congress to vote for the adoption of this measure.
- The answer to this item is found in the answer made to items 73 and 74.
- Because the Kerr Bill contained provisions which, in the opinion of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, weakened the immigration laws already enacted through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, it was opposed in the Senate and House by the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor deserves to be commended for preventing the enactment of the Kerr Bill, as proposed, into law and for zealously guarding the immigration statutes which this bill sought to modify. A subcommittee of the Executive Council conferred with the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, who drafted this measure, and proposed amendments which if accepted would serve as a remedy for the features of the act which were highly objectionable. It is the unanimous purpose of the American Federation of Labor to oppose the enactment of this measure until it is amended and made acceptable to the representatives of Labor.
- It is difficult to understand why it is stated in this item that the "American Federation of Labor in no way protested discrimination against women under codes or elsewhere." This statement is grossly inaccurate because it does not square with the record. The facts are that the American Federation of Labor has consistently and continuously opposed discrimination in wages for females during the construction of codes and elsewhere.
- Furthermore, one of the purposes of the American Federation of Labor is to secure the same rate of pay for women when they do the same work as men. The San Francisco Convention recognised this fact when it declared "that the action of previous conventions in demanding equal pay for equal work be reaffirmed."

SURVEY SUMMARY

Item No.	Page in Proc.	Subject of Mandate of Convention	Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action
80	572	Formation of a Department of Food Industry Workers in the A. F. of L.	No
81	573	Establishment of a Needle Trades Department in the A. F. of L.	Such
82	573	Formation of a Council of the interested organizations for the purpose of giving consideration to the creation of such departments.	Conference Was Called

Answer

The statement contained in this item that "no such conference was called" is inaccurate. A conference of the representatives of organizations who were eligible to participate in the formation of a Needle Trades Department was held on August 6, 1935. After giving the question of the formation of a Needle Trades Department consideration for several hours it was decided that the time had not yet arrived for the formation of a Needle Trades Department. The conference, therefore, was adjourned. The Needle Trades Department is a department of the American Federation of Labor which is interested in forming a food industry department of the American Federation of Labor shows that one organization responded by stating:

"If the majority of the trades interested will agree to form a Food Department we will join in the movement."

Another stated the organization had no desire to take part in the formation of such a department. One international union declared it was immaterial whether such a department was or was not established. Only one international union suggested a conference of the organizations interested. These are the facts relating to items 80, 81 and 82.

The facts connected with this item are as follows: A questionnaire was sent by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to all candidates for Congress in the political campaign of 1934 in which they were asked to state their position toward social security legislation. The answers to these questions are on file in the records of the American Federation of Labor. When the President decided to give consideration to social security legislation he appointed President Green, Vice-Presidents Berry and Harrison and President Ohl of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor on an advisory committee to cabinet committee drafting social security legislation. This advisory council met for several weeks and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor participated in the work of this council during all that period. They assisted in the drafting of the social security measure and filed a report on the subject with the President. The President then called Congress and submitted proposals of a minority group including representatives of the American Federation of Labor, thereby aiding in the incorporation of definite standards in the law. The facts are that the representatives of the American Federation of Labor aided very materially in improving the social security measure, which provides for old age income, unemployment insurance, aid for dependent children, public health work, grants to states for aid for the blind, aid for crippled children and for maternal and child welfare.

President Roosevelt initiated the program and the A. F. of L. offered no obstacles.

83 598 Social Insurance.
(11 resolutions.)

SURVEY SUMMARY

853

The proceedings of the San Francisco Convention show on page 610, referred to in this item, that the delegates in attendance at the convention adopted the following declaration:

"As past conventions of the American Federation of Labor have taken action upon the subject matter of the resolution, your committee affirms that the convention affirms the declaration of previous conventions in approving of the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Act as the model Workmen's Compensation law."

This declaration of the San Francisco Convention, as well as of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor has been carried out by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor. Its officers have called upon the representatives of state federations of labor and city central bodies each year to secure the adoption of a workmen's compensation law similar to the Ohio Law accepted as the standard workmen's compensation law by the American Federation of Labor.

Important work has been done in connection with the subject matter dealt with in this item and when the work is completed, a report will be made. The formation of a history, statement and principles of the purposes of the American Federation of Labor, and addresses dealing with the problem of Labor for electrical transcription so that these will be available to all broadcasting stations rests with the Executive Council. In the meantime President Green and representatives of organized labor are continually discussing Labor measures and the principles and purposes of the American Federation of Labor over the radio. In addition the officers of the American Federation of Labor are endeavoring to secure licenses for a number of radio stations in order that the Federal Government may be able to make use of the stations of the American Federation of Labor relating to the allocation of radio facilities to organizations, associations, etc., has been presented to the Communications Commission.

Action was taken by the American Federation of Labor upon the instructions of the San Francisco Convention, as referred to in this item. Through a strike which was supported by the American Federation of Labor and through conferences, mediation by Department of Labor and assignment of the American Federation of Labor representatives were increased secured and work conditions improved for employees on the Boulder Dam project. For this reason the American Federation of Labor is securing the enactment of legislation increasing the appropriation for the construction of Boulder Dam.

The American Federation of Labor carried out the instructions contained in the resolution adopted at the San Francisco Convention, referred to in this item. On November 12, 1934, an official communication was sent to all national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions advising them of the convention action and urging them to make every effort to secure for the public employees the right to organize as is guaranteed to other workers. In addition the American Federation of Labor has sent on urgent work among state and city employers. It has organized more than 6,000 of these workers into federal labor unions in some states. The American Federation of Labor is continually fighting for the protection of teachers in the public schools in the exercise of their right to organize into the American Federation of Teachers.

84 Protest against discrimination against older workers under new laws. (The Ohio Workmen's Compensation Act, F. of L. asked to investigate.)

No report available from A. F. of L.

85 Increased radio use for trade union purposes. Executive Council asked to prepare a history and statement of the principles and purposes of the American Federation of Labor, organization addresses dealing with the problem of Labor for electrical transcription so that these will be available to all broadcasting stations." (3 resolutions.)

No such material prepared.

86 Boulder Dam (like No. 31, page 415). Introduced by John Frey.

No action by A. F. of L.

87 A. F. of L. asked to take proper action to prevent states and cities from denying their employees the right to organize.

No report on what A. F. of L. did do—probably nothing.

SURVEY SUMMARY

Item No.	Page in Proc.	Subject of Mandate of Convention	Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action	Answer
88	621	That the telephone and telegraph companies be compelled to comply with every phase of the law and to insure better service and more reasonable rates.	No legislation prepared on this by the A. F. of L.	The American Federation of Labor gave support to the proposal for a Congressional investigation which was ordered by Congress of all communication systems which, undoubtedly, will result in changes in their attitude toward Labor. The purpose of the investigation is to protect the subscribers of the telephone and telegraph companies and to secure for them the best possible service at the lowest possible rates. All members of Congress by the President of the American Federation of Labor calling upon them to support legislation which would give to the employees of the communications industry the protection of a Governmental agency similar to the Railway Labor Act. Replies to these communications are on file at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. It is the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to keep in close touch with the investigation ordered by Congress which is being handled by the Federal Communications Commission and to do all that lies within its power to carry out the purpose of the resolution referred to.
89	624	Call upon the President and Congress to enact and execute the Wagner-Costigan Anti-Lynching Bill.	No A. F. of L. action.	A full and complete answer to this item will be found in the answer made to item No. 12 of this survey.
90	643	Organization of workers in radio industry—Council instructed to take action as may be required to accomplish the purpose of the resolution.	?	Special efforts have been made by the American Federation of Labor to organize workers employed in the radio manufacturing industry. A special organizer was employed and placed upon the organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of specializing in the organization of radio workers. As a result of the organizing efforts made by the American Federation of Labor, more than 9,272 radio workers have been organized. Data, statistics and facts relating to the industry have been prepared by the Research Department of the American Federation of Labor to be used specifically by the organized radio workers. A conference of radio workers was held in Buffalo during 1934 and tentative plans were laid for the formation of a National Radio Council.

SURVEY SUMMARY

855

91	644	A measure to be introduced in the Congress of the United States which will provide that no further contracts be entered into by the Government for the construction of naval vessels until the present capacity of Government arsenals and Navy Yards have been fully utilized.	(Ask the Machinists.)	The legislative representative of the Machinists has been asked, as suggested in this item, and the following is his reply: "In the attempt of our organization to improve legislation requiring naval and military work to be performed in the Government's Navy Yards, Arsenals and other government industrial plants, we have always secured the full cooperation of the officers and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor. "Since the San Francisco Convention, to my personal knowledge, no American Federation of Labor representative has appeared before the House Military Affairs Committee on H. R. 3 and H. R. 5293, and made an exceptionally strong and forceful statement covering 104 pages (see particularly pages 299-301 of the Hearings), in which he strongly opposed the species of legislation sponsored by Congressman Shannon of Mo., which, in part, involved turning over to private concerns naval and military work now being performed by the Government; he also proposed reopening the naval Ordnance plant at San Francisco, Mo., and urged, in effect, that Resolution No. 53 introduced by the Machinists be carried out at the San Francisco Convention be carried out. This Resolution proposed that the navy yards and arsenals be operated to their full capacity before any of the work should be let to private contractors. He inserted a copy of Resolution 53 in the Hearings. "Mr. Hushing, to my personal knowledge, also appeared later before the Nye Committee conducting the Munitions Investigation and made the same general proposal to that Committee. Following this, the same general proposal was made to the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, and the same general proposal was made to the House Committee on Naval Affairs. In view of carrying out some of the proposals of Resolution 53, and while they were not all adopted the fight is still on and the position of the American Federation of Labor has been made clear to members of both Houses of Congress."
92	645	An investigation is ordered of the Employees' Profit Sharing Plan of Procter and Gamble, and an organization is directed for all these workers.	No such study made.	The American Federation of Labor deemed it necessary to organize unions of Procter and Gamble employees preliminary to any investigation which might be made of its profit-sharing plan. It, therefore, organized several unions of Procter and Gamble workers. These unions workers have had experience in the profit-sharing plan and in the investigation to conduct the study which is being made of the employees of the Procter and Gamble employees profit-sharing plan.
93	647	Ask for legislation for a Civil Service Court of Appeals.	No legislation on this was enacted.	For a number of years Government employees have urged and insisted upon the enactment of legislation of the kind referred to in this item into law. Bills designed to meet the wishes of Government employees have been introduced into Congress at each session. In conformity with this policy, bills were introduced at the recent session of Congress providing for the creation of a Civil Service Court of Appeals. This legislation was given the full and complete support of the American Federation of Labor. A more complete answer to this item is found in the answer made to items 32, 33 and 34.

SURVEY SUMMARY

<i>Item No.</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Subject of Mandate of Convention</i>	<i>Result in Terms of A. F. of L. Action</i>	<i>Answer</i>
94	675	Investigation ordered of "Labor's Digest" and of its publisher, Norman Zollitz.	No study of report was made.	The instructions of the San Francisco Convention, as referred to in this item, are being carried out. A partial study of the Labor Digest has been made. It is not yet complete but will be continued until the study has been finally made and completed. The findings will be furnished with a report of the findings of the investigation made.
95	677	A study is asked to evolve a plan whereby social security may keep pace with the rapid technical changes.	No study made.	Because the resolution enacted at the San Francisco Convention, referred to in this item, provides for the appointment of a committee of 15 to devise ways and means for providing for some method for the denied work as a result of labor saving machinery and for a conference of national and international officers to which this committee would make its report, it seemed necessary for the Executive Council to provide the ways and means by which the instructions in this resolution could be carried out. Because no time limit was placed upon the completion of the investigation one cannot say that it is needed and that it will be considered by the Executive Council for such action as it may decide to take.
96	678	Closing the gaps on our tax laws.	Labor in no way participated in planning or supporting such legislation.	The American Federation of Labor has specialized in its opposition to sales tax legislation as directed in the resolution referred to in this item. As evidence of this fact, the American Federation of Labor had much to do with the repeal of the sales tax legislation in New Jersey recently. The representatives of the American Federation of Labor supported the inheritance, estate and gift taxes recently enacted by the Congress of the United States. Special efforts were put forth through conferences with members of Congress and at hearings before committees in support of this character of legislation.
97	708	Request for the appointment of Negro organizer "be referred to Executive Council with the Convention's suggestion for favorable action."	Appointment was not made.	Because of the heavy expenses to which the American Federation of Labor was subjected in carrying on its organization and administrative work it was found impossible to employ a Negro organizer as referred to in this item.
98	709	Petition President Roosevelt for the revival of the CWA.	Petition not sent to the President by the A. F. of L.	Contrary to the allegations contained in this item, the petition as ordered by the San Francisco Convention was sent to the President on November 6, 1934, urging him to revise the CWA in conformity with Convention action. A reply acknowledging receipt of this communication and advising the President of the action of the Federation of Labor that the matter was referred to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was received on November 16, 1934.

SURVEY SUMMARY

857

H. R. 7161 was introduced into the House of Representatives by Representative Connerly upon the recommendation of Vice-President Weber, who was directly concerned, for the purpose of carrying out the resolution referred to in this item. The American Federation of Labor representative on the Federal Council of Child Welfare and the Department of Labor also testified in favor of a bill for a National Theater and Academy which was enacted into law and also supported a bill creating a National Conservatory of Music.

A study of health insurance was made by the Social Security Committee in whose activities the representatives of the American Federation of Labor participated. The study made was quite comprehensive and most valuable. Copy of the report of this study is on file at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. When the social security measure was favorably acted upon by Congress an appropriation of \$1,000,000 was made to assist the states in maintaining adequate public health divisions of states in maintaining adequate public health service for children for child welfare services including dependent children, for additional vocational rehabilitation and mothers and children was made. The American Federation of Labor gave active and continuous support to the enactment of this legislation into law.

The President of the American Federation of Labor engaged in correspondence with those principally interested in the subject matter dealt with in this item. On November 14, 1934, a request was made upon the Secretary of Commerce for a list of importers of newspaper paper in the United States. Information is on file at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. The Secretary furnished all information available through his Department. All data secured through Government correspondence is on file at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

Bruce Monroe

Secretary.
American Federation of Labor

A. F. of L. has not even prepared a report on what some places did.

No such study made.

Executive Council asked to institute a study of health insurance.

No action taken by A. F. of L.

Study followed by action, on the question of importance of newspaper papers.

W. Morris Legrandy.
Assistant Secretary of Convention.

INDEX

	Page
Ades, George F.....	731, 732
Addresses of welcome.....	1-9
Agricultural, cannery and packing house workers' unions, national conference, Resolution No. 144.....	257, 370, 371
Agricultural canning and packing industry, industrial union, Resolution No. 107.....	242, 521, 722, 723
Agricultural, fruit and vegetable packing workers, per capita tax, Resolution No. 123.....	248, 689-692
Air pilots, Air Mail Act provides rates and working conditions.....	22, 133, 450
Alifas, N. P.....	204, 713
Aluminum and tin foil workers, organizing campaign, Resolution No. 92.....	202, 367, 368
A. F. of L. building, Trustees' report.....	36, 308
A. F. of L. daily newspaper, Resolution 150.....	259, 823, 824
A. F. of L. speakers' bureau, Resolution No. 43.....	184, 513, 514
American Federationist, advertising, Resolution No. 250.....	439, 793, 794
American Legion, National Commander Ray Murphy, address.....	317-321
Anderson, Charles.....	762
Anderson, Mary, Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, address.....	425, 426
Appointments:	
Assistant Secretary, W. Morris Lezenby.....	17
Sergeant-at-Arms, William Glass.....	17
Messenger, William Tully.....	17
Assistant Messenger, Annabelle Lee Glenn.....	19
Apprenticeship training, National Committee.....	20, 52, 53, 207, 494
Apprentice training school—Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, Resolution No. 57.....	189, 799, 800
Apprentice training school—Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, Resolution No. 64.....	192, 489, 799, 800
Armstrong, Andrew R.....	374
Associated Press, Resolution No. 149.....	259, 822, 823
Automobile industry, organization drive, Resolution No. 102.....	240, 675
Automobile Labor Board.....	45, 494
Automobile Workers International Union, charter granted.....	21, 95, 96, 671
Automobile Workers International Union, jurisdiction, Resolution No. 202.....	283, 729-750
Automobile Workers International Union, officers, Resolution No. 203.....	284-286, 824, 825
B	
Babcock, E. Claude.....	450, 708
Bagley, Charles L.....	705
Baltimore, Maryland, Federation of Labor, Frank J. Meeder, greetings.....	326
Banking institutions, proposing government ownership, Resolution No. 15.....	175, 509
Baron, Sam.....	585, 776
Bates, Harry C.....	329

	Page
Bates, Harry C., elected to office of Thirteenth Vice-President.....	707
Beardsley, Samuel E.....	787
Beisel, Peter.....	445, 446
Benefit features, trade union.....	21, 99-104, 207, 439
Berry, George L., Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation, address.....	372, 373
Berry, George L., resignation as Vice-President, A. F. of L.....	706
Bittner, Van A.....	635-639, 732, 733
Bituminous coal industry, Guffey Act.....	22, 138, 208, 450
Blind, aid, Social Security Act.....	91, 493
Blue Eagle, NRA.....	445
Bonding of government employes, proposing Federal law, Resolution No. 8.....	173, 578
Borchardt, Selma.....	519
Brewery Workers, United, Resolution No. 70.....	195, 804
Brewery Workers, United, Resolution No. 212.....	290, 291, 394, 684
Brewery Workers vs. Teamsters, Resolution No. 230.....	296, 394, 684
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, communication approving Building Trades agreement.....	670
British trades union movement, addresses of Fraternal Delegates Andrew Conley and Andrew Naesmith.....	343-346, 351-354
Britton, W. W.....	743
Brown, Delegate.....	504
Brushes, union-made, Resolution No. 121.....	247, 444
Brunswick Laundry, decision National Labor Relations Board.....	48, 494
Bugniazet, G. M.....	446, 551
Bugniazet, G. M., re-elected to office of Seventh Vice-President.....	705
Building trades controversy, 16, 17, 18, 22, 107-127, 207, 324, 327-342, 435-437, 439	
Burke, John P.....	368, 704
Burke, Thomas E.....	717, 719, 720
Butler, Dr. Harold, Director, International Labor Office.....	392
Button, Ivory and casein, workers, organizing campaign, Resolution No. 185.....	274, 372
Buying American, Resolution No. 242.....	301, 444

C

California, A. F. of L. organizer, Resolution No. 175.....	270, 447
Canadian labor movement, address of Fraternal Delegate Captain J. A. P. Haydon.....	347-351, 438
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, report of A. F. of L. Fraternal Delegate James Maloney.....	364, 365
Canavan, Edward.....	316, 390
Canton, Ohio, drive for industrial unions, Resolution No. 109.....	243, 370
Carey, James B.....	753-757, 758
Case, Charles J.....	671, 713
Cement industry, industrial organization, Resolution No. 28.....	179, 721, 722
Central bodies, basis of representation of local unions, proposing change, Resolution No. 151.....	259, 260, 688
Central bodies, calling upon national and international unions to urge locals to affiliate with.....	448
Central bodies not to engage in jurisdiction disputes, Resolution No. 12.....	174, 442
Chemical workers, industrial organization, Resolution No. 27.....	179, 521, 725
Chest for the Liberation of the Workers of Europe.....	169, 384-391, 600, 602
Child and maternal welfare, Social Security Act.....	89, 90, 493
Child labor Amendment, Resolution No. 14.....	174, 175, 578

	Page
Child labor Amendment, Resolution No. 173.....	269, 487, 803, 804
Child labor Amendment, progress of ratification by states	
22, 142, 143, 207, 382-384, 484-488, 490	
Child labor, Resolution No. 223.....	294, 295, 802
Child labor, International Labor Organization proposals.....	151, 695
Child labor provisions, state compacts, opposing.....	22, 144, 207, 487, 490, 495
Child welfare, address of Katherine F. Lenroot, Director, Children's Bureau.	
U. S. Department of Labor.....	382-384
Children, dependent, aid, Social Security Act.....	89, 493
Churches, delegates to speak, announcement.....	391, 392
Citizenship qualification for A. F. of L. membership, Resolution No. 179	
272, 273, 588, 589	
Civil service, educational qualifications, Resolution No. 240.....	301, 468-473
Civil service court of appeals, Resolution No. 7.....	173, 456
Civil service workers, opposing displacement by emergency workers, Resolution No. 58.....	189, 799
Civilian Conservation Corps.....	67, 488, 495
Civilian Conservation Corps, Resolution No. 195.....	279, 805-807
CWA.....	67, 495
Clearing house, information and reports on problems and work, A. F. of L.....	478
Clerks, retail, Resolution No. 81.....	199, 443
Clothing Workers, Amalgamated, Local No. 50, Abe Goldberg, President, greetings.....	474
Clothing Workers, Amalgamated, Pants Makers' Trade Board, Morris Blumenrich, greetings.....	362
Codes, NRA, results.....	19, 20, 37, 38
Codes protecting labor conditions, legislation to establish and enforce, Resolution No. 204.....	285, 578, 579
Coeffield, John.....	697, 698
Coeffield, John, re-elected to office of Fourth Vice-President.....	704
Collective bargaining, agreement, cloak and suit industry.....	508
Colleran, M. J.....	16, 334
Colored workers, organization policy, report of Executive Council.....	787, 808-819
Columbian Enameling and Stamping Co, Terre Haute, Indiana, Resolution No. 80.....	198, 199, 406
Committee on good will.....	218, 513
Committees, reports:	
Adjustment.....	206, 684
Auditing.....	306-309
Credentials.....	10-17, 18, 204, 233, 234, 305, 324, 327, 363, 378, 393, 416, 438, 491, 576, 717
Education.....	206, 207, 475, 476, 483
Executive Council Report.....	206, 207, 342, 428, 434, 439
Industrial Relations.....	206, 403, 416, 426
International Labor Relations.....	206, 208, 695, 717
Labels.....	206, 443
Laws.....	206, 208, 687, 694, 751, 776
Legislation.....	206, 208, 450
Local and Federated Bodies.....	206, 442
Organization.....	206, 207, 366, 671
Resolutions.....	206, 207, 317, 493, 508, 513, 576, 603, 609, 720, 752, 788
Rules and Order of Business.....	19, 204, 205
Shorter Workday.....	206, 207, 394
State Organizations.....	206, 207, 446

	Page
Communist activities among Jewelry Workers charged against Delegate Jack Rand	787
Communist opposition to the American labor movement	23, 164-169, 207, 519, 776-785, 787, 831, 832
Communists, Resolution No. 108.....	242, 830
Communists, prohibiting seating in state and central bodies, amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution.....	168, 169, 520, 776-785
Company unions, Resolution No. 22.....	176, 177, 493
Company unions, Resolution No. 145.....	257, 258, 802, 803
Company unions, Resolution No. 162.....	264, 265, 802, 803
Company unions, Resolution No. 245.....	303, 803
Company unions, increase under NRA.....	785, 786
Company unions, study made by U. S. Department of Labor.....	785, 786
Compulsory arbitration repugnant to American viewpoint, Secretary of Labor Perkins, address	217
Conley, A., fraternal delegate, British Trades Union Congress, address..	10, 343-346
Conley, Mrs., presented to convention.....	10, 510, 511
Connors, James B.....	663, 701, 702, 710, 750
Constitution, A. F. of L., amendments..	105-107, 168, 169, 208, 520, 692-694, 776-785
Article IV, Section 4	105, 692-694
Article V, Section 1	105, 692-694
Article V, Section 2	105, 692-694
Article V, Section 5	105, 692-694
Article VI, Section 2	105, 692-694
Article VI, Section 5	106, 692-694
Article VII	106, 692-694
Article VIII	107, 693, 694
Constitution, U. S., amendment, Resolution No. 13.....	174, 788-793, 819, 820
Constitution, U. S., amendment, Resolution No. 84.....	200, 789-793, 819, 820
Constitution, U. S., amendment, Resolution No. 104.....	241, 790-793, 819, 820
Constitution, U. S., amendment, Resolution No. 146.....	258, 790-793, 819, 820
Constitution, U. S., amendment, Resolution No. 205.....	286, 791-793, 819, 820
Constitution, U. S., amendment, Resolution No. 187.....	275, 790-793, 819, 820
Constitution, U. S., amendment, Resolution No. 218.....	292, 792-793, 819, 820
Consumers' Research, Inc., Washington, N. J., Resolution No. 125.....	249, 416-419
Contracts, observance	22, 132, 207, 440, 441
Convention city invitations.....	363, 378, 394
Convict labor legislation.....	22, 139, 140, 208, 451
Coopers vs. Carpenters, Resolution No. 147.....	258, 684, 685
Costello, Emil	501, 702, 703, 704, 727, 787
Costello, Emil, nominated for the office of Third Vice-President.....	702, 703
Coughlin, Rev. Charles E., Resolution No. 201.....	283, 284, 793
Craft unions, activities in automobile industry, discussion	736-739, 743-745, 747-750
Cuba	162, 719
Cuba, suppression of trade unions, Resolution No. 228.....	295, 582, 583
Curry, E., protesting seating as delegate of Brotherhood of Foundry Employees	18, 19, 305, 306
Cutting, Bronson, late U. S. Senator, tribute to.....	477, 478

D

Dahl, Lelf.....	690, 691, 692
Dairy products, legislation for protection against cheap substitutes, Res. No. 239	300, 594

	Page
Dallas, Texas, organization campaign, Res. No. 55.....	188, 366, 367
Dalrymple, S. H.....	490
Davis, J. N.....	781, 785
Deceased trade unionists, Convention memorializes.....	234-236
Dempsey, Fred J.....	705
"Deportation" bill, immigration legislation.....	140, 141, 495
Detective agencies, labor spy activities, Res. No. 168.....	267, 603-608
Detroit, Mich., convention city invitations.....	394, 438, 474
Dodge, Alice.....	694
Donlin, John.....	341
Donnelly, Thomas J.....	208, 236, 470, 471, 727
Duffy, Frank.....	19, 338, 366, 369, 370, 404, 428, 432, 492, 671, 705, 793, 819, 820
Duffy, Frank, re-election to office of First Vice-President.....	700, 701
Dubinsky David.....	819
Dubinsky, David, elected to office of Twelfth Vice-President.....	707
Duncan, James A.....	704, 710, 807, 808

E

Eagle Picher Lead Company, Res. No. 225.....	294, 426, 427
Easton, John B.....	209, 469, 470, 471, 714
Economic system, present, proposing investigation, Res. No. 206.....	287, 288, 808, 821, 822
Economy Act.....	22, 141, 450, 495
Education, recommendations for Federal assistance.....	476, 477
Education, recommending Federal funds be denied to state or political subdivisions that deny employees right to join unions affiliated with A. F. of L.....	477, 478
Education, committee, in each Central Labor Union.....	477
Education, workers, Federal emergency program.....	23, 147, 148, 207, 476
Educational policies, address of Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker.....	419-423
Eggs and meats, imported, proposing increasing tariff, Res. No. 209.....	289, 426
Election of:	
Convention city.....	714-716
Fraternal delegates.....	670, 713, 714
Officers.....	670, 697-713, 720
Electrification, rural, administration.....	76, 495
Ely-Walker Dry Goods Co., St. Louis, decision National Labor Relations Board.....	47, 494
Emergency Committee in Aid of Political Refugees from Nazism, Francis A. Henson, Secretary, telegram.....	171
Emergency workers, displacement of civil service workers, opposing, Res. No. 58.....	189, 799
Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, 1935, provisions.....	22, 75-81, 135-137, 495
Employment agencies, private, Res. No. 88.....	201, 455
Employment offices, International Labor Organization proposals.....	151, 695-697, 718
Employment Service, U. S., labor experience urged as standard of eligibility in administrative positions.....	64, 470, 471, 496
Enamel ware industry, organization drive, Res. No. 82.....	199, 442, 443
Ernst, Hugo.....	497, 498, 517, 584, 588, 601, 602, 664, 710, 723
Essex Labor Party, greetings.....	362
Ethiopia, Italy's war against.....	496-498
Ethiopian controversy, telegram from International Federation of Trade Unions.....	393
Executive Council's decisions on resolutions not acted upon by Convention.....	807, 808, 821-832
Executive Council meetings, announcements.....	392, 788, 820

	Page
Executive Council's report.....	24-170, 218-233, 808
A. F. of L. Building, Trustees' report.....	36, 308
Apprenticeship training, National Committee.....	20, 52, 53, 207, 494
Automobile Labor Board.....	45, 494
Automobile Workers International Union, charter granted.....	21, 95, 96, 671
Benefit features, trade union.....	21, 99-104, 207, 439
Blind, aid, Social Security Act.....	91, 493
Brunswick Laundry, decision National Labor Relations Board.....	48, 494
Building trades controversy	
16, 17, 18, 22, 107-127, 207, 324, 327-342, 434-437, 439	
Chest for the Liberation of the Workers of Europe.....	169, 384-391
Child and maternal welfare, Social Security Act.....	89, 90, 493
Child labor, International Labor Organization proposals.....	151, 695
Child Labor Amendment, progress of ratification by states	
22, 142, 143, 207, 484-488, 490	
Child labor provisions, state compacts, opposing....	22, 144, 207, 487, 490, 495
Children, dependent, aid, Social Security Act.....	89, 493
CCC	67, 488, 495
CWA	67, 495
Communist opposition to the American labor movement	
23, 164-169, 207, 519, 776-785, 787, 831, 832	
Communists, prohibiting seating in state and central bodies, amendment	
to A. F. of L. constitution.....	168, 169, 520, 776-785
Constitution, A. F. of L., amendments.....	21, 105, 168, 169, 208, 520
692-694, 776-785	
Contracts, observance.....	22, 132, 207, 440, 441
Cuba	162, 719
"Deportation" bill, Immigration legislation.....	140, 141, 495
Education, workers, Federal Emergency program.....	23, 147, 148, 207, 476
Electrification, rural, administration.....	76, 495
Ely-Walker Dry Goods Co., St. Louis, decision, National Labor Relations	
Board	47, 494
Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, 1935, provisions.....	21, 75-81, 495
Employment offices, International Labor Organization proposals	
151, 695-697, 718	
Employment service, U. S., labor experience urged as standard of eligibility	
in administrative positions.....	64, 496, 470, 471
Federal Emergency Relief Administration.....	66-74, 495
Federal Surplus Relief Corporation.....	67, 495
Finance Committee, A. F. of L.....	107, 693, 694
Finances, A. F. of L., reports.....	25-36, 306-309
Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers.....	21, 127, 128, 207, 440
Foster Knitting Co., Inc., decision, National Labor Relations Board.....	47, 494
Foundry Employees—Molders.....	21, 128, 129, 207, 440
German Boycott	23, 169, 207, 794
Globe Gabbe Corporation, decision National Labor Relations Board.....	47, 494
Gompers' Memorial Fund, financial report.....	28, 308
Government employes wages, opposing cost of living basis.....	141, 495
Health insurance.....	93, 495, 496
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, change of title approved.....	22, 130, 207, 440
Houde Engineering Co., decision, National Labor Relations Board.....	47, 494
Immigration legislation.....	140, 141, 495
Injunction laws.....	22, 144, 145, 207, 441
International Federation of Trade Unions, review....	23, 156-160, 208, 717, 718
International Labor Organization, Executive Council to select A. F. of L.	
representatives	23, 156, 696

Executive Council's report—Continued:	Page
International Labor Organization, conference to meet in Santiago, Chile	23, 161, 696, 719
International Labor Organization, functions and proposals dealing with labor legislation	149-156, 208, 695-697, 718
Johnson Bronze Company, decision, National Labor Relations Board	47, 494
Labels and cards, union, endorsed by A. F. of L.	34
Laundry Workers International Union, application for change of title	22, 130, 207, 440
Legislation, National	133-142, 207, 450, 451
Air Mail Act, providing rates and working conditions for pilots	22, 133, 450
Bituminous coal industry, Guffey bill	22, 138, 208, 450
Convict labor	22, 139, 140, 208, 451
Emergency Relief Appropriation Act	22, 135-137, 495
Filipinos, providing funds for return to Philippine Islands	22, 141, 142, 495
Forty-hour week for Postal employees	22, 138, 139, 208, 450, 451
Government contracts, legislation to protect labor	22, 137, 138, 208, 450
Government employees, wage cut restored	22, 141, 450, 495
Immigration	22, 140, 141, 495
Petition rule, U. S. House of Representatives, changed	142, 208, 451
Railroad Retirement Act	22, 138, 225, 495
Security Act	21, 82-91, 135, 215, 493, 495
Thirty-hour week	22, 141, 396
Wagner Labor Disputes Bill	22, 133-135, 326, 495
Loggers, Lumbermen, Saw Mill Workers local unions transferred to United Brotherhood of Carpenters	21, 127, 207, 366
Longshoremen's Labor Board	48, 49, 494
Mass production industries, organization	21, 93-98, 207, 671, 672
Masters, Mates and Pilots-Seamen	21, 129, 130, 207, 440
Match manufacturing, banning use of white phosphorous, International Labor Organization proposal	151, 695-697
Maternal and child welfare, Social Security Act	89, 90, 493
Medical care and costs	21, 91-93, 207, 495
Membership, A. F. of L.	29-31
Mexico	162, 719
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers vs. Metal and Building Trades organizations	22, 130-132, 207, 576, 614-665
Minimum wage laws	22, 145, 208, 451
National Aniline and Chemical Company, decision National Labor Relations Board	47, 494
National councils formed by A. F. of L. among locals in allied work	96
National Labor Relations Act	51, 52, 133-135, 216, 326, 495
National Labor Relations Board	20, 43-52, 207, 216, 494
National Recovery Administration, objectives and results	37-43, 207, 495, 785, 786
Newspaper Industry Board	45, 46, 494
Night work and rest periods, International Labor Organization proposals	151, 695-697
Occupational diseases, International Labor Organization proposals	151, 695-697
Old age assistance and benefits, Social Security Act	84-86, 493
Organization campaign	21, 98, 207, 366
Out-of-work stamps for unemployed	133, 207, 441
Pan American Federation of Labor	23, 160, 161, 208, 719
Petroleum Labor Policy Board	47, 494

Executive Council's report—Continued:

Page

Political, A. F. of L. non-partisan policy.....	22, 23, 145, 146, 207, 495, 753-776
Puerto Rico, report upon labor movement.....	162-164, 207, 447
Public health work, Social Security Act provisions.....	91, 493
Public schools, appropriations for education should have priority	
	23, 146, 147, 476, 478
PWA	68, 495
Reconstruction Finance Corporation.....	68, 495
Re-employment statistics	20, 60-64, 207, 441, 442, 494
Relief, Federal, activities, statistics.....	20, 66-74, 207, 495
Resettlement administration, Federal, functions.....	76, 495
Rubber Workers International Union, charter granted.....	21, 96, 672
Ryan, Martin Francis, death.....	105, 207, 439, 440
Secretary-Treasurer, offices consolidated.....	21, 105-107, 692-694
Secretary's report	25-34, 306-309
Skilled workers, unemployment among.....	40, 53-58, 207, 494
Social insurance, International Labor Organization, proposals	
	150, 151, 695-697
Social Security Act.....	21, 82-91, 207, 215, 216, 326, 493
Steel industry, organizing campaign.....	21, 96, 97, 672, 673
Steel Labor Relations Board.....	49, 494
Teachers employment, Federal	
Emergency program	148, 149, 477, 478, 479
Textile Labor Relations Board.....	49, 50, 494
Thirty-hour week, statistics.....	20, 58-60, 207, 396
Treasurer, pro tem, report.....	35, 306-309
Treasurer, office consolidated with that of Secretary.....	21, 105, 692-694
Unemployment among skilled workers.....	54-58, 494
Unemployment insurance, Social Security Act.....	87-89, 493
U. S. Employment Service, Wagner-Peyser Act, provisions	
	20, 64-66, 207, 470, 471, 496
U. S. Smelting, Refining and Mining Company, decision, National Labor	
Relations Board	43, 494
Voting strength of affiliated unions.....	32, 33
Wagner Labor Disputes Law.....	43-52, 216, 326, 449
Workers Education Bureau.....	149, 207, 479-481, 483, 484
Workers education, Federal emergency program	
	23, 147, 148, 207, 476, 478, 479
Workmen's compensation, state legislation.....	145, 207, 441, 491
Works Progress Administration, Federal, functions and labor policy	
	77-80, 207, 495, 794, 795, 806
Youth Administration, National, functions.....	21, 76, 77, 81, 82, 207, 495
Executive Council's report, summary.....	19-23

F

Farmers, tenant, Resolution No. 197.....	280, 281, 588
Fascism, Resolution No. 33.....	181, 598-602
Fascism, Resolution No. 76.....	197, 598-602
Fascism, German, Resolution No. 91.....	202, 598-602
Fascism, German, Resolution No. 192.....	278, 599-602
Fascist and Nazi refugees, proposing U. S. offer asylum, Resolution No. 170, 268, 603	
Federal Emergency Relief Administration.....	66-74, 495
Federal Surplus Relief Corporation.....	67, 495
Federal labor unions, Resolution No. 103.....	240, 794
Federal labor unions, monthly dues, Resolution No. 20.....	176, 402, 493, 688, 689
Federal labor unions, per capita tax, Resolution No. 100.....	239, 689-692

INDEX

867

	Page
Federal labor unions, per capita tax, Resolution No. 130.....	250, 251, 689-692
Federal labor unions, proposing administration by central labor unions, Resolution No. 19.....	175, 176, 687, 688
Federal Labor Union No. 17261, St. Thomas, V. I., Secretary George Ernest Appia, greetings.....	378
Feeney, Frank.....	338, 339, 341, 437, 551, 807, 808, 819
Filipinos, providing funds for return to Philippines.....	22, 141, 142, 495
Finance Committee, amendment to A. F. of L. constitution.....	107, 693, 694
Finances, A. F. of L. reports.....	25-36, 306-309
Fine, Morris.....	465-467, 500
Finkelstein, Sam, Clothing Company, Norfolk, Va., Resolution No. 227	295, 296, 428, 429
Five-day week, six-hour day, A. F. of L. policy.....	6, 394-396
Fire Fighters, Atlantic City, entertainment, announcement.....	316
Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers.....	21, 127, 128, 207, 440
Flour and cereal mill workers, organizing campaign, Resolution No. 26	178, 179, 366
Flijozdal, Fred H.....	705, 716
Food industry employees, A. F. of L. department, proposing, Resolution No. 86	201, 515, 516
Fort Peck project, Montana, Resolution No. 178.....	271, 272, 591, 592
Forty-hour week for Postal employees.....	22, 138, 139, 208, 450, 451
Forty-hour week, influence of American delegation in International Labor Organization.....	152, 696
Foster Knitting Co., Inc., decision National Labor Relations Board.....	47, 494
Foundry Employees—Molders.....	21, 128, 129, 207, 440
Franklin, Joseph A.....	334-338, 621-623
Fraternal delegates, addresses	
British Trades Union Congress.....	9, 10, 19, 324, 343-346, 351-354
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	9, 10, 19, 324, 347-351
Fraternal delegates, A. F. of L. reports	
British Trades Union Congress.....	666-670, 787, 788
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	364-365
Fraternal delegates, presentation of badges.....	218
Presentation of gifts.....	510-513
Fremming, H. C.....	434, 439
Frey, John P.....	493, 498, 501, 502, 506, 509, 513, 515, 518, 519, 521, 524, 552-559, 576, 584, 585, 597, 601, 603, 609, 613, 617, 644-653, 720, 721, 726, 727, 730, 749, 751, 752, 758, 788, 806, 807, 812-815, 820
Friedrick, Jacob.....	414, 415
Fritz, Adolph J.....	517
Fry, Charles.....	704
Fry, Charles, elected A. F. of L. Fraternal Delegate to British Trades Union Congress.....	713
Furuseth, Andrew.....	449, 577, 578

G

Gainor, Edward J.....	397, 398
Gainor, Edward J., elected to office of Fourteenth Vice-President.....	707, 708
Gas, By-product coke and allied chemical workers, industrial union, Resolution No. 222.....	293, 521, 723-725
Gas industry employees, overtime pay, Resolution No. 237.....	300, 582
General strike, Resolution No. 72.....	195, 510
German boycott.....	23, 169, 207, 600, 794

	Page
Gillooly, M. J.....10, 16, 17, 18, 204, 233, 234, 305, 306, 327, 363, 378, 393, 416, 491	
Gillooly, M. J., elected A. F. of L. Fraternal Delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	714
Glass, William, appointment, Sergeant-at-Arms.....	17
Glenn, Annabelle Lee, appointment, Assistant Messenger.....	19
Globe Gabbe Corporation, decision, National Labor Relations Board.....	47, 494
Gompers Memorial fund, financial report.....	28, 308
Gordon, A.....	701
Gorman, Francis J.....	751, 762-773
Gorman, William J.....	707
Government contracts, legislation to protect labor.....	22, 137, 138, 208, 450
Government contracts, fair working conditions, Resolution No. 183.....	273, 463, 464
Government employes, court of appeals, Resolution No. 7.....	173, 456
Government employes extend thanks to A. F. of L., Resolution No. 184.....	274, 275, 451, 452
Government employes, hours of labor, statement of President Babcock.....	459
Government employes, overtime pay, Resolution No. 110.....	243, 458, 459
Government employes, sick leave with pay, legislative measure to be pushed in next Congress.....	451
Government employes, subsistence costs, Resolution No. 111.....	243, 459
Government employes thirty-day vacation, legislative measure to be pushed in next Congress.....	451
Government employes, thirty-year optional retirement, Resolution No. 6.....	173, 463
Government employes, thirty-year optional retirement, Resolution No. 182.....	273, 274, 463
Government employment, higher standards, Resolution No. 180.....	272, 452, 453
Government employes, wage cut restored.....	22, 141, 450, 495
Government employes wages, opposing cost of living basis.....	141, 495
Graham, James D.....	592, 593, 807
Gray, Richard J.....	707
Green, President.....4-9, 16, 17, 19, 171, 204, 205, 206, 209, 217, 218, 234, 236, 305, 306, 309, 315, 316, 317, 321, 324, 326, 331-334, 340, 341, 342, 343, 346, 351, 354-356, 360, 363, 364, 365, 372, 373, 374, 377, 378, 381, 382, 384, 385, 391, 392, 394, 398-401, 402, 404, 407, 413, 416, 419, 423, 425, 426, 427, 428, 433, 434, 437, 438, 439, 441, 446, 448, 449, 452, 454, 467, 471, 473, 474, 475, 481, 483, 490, 491, 492, 498, 505, 506, 508, 510, 511, 512, 513, 519, 528, 551, 552, 564, 573, 574, 586, 588, 589, 602, 603, 607, 609, 617, 623, 640, 659, 663, 664, 665, 666, 670, 671, 675, 676, 679, 683, 684, 687, 688, 692, 693, 694, 695, 698-700, 701, 702, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 710, 711, 713, 716, 717, 720, 721, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 750, 751, 757, 758, 762, 776, 783, 784, 785, 787, 808, 817, 819, 820	
Green, President, to attend Conference International Labor Organization, Geneva, June 1936.....	696
Green, William, re-elected to office of President.....	697, 698
Guffey Act, bituminous coal industry.....	22, 138, 208, 450

H

Haas, Father Francis J., address.....	675, 676
Harper, Louis O.....	418, 419, 497, 678, 776, 806
Harrison, George M.....	817, 818
Harrison, George M., re-elected to office of Elghth Vice-President.....	705
Harrison, Vice-President, praised for services in bringing about agreement in Building Trades controversy.....	437
Harvey, Andrew P.....	409, 608

	Page
Haydon, J. A. P., fraternal delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	10, 347-351
Haydon, Mrs., expresses thanks upon presentation of gift	512
Health insurance	93, 495, 496
Health insurance legislation, Resolution No. 174	269, 270, 593
Hearst newspapers, Resolution No. 16	175, 830, 831
Hearst newspapers, Resolution No. 21	176, 493
Hearst publications, Resolution No. 193	278, 830, 831
Heber, Fred	334, 705
Hebrew Trades, United, New York, Secretary Morris C. Feinstein, greetings	362
Handley, J. J.	608
Henning, R. A.	403, 409, 416, 419, 426, 428, 435, 704
Herndon, Angelo, case, Resolution No. 215	291, 590
Herndon, Angelo, case, Resolution No. 224	294-590
Hesketh, Robert B.	338, 640
Heymanns, Charles	409
High pressure pipe industry, Resolution No. 31	180, 181, 722
Hillman, Sidney	709, 710, 745
Hochman, Julius	501, 584, 590, 604-607
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers, protest of Plasterers, Resolution No. 241	301, 474, 686, 687
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers, protest of Plasterers, Resolution No. 236	299, 474, 686, 687
Holmgren, J. O.	702
Holt, Rush D., U. S. Senator, address	438, 481-483
Hopkins, Harry L., Works Progress Administration, Resolution No. 117	246, 794, 795
Horn, Roy	639, 704, 747-749
Hospital Corporation, Union General, New York City, Resolution No. 239	300, 611
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, change of title approved	22, 130, 207, 440
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, organization campaign, Resolution No. 89	201, 202, 367
Houck, Daisy	206
Houde Engineering Co., decision National Labor Relations Board	47, 494
Hours, working, reduction, federal and state legislation, Resolution No. 87	201, 402
Hours of labor, A. F. of L. policy, statement of President Green	6
Housing program, Resolution No. 116	245, 246, 612
Housing program, public, Resolution No. 98	238, 239, 613, 614
Housing projects, Resolution No. 119	246, 247, 612, 613
Howard, Charles P.	492, 519, 520, 524-528, 607, 608, 660, 712, 726, 727, 775, 776, 796
Howard, Charles P., nominated for office of Fifteenth Vice-President	709-712
Hughes, Thomas L.	705
Hull, Organizer, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters	433, 434, 435
Hutcheson, William L.	330, 331, 437, 628-629, 635-638, 660, 694, 700, 701, 726, 727
Hutcheson, William, re-elected to office of Tenth Vice-President	706
Hyatt, Gilbert E., nominated for office of Fourteenth Vice-President	708
Hyatt, Gilbert E.	450, 452, 467, 468, 708

I

Ickes, Harold L., Secretary of Interior, commended for policy relative to enforcing prevailing wage	795
---	-----

Illinois Power and Light Company and Utility Operators' Association, proposing investigation of labor provisions of contract between, Resolution No. 172	268, 269, 593, 594
Immigration legislation	22, 140, 141, 495
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 189	276, 277, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 231	296, 298, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 163	265, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 30	180, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 36	182, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 40	183, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 50	186, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 51	186, 187, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 73	195, 196, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 74	196, 521-575, 721, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 105	241, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 107	242, 521, 722, 723, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 112	243, 244, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unionism, Resolution No. 120	247, 402, 521-575, 727-729
Industrial unions of white collar workers, Resolution No. 126	249, 250, 521, 723
Injunction, labor, Resolution No. 4	172, 453-455
Injunction laws	22, 144, 145, 207, 441
Insignia, union member, uniform, Resolution No. 140	255, 256, 823
Insurance, life, Massachusetts Savings Bank System, Resolution No. 114	244, 245, 595-598
Interest rates and profit in money, legislation to control, Resolution No. 106	241, 242, 594, 595
International Federation of Trade Unions, A. F. of L. affiliation, Resolution No. 85	200, 201, 797
International Federation of Trade Unions, A. F. of L. affiliation, Resolution No. 134	252, 718, 719
International Federation of Trade Unions, A. F. of L. affiliation, Resolution No. 171	268, 718
International Federation of Trade Unions, review	23, 156-160, 208, 717, 718
International Federation of Trade Unions, Walter Schevenels, Secretary, telegrams relating to Ethiopian controversy	393
International Labor Organization, conference to meet in Santiago, Chile	23, 161, 696, 719
International Labor Organization, functions and proposals dealing with labor legislation	149-156, 208, 379-381, 695-697, 718
International Labor Organization, executive Council to select A. F. of L. representatives	23, 156, 696
Invocation, Henry Merle Mellon, Pastor First Presbyterian Church	1, 2
Invocation, Father Cornelius J. Kane, Holy Spirit Catholic Church	18
Italy's attack on Ethiopia, condemning, Resolution No. 122	248, 496-498
Italy's attack on Ethiopia, condemning, Resolution No. 129	250, 496-498
Italy's attack on Ethiopia, condemning, Resolution No. 139	255, 496-498
Italy's war against Ethiopia, condemning, Resolution No. 156	262, 496-498
Italy's war against Ethiopia, condemning, Resolution No. 177	270, 271, 496-498
Italy's attack on Ethiopia, condemning, Resolution No. 243	302, 303, 496-498
J	
Jackson, J. O.	705
Jenkins, Susan	417

	Page
Jewelry Workers vs. Dieges and Clust, New York City, Resolution No. 113..	244, 416
Johnson Bronze Company, decision National Labor Relations Board.....	47, 494
Judges abusing judicial power in the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes	
should be defeated in political elections.....	455
Junior Union Section, A. F. of L.....	504

K

Kane, Father Cornelius J., invocation.....	18
Kellogg pact	497
Keenan, Joseph D.....	705
Kennedy, A. J.....	686, 720
Kennedy, Thomas	602, 640-644, 706, 707
Killeen, Thomas J.....	735
Knight, Felix H.....	329, 815
Kohler Mfg. Co., Kohler, Wis., Resolution No. 95.....	236, 237, 407-415
Komaroff, Mira	501, 503, 504, 715, 716
Kovelski, Emanuel	206, 208, 325, 438
Kuehnel, William E.....	428, 518, 604, 671, 702, 773-775
Kugler, A. J.....	19, 204
Krauss, Harry	601, 785
Kresge, S. S. Co.....	431, 432

L

Label Trades Department, A. F. of L., report.....	444-446, 679, 683
Labels and cards, union, endorsed by A. F. of L.....	34
Label Day Observance, proposing community strikes to enforce, Resolution	
No. 164.....	265, 798
Labor Department, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics study of company unions	
.....	785, 786
Labor dramatics.....	488, 489
Labor housing forum, meeting announcement.....	315
Labor Institutes under auspices of Workers Education Bureau.....	480
Labor legislation, Second Annual National Conference.....	217
Labor Library, International Labor Organization.....	696
Labor party, Resolution No. 23.....	177, 493, 721, 758-776
Labor party, Resolution No. 35	181, 721, 758-776
Labor party, Resolution No. 39.....	182, 183, 721, 758-776
Labor party, Resolution No. 83.....	199, 200, 721, 758-776
Labor party, Resolution No. 90	202, 721, 758-776
Labor party, Resolution No. 101.....	239, 240, 721, 758-776
Labor party, Resolution No. 128	250, 721, 758-776
Labor party, Resolution No. 132	251, 721, 758-776
Labor party, Resolution No. 136	254, 721, 758-776
Labor party, Resolution No. 186.....	275, 276, 721, 758-776
Labor party, Resolution No. 213	290, 721, 758-776
Labor party, Resolution No. 221	293, 721, 758-776
Labor party, National, Resolution No. 135.....	252, 253, 721, 758-776
Labor Press, annual meeting, announcement.....	19
Lane, Dennis, A. F. of L. Fraternal Delegate to British Trades Union Con-	
gress, report.....	787, 788
Lane, Dennis.....	663, 664
Laundry Workers' delegate seated.....	305, 576
Laundry Workers in organizing work, to assist, Resolution No. 233.....	298, 372

	Page
Laundry Workers International Union, application for change of title	22, 130, 207, 440
Law enforcement agencies, attitude toward labor activities, proposing investigation, Resolution No. 42	183, 184, 514
Lawrence, Howard	407, 441, 493, 677, 678, 694, 702, 782
Leather Workers strike against International Shoe Company, Wood River, Ill., settlement	363, 491
Legal defense department, A. F. of L., Resolution No. 220, 293, 294, 583, 584, 796, 797	832-857
Legislation, A. F. of L. activities	133-142, 207, 450, 451
Air-mail Act, providing rates and working conditions for pilots	22, 133, 450
Bituminous coal industry, Guffey Bill	22, 138, 208, 450
Convict labor	22, 139, 140, 208, 451
Emergency Relief Appropriation Act	22, 135-137, 495
Filipinos, providing funds for return to Philippine Islands	22, 141, 142, 495
Forty-hour week for Postal employees	22, 138, 139, 208, 450, 451
Government contracts, legislation to protect labor	22, 137, 138, 208, 450
Government employees, wage cut restored	22, 141, 450, 495
Immigration	22, 140, 141, 495
Petition rule, U. S. House of Representatives changed	142, 208, 451
Railroad Retirement Act	22, 138, 225, 495
Security Act	22, 82-91, 135, 215, 493, 495
Thirty-hour week	22, 141, 396
Wagner Labor Disputes Bill	22, 133-135, 326, 495
Legislation, state, patterned on Federal Laws to apply to workers in strictly intrastate industries	448
Legislative achievements, A. F. of L., statement of President Green	7
Legislative measures, progress accredited to American Federation of Labor by Senator Wagner	326
Legislative problems, state, clearing house of information, Resolution No. 45	184, 185, 800
Legislators sponsoring laws favorable to labor, Resolution No. 235	298, 580, 581
Leighy, G. E.	505
Lenroot, Katherine F., Director, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, address	19, 363, 382-384
Leonard, Louis	564-567, 682
Lewis, John L.	438, 439, 534-542, 623-628, 659-661, 697, 698, 727, 782
Lewis, John L., elected to office of Eleventh Vice-President	706, 707
Lezenby, W. Morris, appointed Assistant Secretary of Convention	17
Liberty League, National, condemning tactics, Resolution No. 219	293, 583
Lieberman, Elias, greetings	363
Lilly, Thomas B.	723-725, 728
Lindelof, L. P.	713
Lindemann-Hoverson Company, Milwaukee, Wis., Resolution No. 52	187, 405, 406
Lithographers, protest of Printing Trades, Resolution No. 199	231, 282, 363, 685, 686, 720
Local union administration, proposing regulations, Resolution No. 37	182, 509, 510, 687, 688
Loggers, Lumbermen, Saw Mill Workers local unions transferred to United Brotherhood of Carpenters	21, 127, 207, 366
Longshoremen Labor Board	48, 49, 494
Loughlin, Ann, General Organizer, National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, England	10, 374-377, 513
Lowry, Raymond, Delegate, called home	666
Lynching, anti-, federal law, Resolution No. 47	185, 456
Lynching, anti-, Wagner-Costigan bill, Resolution No. 157	262, 263, 822

INDEX

873

M

	Page
Madden, Joseph W., Chairman, National Labor Relations Board, address	19, 316, 326, 327, 356-360
Madsen, Christian M.	397
Mahon, W. D.	17, 203, 502, 503, 584, 586, 671, 706, 707, 713, 716
Mahon, W. D., elected to office of Fifteenth Vice-President.	709-712
Makman, Maxine	590
Maloney, James	306, 373, 374, 684, 687, 701, 714, 720
Maloney, James, A. F. of L. Fraternal Delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, report	364, 365
Marciante, Louis P., President, New Jersey State Federation of Labor, address	4
Manganese deposits of United States, to promote development, Res. No. 211	289, 586, 587
Manion, E. J.	675, 679
Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, charter application, Res. No. 99.	239, 521
Martel, Frank X.	406, 407, 430-432, 446, 448, 503, 517, 551, 574, 586, 607, 688, 710, 712, 714, 715, 739-743, 750, 820
Mass production industries, progress of organization.	21, 93-98, 207, 671, 672
Mass, "Our Lady Star of the Sea" Church, announcement.	234, 392
Massachusetts Savings Bank Life Insurance, Res. No. 114.	244, 245, 595, 596
Masters, Mates and Pilots—Seamen.	21, 129, 130, 207, 440
Match manufacturing, banning use of white phosphorus, International Labor Organization proposal	151, 695-697
Maternal and child welfare, Social Security Act.	89, 90, 493
Meany, George	678
Meat Cutters vs. John Morrell Co., Res. No. 11.	174, 404, 405
Meat Cutters vs. Wilson and Co., Res. No. 10.	173, 174, 404
Medical care and its costs.	21, 91-93, 207, 495
Meehan, James P.	471, 472
Mellon, Henry Merle, Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, invocation.	1, 2
Membership, A. F. of L.	29-31
Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council, President R. S. McCann, convention city invitation.	378
Merchant Marine, American, Res. No. 1.	171, 576, 577
Merrill, Thomas J.	736
Metal Trades organization vs. Oil Field Workers, Res. No. 61.	190, 191, 825-827
Mexico	162, 719
Miller, Spencer, Jr., Secretary, Workers Education Bureau, address.	309-315, 484
Militia, protesting use in labor disputes, Resolution No. 190.	277, 406, 516-519
Militia, states use of Federal arms in labor disputes, Res. No. 48.	185, 186, 456, 457
Milliman, E. E.	475, 478, 483, 490
Milton —,	716
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers protest jurisdiction encroachment of federal labor unions, Res. No. 71.	195, 721
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers vs. Eagle Picher Lead Co., Res. No. 225	295, 426-428
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Local 203, Juneau, Alaska, case of indicted members, Res. No. 229.	296, 297, 582
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers vs. Metal and Building Trades organizations	22, 130-132, 207, 576, 614-665
Minimum wage laws.	22, 145, 208, 451
Money, profit in, and interest rates, legislation to control, Res. No. 106	241, 242, 594, 595
Mooney, Thomas J., Res. No. 2.	171, 172, 827, 828
Moore, George T.	670
Moran, William J.	707

	Page
Moreschi, Joseph V.....	722
Moriarty, James T.....	16
Morrin, P. J., President International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, communication approving Building Trades agreement.....	670
Morrison, Frank, elected to the office of Secretary-Treasurer.....	712, 713
Morrison, Secretary	17, 171, 205, 206, 234, 316, 326, 341, 342, 363, 378, 438
	474, 491, 574, 665, 666, 670, 698, 701, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 712, 713, 714, 716, 729, 820
Morro Castle disaster, statement of Andrew Furuseth.....	578
Mortimer, Wyndham	413, 733-735
Murphy, Ray, National Commander American Legion, address..	19, 315, 317-321, 490
Murray, Philip	339, 340, 559-564, 709
Myers, Dr. James, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.....	391, 392

M

McAloon, Ray, President, Atlantic County Central Labor Union, address.....	2
McCabe, Glen W.	663
McCarren amendment calling for payment of prevailing wage on relief pro- jects	77-80
McDonough, M. J.	16, 327-329, 341, 704
McGuire, Jeremiah, President, Federated Bank and Trust Co., New York, introduced to Convention.....	676
McHugh, Wm. H.	710
McLaughlin, M. J.	439
McMahon, Thomas F.	378, 572, 573
McNutt, Paul, Governor of Indiana, censured for use of National Guard in strike	406, 407
McSorley, William J.	329, 330
McSorley, William J., elected A. F. of L. Fraternal Delegate to British Trades Union Congress	713

N

Naesmith, Andrew, fraternal delegate British Trades Union Congress, address	10, 351-354
Naesmith, Mrs., expresses thanks upon presentation of gift.....	512
Nagler, Isadore	390, 391, 707, 721, 759-762
Nance, A. Steve	590, 591, 714
National Aniline and Chemical Company, decision National Labor Relations Board	47, 494
National Civic Federation, Vice-President Matthew Woll announces resigna- tion	474, 475
National Civic Federation, membership of officers of A. F. of L., Resolution No. 251	439, 794
National Councils formed by A. F. of L. among locals in allied work.....	96
National Guard, protesting use in labor struggles, Resolution No. 190.....	277, 406, 516
National Labor Relations Act.....	51, 52, 216, 495
National Labor Relations Act, address of Chairman J. Warren Madden.....	356-360
National Labor Relations Board.....	20, 43-52, 207, 216, 494
National Recovery Administration, objectives and results.....	37-43, 207, 495, 785, 786
NRA, federal legislation for continuance of principles, Resolution 166.....	266, 579, 580
Naval construction designs and plans to be prepared by Federal government employees, Resolution No. 78.....	198, 514
Naval field service, Group IV employees, to transfer authority to classify to Civil Service Commission, Resolution No. 66.....	193, 457
Naval work done in U. S. navy yards and arsenals, opposing reduction in pro- portion, Resolution No. 141.....	256, 611

INDEX

875

Page

Navy Department, adjustment board to deal with labor grievances, Resolution No. 60	190, 798, 799
Navy Yard and Arsenals, U. S., employees, legislative program for improvement of conditions, Resolution No. 142	256, 257, 460, 461
Navy Yard employes, Bremerton, Washington, protesting displacement by relief workers, Resolution No. 208	288, 289, 467, 468
Navy Yard, U. S., employes, legislative program, Resolution No. 210	289, 460, 461
Navy Yard workers displacement by WPA workers, protesting, Resolution No. 59	189, 798
Nazi and Fascist refugees, proposing U. S. offer asylum, Resolution No. 170	268, 603
Nazism, labor policy	717, 718
Negro organizers, Resolution No. 159	264, 828
Negro problems, A. F. of L. committee, Resolution No. 153	260, 261, 829
Negro workers, organizing, Resolution No. 155	261, 262, 827
Negro workers, organization policy	787, 808-819
New Hampshire Federation of Labor, B. H. Crowell, Secretary, greetings	393
Newspaper, daily, A. F. of L., Resolution No. 150	259, 823, 824
Newspaper Industry Board	45, 46, 494
News print paper, importation, Resolution No. 118	246, 595
Night work and rest periods, International Labor Organization proposals	151, 695-697
Norman, Delegate	432
North, John	678
Nursery schools recommended	477

O

Obergfell, Joseph	443, 446
Occupational diseases, International Labor Organization proposals	151, 695-697
Occupational diseases, workmen's compensation laws, Resolution No. 115	245, 459, 460, 492
Office equipment industry, organization campaign, Resolution No. 54	188, 366
Office equipment industry, thirty-hour week, Resolution No. 65	192, 193, 402
Office workers, international union, Resolution No. 234	298, 581
Office workers, international union, Resolution No. 127	250, 581, 582
O'Gorman, Michael A.	673, 674, 694
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers, protest of Building Trades, Resolution No. 200	281, 825-827
Olander, Victor	567-569, 701, 702, 784
Old age assistance and benefits, Social Security Act	84-86, 493
Old age pensions, private, opposing, Resolution No. 68	194, 798
Olympic games, Berlin, 1936, opposing U. S. participation, Resolution No. 49	186, 600, 801
Organization campaign	21, 98, 207, 366
Ornburn, I. M.	472, 473, 694, 712, 714
Ornburn, I. M., Secretary, Union Label Trades Department, report	679-683
Out-of-work members, Resolution No. 18	175, 509
Out-of-work stamps for unemployed	133, 207, 441

P

Packing companies' importation of foreign eggs and meats, protesting, Resolution No. 209	289, 426
Pan-American Federation of Labor	23, 160, 161, 208, 719
Panama Canal, resident commissioners, advocating establishing, Resolution No. 96	237, 457, 458

	Page
Panama Canal Zone, emergency relief projects, employment of American citizens, Resolution No. 97.....	238, 458
Panama Canal Zone employes, employment conditions, Resolutions No. 96	237, 457, 458
Panama Railroad Steamship Line, urging continuance, Resolution No. 96	237, 457, 458
Patterson, Dowell E.....	471, 491
Peace policy, statement of President Green.....	8, 9
Perkins, Frances, Secretary of Labor, address.....	19, 205, 209-217
Peterson, Paul M.....	427, 448, 574, 616-621, 794
Petition, rule, U. S. House of Representatives, changed.....	142, 208, 451
Petroleum Labor Policy Board.....	47, 494
Photograph, convention, announcement.....	315
Pipe industry, high pressure, proposing industrial union, Resolution No. 31	180, 181, 521-575
Plasterers vs. Hod Carriers, Resolution No. 236.....	300, 686, 687
Plasterers vs. Hod Carriers, Resolution No. 241.....	302, 686, 687
Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers, International, change of title approved	452
Political, A. F. of L. non-partisan policy.....	8, 22, 23, 145, 146, 207, 495, 753-776
Possehl, John, President, International Union of Operating Engineers, appointment to represent labor at International Labor Organization meeting, Geneva, announcement	305
Postal employes' court of appeals, proposing, Resolution No. 7.....	173, 456
Postal service, non-civil service employes, Resolution No. 3.....	172, 453
Postal employes, 30 year optional retirement, Resolution No. 6.....	173, 463
Postal Telegraph Company, Resolution No. 67.....	193, 194, 474, 515
Potters vs. Scio Pottery Company, Scio, Ohio, Resolution No. 247.....	324, 429-434
Potters vs. Shenango China Company, New Castle, Pa., Resolution No. 249	325, 430-434
Potters vs. S. S. Kresge—Mt. Clemens Pottery Company, Mt. Clemens, Mich., Resolution No. 248.....	325, 429-434
Prevailing wage on relief projects, McCarren Amendment.....	77-80
Prevailing wage rate on relief projects, Resolution No. 217.....	292, 293, 805-807
Prevailing wage rate on WPA projects, Resolution No. 32.....	181, 509
Prevailing wage rate on WPA projects, Resolution No. 246.....	304, 806, 807
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union, convention city invitation.....	394
Public health work, Social Security Act, provisions.....	91, 493
Public schools, appropriations for education should have priority	23, 146, 147, 476, 478
PWA	68, 137, 495, 794, 795
PWA and WPA Administrators, Ohio, agree to payment of prevailing wage rate	473
Puerto Rico, report upon labor movement.....	162-164, 207, 447
Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, representation of organized labor, Resolution No. 143.....	257, 610
Pullman Porters' fight for higher wages and shorter hours, Resolution No. 158	263, 609, 610

R

Racketeering, Resolution No. 131.....	251, 589
Radio, labor, station, Los Angeles, Calif., Resolution No. 176.....	270, 587
Radio allocation, Resolution No. 198.....	280, 795, 796
Radio control by newspapers.....	796
Radio educational series, Workers Education Bureau.....	314, 480
Radio Station WEVD, Atlantic City, convention service.....	820

	Page
Radio workers, national charter, Resolution No. 93.....	202, 203, 521, 752-758
Railroads, government ownership	7, 8, 227-229
Railroad Retirement Act.....	22, 138, 225-227, 495
Railway Employees Department, A. F. of L., report.....	218-233
Bus and truck legislation.....	224
Canadian wage situation	219-221
Electric railroads	229, 230
Emergency Railroad Transportation Act.....	223, 224
Employment	221-223
Federal Bankruptcy Act, Section 77.....	224, 225
Government ownership of railroads	227-229
Legislative program	223
Organization progress	233
Railroad investigation	227
Railroad Retirement Act	225-227
Railway Labor Act litigation.....	230
Atlantic Coast Line Railroad.....	232
Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific.....	230, 231
St. Louis and Southwestern Railway.....	231
Virginian Railway Company.....	231, 232
Western Maryland Railway Company.....	232
Six hour day bill.....	227
Wages	218, 219
Railway Mail Service, "miles and hours" principle, to continue support.....	139, 451
Rand, Jack.....	454, 589, 702, 779, 780, 787
Randolph, A. Philip	787, 807, 808-812, 818, 819
Reconstruction Finance Corporation	68, 495
Re-employment statistics	20, 60-64, 207, 441, 442, 494
Relief, Federal activities, statistics.....	20, 66-74, 207, 495
Relief activities, Means test, opposing, Resolution No. 46.....	185, 801
Relief projects, prevailing union scale, Resolution No. 217.....	292, 293, 805-807
Relief projects, organizing workers, Resolution No. 207.....	287, 678, 679
Relief workers, protesting employment by agricultural interests, Resolution No. 124	248, 249, 804-807
Resettlement Administration, Federal, functions.....	76, 495
Resolutions, introduction, time limit, announced.....	23, 236
Resolutions, introduction in A. F. of L. convention, Executive Council to study and submit plan	800
Resolutions undisposed of by Convention referred to Executive Council	807, 808, 821-832
Richardson, George J.	316
Rickert, Thomas A.	684
Rickert, Thomas A., re-election to office of Second Vice-President.....	701
Rivers, Herbert	729, 820
Roach, John, Deputy Commissioner, New Jersey State Department of Labor, address	2-4
Robinson, Reid	600, 629-632
Rooney, John E.	820
Roosevelt, President Franklin D., radiogram message.....	17
Rosenblatt, Sol A., address.....	438, 491, 492, 506-508
Rubber Workers' International Union, charter granted.....	21, 96, 672
Rubber workers' unions, industrial, Resolution No. 79.....	198, 521, 725-729
Russia, peace policy, proposing support, Resolution No. 38.....	182, 496
Ryan, Joseph P.	780
Ryan, Martin Francis, death.....	105, 207, 439, 440

	Page
San Francisco Labor Council, Edward D. Vandeleur, President, greetings....	205
Schmal, Henry F., A. F. of L. Fraternal Delegate to British Trades Union Congress, report	666-670
Schneiderman, Rose, President, National Women's Trade Union League address	321-323
Scottsboro case, Resolution No. 216.....	291, 828, 829
Sea, safety of life treaty, Resolution No. 161.....	264, 461, 462
Seamen's bill, Resolution No. 160.....	264, 461
Secretary-Treasurer, offices consolidated.....	21, 105-107, 692-694
Secretary's report	25-34, 306-309
Sheep Shearers' application for boycott of wool, lamb and mutton, Resolution No. 9	173, 403, 404
Shipley, Carl J.	671, 728, 730, 750
Shorter Workday Committee's report.....	394-401
Simons, John	394, 401, 402, 403, 732, 733
Six hour day, five day week, A. F. of L. policy.....	6, 394-396
Skilled workers, unemployment among.....	40, 53-58, 207, 494
Slum clearance and low rent housing program, Resolution No. 116.....	245, 246, 612
Social insurance, International Labor Organization proposals.....	150, 151, 695-697
Social Security Act.....	21, 22, 135, 82-91, 207, 215, 216, 326, 381-382, 493, 495
Social Security Act, address of Chairman John J. Winant.....	381-382
Southern states, organizing campaign, Resolution No. 94.....	203, 368
Soviet government peace policy, proposing support, Resolution No. 38.....	182, 496-498
Speakers' bureau, A. F. of L., proposing, Resolution No. 43.....	184, 513, 514
Speakers, time limit	671
Spy, labor, activities, proposing Congressional investigation, Resolution No. 168	267, 603-608
State, county and city employees, National Union, Resolution No. 226.....	295, 521
State Federations of Labor, conference of representatives, announcements.....	208, 236
State Federations of Labor calling upon national and international unions to urge local unions to affiliate with.....	448
Steel industry, organizing campaign.....	21, 96, 97, 672, 673
Steel Labor Relations Board.....	49, 494
Steel workers, industrial union, Resolution No. 24.....	177, 178, 493, 521
Sterling, Robert	708
Strike breaking agencies, federal investigation, Resolution No. 152.....	260, 610
Stubblefield, John R.	716
Studebaker, John W., Commissioner of Education, address.....	19, 316, 416, 419-423
Survey summary, analysis of A. F. of L. activity in field of legislation	543-550, 832-857
Swales, A. B., address	360, 361
Swartz, L. E.	707, 708, 720, 750, 751

T

Tariff on imported eggs and meats, proposing increase, Resolution 209.....	289, 426
Taussig, Charles William, Chairman, National Advisory Committee, National Youth Administration, address.....	424, 425
Teachers, American Federation of, proposing investigation, Resolution No. 154	261, 611, 612
Teachers employment, Federal Emergency program.....	148, 149, 477, 478, 479
Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen, International Union, A. F. of L., organizers to assist, Resolution No. 77.....	197, 198, 367
Telegraph workers, commercial, organizing, Resolution No. 148.....	258, 371, 372
Text books, A. F. of L. study to be brought up to date.....	478

INDEX

879

	Page
Textile Act, National, Resolution No. 165.....	265, 266, 462
Textile Labor Relations Board.....	49, 50, 494
Textile Workers benefit play, New York, announcement.....	378
Theatrical Wardrobe Attendants, alien, protesting admission, Resolution No. 56	188, 189, 797
Thirty-hour week bill, Resolution No. 69.....	194, 195, 401, 402
Thirty-hour week, statistics.....	20, 58-60, 207, 396
Thompson, W. W.....	401, 725, 726, 728
Tobin, Daniel J.....	653-659, 687, 694, 708, 709, 751, 776, 780, 781, 785, 786
Tobin, Daniel J., re-elected to office of Ninth Vice-President.....	705-706
Towers, Aloys.....	10, 16
Tracy, D. W.....	573, 632-635, 705, 758, 819
Transfer cards, interchangeable, Resolution No. 75.....	197, 578
Treasurer, office consolidated with Secretary.....	21, 105, 692-694
Treasurer, pro tem, report.....	35, 306-309
Trotter, William R.....	397, 485
Tully, William, appointment, Messenger of Convention.....	17

U

Unemployed, organization of, Resolution No. 191.....	277, 278, 677, 678
Unemployment	53, 54, 55, 58, 60, 70
Unemployment among skilled workers.....	54-58, 494
Unemployment insurance, Social Security Act.....	87-89, 493
Unemployment insurance, Lundeen bill, Resolution No. 34.....	181, 493
Unemployment insurance, Lundeen bill, Resolution No. 17.....	175, 493
Unemployment insurance, Lundeen bill, Resolution No. 25.....	178, 493
Unemployment insurance, Lundeen bill, Resolution No. 138.....	255, 493
Unemployment stamps, Resolution No. 53.....	187, 188, 801, 802
Unfair list, statement of policy.....	403
Union General Hospital Corporation, New York City, Resolution No. 238.....	300, 611
Union Label Trades Department, employes members of Stenographers' Union 694	
United Air Lines, protesting labor policy, telegram of John Fitzpatrick, President, Chicago Federation of Labor.....	326
U. S. Employment Service, Wagner-Peyser Act, provisions	20, 64-66, 207, 470, 471, 496
U. S. Senators and Representatives sponsoring laws favorable to labor, Resolution No. 235.....	298, 580, 581
U. S. Smelting, Refining and Mining Company, decision National Labor Relations Board.....	48, 494
Unorganized Industries, organization of, Resolution No. 133.....	251, 252, 368

V

Vocational schools in private industrial plants, protesting federal aid, Resolution No. 62.....	191, 799, 800
Vocational schools in private industrial plants, protesting federal aid, Resolution No. 63.....	191, 192, 489, 799, 800
Vocational training funds, protesting misuse by manufacturers, Resolution No. 167.....	266, 267, 489, 799, 800
Volz, E. J.....	687, 689, 691, 692, 694, 702, 720, 776, 779
Voting strength of affiliated unions.....	32, 33

W

Wages, cost of living basis opposed.....	141, 495
Wage, prevalling hourly, maintenance on public works urged.....	79, 80

	Page
Wagner Labor Disputes Act.....	22, 133-135, 216, 326, 449, 495
Wagner, Robert F., U. S. Senator, telegram.....	326
Wages, theory of.....	5, 6, 394, 395
War, U. S. neutrality, Resolution No. 169.....	268, 496-498
War Department, adjustment board to deal with labor grievances, Resolution No. 60.....	190, 798, 799
War threat, attitude of organized labor, statement of President Green.....	8, 9
Watt, Robert J.....	448, 596, 597
Weaver, Chauncey A.....	390, 443, 475, 671, 674, 694, 704, 705
"We do not patronize" list.....	403
Weber, Joseph N.....	664, 698, 707
Weber, Joseph N., re-elected to office of Sixth Vice-President.....	704-705
Webster, Milton P.....	815
Wharton, Arthur O.....	342, 428, 434, 439, 569-572, 661-663, 713, 736-739
Wharton, Arthur O., re-elected to office of Fifth Vice-President.....	704
White, C. D., Mayor of Atlantic City, address.....	2
White collar workers, industrial unions, Resolution No. 126.....	249, 250, 723
Widows' Annuity Law, Resolution No. 5.....	172, 455
Williams, John W., protest against seating as delegate from Building Trades Department	16, 17, 18, 324, 327-342
Winant, John G., Chairman Social Security Board, address.....	19, 316, 363, 378-382
Woll, Matthew.....	317, 385, 390, 419, 474, 492, 493, 494, 498, 504, 505, 517, 518, 528-534, 551, 585, 602, 695, 750, 782
Woll, Matthew, re-elected to office of Third Vice-President.....	701-703
Woodmansee, R. E.....	19, 474
Women workers, address of Mary Anderson, Director, Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor.....	425, 426
Women's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary, President Mary Cramer, greetings.....	362
Works Progress Administration, Federal, functions and labor policy	77-80, 207, 495, 794, 795, 806
WPA, prevailing wage, Resolution No. 32.....	181, 509, 794, 795
WPA, prevailing wage, Resolution No. 246.....	303, 794, 795, 806-807
WPA, white collar workers, Resolution No. 137.....	254, 805-807
Workers Education Bureau.....	149, 207, 479-481, 483, 484
Workers Education Bureau, address of Spencer Miller, Jr.....	309-315
Workers' education in central labor councils and other labor assemblies, Resolution No. 232.....	297, 489
Workers' rights amendment (H. J. Res. No. 327), Resolution No. 41.....	183, 789-793
Workers' rights amendment, Resolution No. 188.....	276, 791-793
Workers' rights amendment, Resolution No. 214.....	291, 791-793
Workmen's Compensation Commission, U. S., Resolution No. 181.....	273, 462, 463
Workmen's compensation, state legislation.....	145, 207, 441, 491

Y

Youth Administration, National, functions.....	21, 76, 77, 81, 82, 207, 495
Youth Administration, National, address of Charles William Taussig, Chairman Advisory Committee.....	424, 425
Youth Administration, National, labor cooperation, Resolution No. 44.....	184, 821
Youth, American act, Resolution No. 194.....	278, 280, 464-467
Youth, American, act, Resolution No. 244.....	302, 465-467
Youth, organization, Resolution No. 29.....	179, 180, 498, 499
Youth, organization, Resolution No. 196.....	279, 499-506

